ADULT BULLYING IN ACADEMIA: A NARRATIVE STUDY ABOUT GAY MALE

FACULTY MEMBERS OF COLOR IN HIGHER EDUCATION

by

MITSUNORI MISAWA

(Under the Direction of JUANITA JOHNSON-BAILEY and RONALD M. CERVERO)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to understand how adult bullying influences the lives of gay male faculty members of color in higher education. This study focused on the exploration and examination of gay male faculty members of color's negative experiences related to the intersection of racism and homophobia that implied adult bullying in higher education. This study addressed the following questions:

1. How is bullying manifested in the lives of gay male faculty members of color?

2. In what ways does bullying affect gay male faculty members of color's academic lives?

3. How do gay male faculty members of color cope with bullying in higher education?

This study implemented narrative inquiry, a qualitative research design. Individual interviews were conducted with nineteen self-identified gay male faculty members of color in higher education representing multiple disciplines.

The data revealed three major findings. The first finding indicated that bullying took different forms in academia: a) Positional Bullying; b) Counter-Positional Bullying;

and c) Unintentional Conspirative Positional Bullying. The second finding showed that the gay male faculty members of color used their prior life experiences to help manage their career paths in academia. The third finding revealed that the participants had coped or were coping with their experiences of being bullied by using their experiences to help them develop a plan for strategically managing their careers in higher education.

Three conclusions were drawn from this study: 1) The bullying of gay male faculty members of color in academia was prevalent and practiced by White and/or heterosexual males and females while simultaneously being cloaked in civility, subjectively applied rules and policies and enabled by a cooperatively complicit system; 2) Bullying had a negative cumulative impact on gay male faculty members of color necessitating them to live in defense of their psychological well-being and academic careers; and 3) The gay male faculty members of color separately and in isolation from other gay male faculty members of color constructed support networks and developed self-help mechanisms as a way to insure their survival in academia.

INDEX WORDS: Adult Bullying, Adult Education, Faculty, Gay Men of Color, Heterosexism, Higher Education, Homophobia, Intersectionality, Narrative Inquiry, Positionality, Power Dynamics, Qualitative Research, Race, Racism, Sexual Orientation, Workplace

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to two groups of people:

Members of my immediate family who have provided me with their

support and encouragement throughout my doctoral studies,

My parents, Norio Misawa and Setsuko Misawa

My lifelong partner, Garrison E. Jackinsky

Thanks to all of your support each day of my life.

AND

Gay male faculty members of color in higher education who experienced bullying

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Scholars, researchers, and practitioners in social sciences have confirmed that bullying is an international phenomenon that exists in many settings including K-12 schooling during childhood and the workplace during adulthood (Namie & Namie, 2003; Olweus, 1978, 1993; Randall, 1997, 2001). In the K-12 setting in the United States, approximately 3.2 million students were bullied during the 1998 term (Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton, & Scheidt, 2001). In addition, at least 10,000 students in the United States do not go to school on one or more days per week to avoid bullying (Thomas, 2006). In the contemporary American workplace, 41.4% of employees reported that they had been bullied at their workplace within six months, and an estimated 47 million workers experienced psychological aggression and some forms of bullying directed at them in their workplace within a twelve-month period (Schat, Frone, & Kelloway, 2006).

Such findings indicate that bullying impacts the everyday lives of many people. Many more experience bullying as bystanders (Namie & Namie, 2003). Some scholars have argued that bullying is a natural phenomenon that can occur anytime, anywhere, and to anyone because it is a fundamental way of abusively exercising power within interpersonal interactions (Bowie, 2002; Smith 1997) and because it is a way for people to achieve their own goals (Barron, 2002). Bullying can be a strategy in certain conducive workplaces, especially the business world that is all about making profit and competing.

Bullying can be identified in conventional management styles where aggressiveness and high competition are emphasized and encouraged (Glendinning, 2001).

Competition is also a key to success in the larger American society where more educated individuals thrive. Ideologies that are based on power and domination are not new concepts, and have been embedded in western society as meritocracy for a long time (Ignatieff, 2003). Power, at a macro level, determines who gets the more powerful positions and who gets the less powerful positions in society. The tension between who gets what has focused on individual similarities and differences and has been expressed through bullying, violence, discrimination, and wars, a part of the American culture since its establishment (Newman, 2007). The ideologies of domination, conquest, and victory to develop a new world were driven by Europeans hungry for imperial power (Ignatieff, 2003). In contemporary U.S. society, power disparity based on imperial notions is deeply embedded to the point that it is an invisible element in American culture.

One way to understand power in contemporary society is to look at the similarities and differences in sociocultural and socioeconomic status among people (Newman, 2007). Race, social class, gender, and sexual orientation are all involved and each does affect how much value a person has in U.S. society. Bierema (2002) argued that dominant groups perpetuate their own perspectives so that others (minorities) cannot reach the same sociocultural level:

> If you are not a White male in the U.S. workplace, chances are you may have less access to training and development programs, receive fewer promotions, suppress your identity to assimilate to a patriarchal culture, and experience harassment or other mistreatment. (Bierema, 2002, p. 73)

Sociocultural and socioeconomic positions reflecting a person's race, gender, and sexual orientation are culturally embedded in the workplace and in schooling. Together, they are described as positionality, or the shifting influence that innate differences have on both individuals and groups in terms of how power is distributed in an environment. People often interact with each other as superiors or subordinates. Researchers, scholars, and practitioners who examine the notion of bullying find it in most settings where people interact in such hierarchical ways. Large power disparities were found among people in K-12 schools and workplaces (Garbarino & deLara, 2002; Randall, 1997, 2001). Bullying is a contemporary social problem.

Bullying has existed for a long time and has a history as long as the history of the mankind (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2005). However, bullying gained the attention of scholars, researchers, and policy makers about three decades ago when systematic investigations on bullying began in the 1970s in Scandinavia (Olweus, 1993), then spread to Europe in the 1980s (Adams, 1992), particularly in the United Kingdom, and finally became a popular topic in the U.S. in the 1990s (Namie & Namie, 2000). Despite the numerous explorations and examinations into what bullying is, there is still not a standardized definition (Macklem, 2003). Defining the term "bullying" has proven difficult. Each researcher uses her/his own definition for different contexts like K-12 schools and the workplace (Agervold, 2007; Sanders & Phey, 2004).

Although researchers, scholars, and practitioners seem to have preferred definitions of bullying, the definition developed by Olweus (1993) is the most cited in K-12 literature; early scholars of workplace bullying cited and adopted Olweus's definition. Olweus (1993) defined bullying in the K-12 context: "A student is being bullied or

victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students" (p. 9). Although Olweus's (1993) definition of bullying consists of simple and precise phrases, he pointed out that some phrases are broad and need to be explained in order for the readers to understand what bullying is. Olweus refined the phrase *negative actions*, for example, as the following:

> It is a *negative action* when someone intentionally inflicts, or attempts to inflict, injury or discomfort upon another….Negative actions can be carried out by words…by threatening, taunting, teasing, and calling names. It is a negative action when somebody hits, pushes, kicks, pinches, or restrains another….It is also possible to carry out negative actions without use of words or physical contact, such as by making faces or dirty gestures, intentionally excluding someone from a group, or refusing to comply with another person's wishes. (Olweus, 1993, p. 9, italics in original)

Olweus and other researchers, such as Kevorkian (2006), Randall (2001), and Orpinas and Horne (2006), stated that bullying involves not only negative actions, but also other factors like an imbalanced power relationship between a bully and a victim. Smith and Sharp (1994) stated, "Bullying can be described as the systematic abuse of power" (p. 2).

The current research on bullying examines both individual and organizational issues. At the individual level, bullying affects interpersonal relations among bullies and victims of bullying. In particular, the victims are likely to experience some physical and psychological illnesses (Harris & Petrie, 2003; Olweus, 1993; Randall, 1997, 2001). At the organizational level, bullying affects organizations' finance and productivity. For example, bullying can be costly because employers have responsibility to take care of

their employees' health. Bullying affects employees physically when they have a physical fights and psychologically when they experience a chronic illness such as stress, anger, and depression. The employers of the victims might have to pay workers' compensation or other health related expenses. In addition employers lose productivity because of the absence of workers due to bullying (Glendinning, 2001; Schat, Frone, & Kelloway, 2006).

Research on adult bullying in the context of higher education as opposed to the workplace has not gained much attention by scholars in the United States. Furthermore, research on bullying in the higher education context has not considered the multilayered social disparities between bullies and their victims. Research on bullying and race and racism in workplace in the United States (Fox & Stallworth, 2005) and research on the experiences of British lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals who were bullied (Rivers, 2004) have depicted racial minority and sexual minority experiences in two separate contexts, but even these types of research are very scarce. Notwithstanding the research on racial and homophobic bullying that does exist, there is no empirical research on the intersection of racial and homophobic bullying in higher education at this point in time.

Bullying is a relatively unstudied phenomenon in higher education. The term "violence" already seems to cover the content of bullying anyway (Baum & Klaus, 2005). In their latest national report, *National Crime Victimization Survey: Violent Victimization of College students, 1995-2002,* Baum and Klaus (2005) found that violence against college students in the United States decreased 54% from 1995 to 2002. Although they identified campus violence as aggressive actions and direct or physical violence, they did not have a category for bullying. It still goes unrecognized in most

campus climate studies in higher education. Because bullying includes both direct or physical violence and indirect or psychological violence, it may be difficult to detect the latter since it is not a typical campus crime. In studies such as the one on violence in higher education, the authors failed to recognize bullying as one of the forms of violence.

Higher education is a significant sociocultural location that combines education and work. Over the past four decades, college demographics have changed from a mostly White male population to a more diverse population in terms of race, sexual orientation, and nationality. Also, there are increasing numbers of both traditional students between 18 and 22 and non-traditional students (Snyder, Dillow, & Hoffman, 2007). This is a positive phenomenon for the U.S. society because more and more people are becoming more literate and educated.

Although more people have opportunities to obtain post-secondary education nationwide, this phenomenon also impacts contemporary higher education. Since everyone has different needs, not everyone's needs are addressed. Some people will experience unequal treatment from others. For example, sexual minorities, such as lesbians, gay men, bisexual people, and transgender people, are at risk for being the victims of hate crimes on campus (Rankin, 2003). Also, racial minorities are still marginalized and discriminated against in the contemporary campus climate despite the desegregation of the 1960s. A likely cause for all this is that norms and educational criteria are still largely based on White heterosexual patriarchal roots. People who are not White heterosexual males are left out within higher education because they are thought to be different from the standard (Sissel & Sheared, 2001). For example, the latest national survey by National Gay and Lesbian Task Force on lesbian, gay, bisexual and

transgender Asian and Pacific Islander Americans reported that 85% of the respondents had experienced discrimination and/or harassment based on their race or ethnicity and 75% of the respondents had experienced discrimination and/or harassment based on their sexual orientation (Dang & Vianney, 2007). But people who are non-White-heterosexual need safe places on campus, need to get the same treatment as majorities, and need to not have to worry about getting hurt. These needs have not yet been addressed by the mainstream in the U.S. higher education.

People whose racial and sexual sociocultural positions are in the minority are at least doubly oppressed and marginalized (Kumashiro, 2001; Newman, 2007) in the typical higher education environment because their needs are not likely to be addressed as major campus considerations (Johnson-Bailey, 2002a; Tisdell, 1995). So, gay men of color are at least doubly disadvantaged in several respects, and they are treated as the second-class academic citizens. Furthermore, in such academic environments, gay men of color may have to face two types of bullying: racist and homophobic.

Despite the increase in incidents of campus violence, higher education has promoted social justice and multiculturalism (Connolly, 2001). Higher education is a place where academic leaders foster future leaders by providing content-based knowledge and by equipping students with critical reflection skills on topics of diversity and on multicultural content that emphasizes differences and tolerance. Future academic leaders learn that colleges and universities in the United States have a responsibility to develop and sustain environments characterized by equal access for all students, faculty and staff regardless of sociocultural and socioeconomic differences, where individuals are not just tolerated but valued.

Institutional missions like this show that higher education values multicultural awareness and understanding and an environment of mutual respect and cooperation (Connolly, 2001; Tisdell, 1995, 2001). Furthermore, higher education has in its instructional strategic plan the goal of creating welcoming and inclusive climates for all people on campus. However, it is arguable whether higher education really is a place where minorities today can receive the same learning and teaching experiences as White male colleagues. This is a critical aspect in the experiences of gay men of color, therefore it will be explored as the main concern of this doctoral dissertation research.

<div align="center">Statement of the Problem</div>

Bullying has become a critical social problem in contemporary society. Researchers and scholars have identified and agreed that bullying physically and psychologically damages both individuals and groups (Garbarino & deLara, 2002; Namie & Namie, 2000, 2003; Randall, 1997, 2001). At an individual level, victims of bullying more likely suffer from psychological symptoms such as depression, nervousness, and stress (Olweus, 1978, 1993). At a group level, bullying impacts an organization by creating a hostile environment where interpersonal conflicts and violence frequently occur and can lead the organizational malfunctioning hence less productivity and the risk of eventual collapse. Bullying also happens in the higher education context where adults and adolescents commingle. Chapell et al. (2004) found that students witnessed teachers bullying students more frequently than they witnessed students bullying students. Chapell et al. (2004) stated, "It seems that teachers are abusing their power and bullying students at all levels of education" (p. 61).

Higher education is typically bureaucratic and as such, the positions there become a source of power. Autobiographical reports exist on bullying in higher education (Webber, 2007) as does research on bullying and racism in the workplace in the United States (Fox & Stallworth, 2005) and research on the experiences of lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals who were bullied in the United Kingdom. (Rivers, 2004). Still, no research has focused on experiences of professors regarding the bullying of gay men of color in higher education.

Higher education still perpetuates a sociocultural power imbalance wherein bullying is institutionally encouraged as a way to discriminate and marginalize gay people of color. If higher education is to follow through on creating environments conducive to all students, faculty, and staff, then focus must be shifted to examine how bullying impacts teaching, learning, and institutional policies in higher education.

Purpose Statement and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to understand how adult bullying influences the lives of gay male faculty of color in higher education. This study particularly focused on the exploration and examination of gay male faculty of color's negative experiences and experiences of being victims of adult bullying in higher education related to the intersection of racism and homophobia. The research questions for this study were as follows:

1. How is bullying manifested in the lives of gay male faculty members of color?

2. In what ways does bullying affect gay male faculty members of color's academic lives?

3. How do gay male faculty members of color cope with bullying in higher education?

Significance of the Study

Although adult and higher education has set objectives that emphasize social justice including the creation of democratic classroom and campus environments for learners and faculty members, mainstream higher education has not yet met the criteria. One reason why contemporary higher education has not made that progress is because people such as administrators, faculty members, and students have not addressed bullying as a serious problem in daily campus life. The issues regarding bullying in adulthood have been ignored. Particularly, specific types such as racist bullying, homophobic bullying, and the combination of racist and homophobic bullying are almost ignored in higher education. Instead, bullying that is based on people's sociocultural positions such as race, sexual orientation, and academic status needs to be sought out for examination. While researchers, scholars, and practitioners in adult and higher education have documented the relevance of the various sociocultural identities and power dynamics and how they affected teaching-learning transactions in classroom, they have not taken into account and do not empirically know the nature of bullying in the context of adult and higher education.

This study would contribute both to the knowledge base in, and to the practice of, adult and higher education. Since adult bullying has been addressed most of the time in organizational settings like workplaces, adult bullying in higher education is still relatively unexplored. This void in research on bullying in higher education will be partially filled by an empirical investigation of the experiences of gay male faculty of

color in higher education. Since research in adult bullying that deals with the intersection of race and sexual orientation in the context of higher education does not exist at this point in time, this study would break new ground in the field of adult and higher education.

Moreover, this study would be a basis for future researchers in adult bullying. The brief description of bullying in adulthood in the previous section of this chapter showed that bullying involving adults has been investigated mainly in corporations and factories. Since higher education is an academic and educational institution, the context of higher education differs from the context of the workplace. However, higher education is also a kind of workplace for faculty. So, bullying in higher education differs from that in corporations and factories. This study would extend the research on adult bullying into the realm of higher education.

This study would also be a foundation for future scholars who would like to investigate positionality, which examines how power among people operates in an environment, in education and in society. Researchers could use this study as an example of how to investigate other sensitive components of positionality. For this study, race, gender, sexual orientation, and academic status are treated as a whole, *gay male faculty of color*. Researchers would be able to apply this study to their further investigations on positionality.

With escalating faculty and student demographics are changing the complexion of higher education schools and classrooms throughout the United States along with sharp increases in diversity and multi-cultural teaching approaches, researchers, scholars, and practitioners in adult education and higher education and in industries, corporations, and

governments would likely benefit from the findings of this study. This study would be particularly useful to teachers across disciplines in higher education who have begun or who desire to begin challenging bullying and other kinds of campus violence; it would also be useful to those who hope to critically examine conventional social and academic standards based on White-hetero-patriarchy. Outside the higher education context, the findings of this study may provide insight and practical knowledge to managers and trainers who could use these findings to help design more inclusive training manuals and institute anti-bullying policies for workplace education.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The purpose of this study was to understand how adult bullying influences the lives of gay male faculty of color in higher education. This study particularly focused on the exploration and examination of gay male faculty of color's negative experiences and experiences of being victims of adult bullying in higher education related to the intersection of racism and homophobia. The research questions for this study were as follows:

1. How is bullying manifested in the lives of gay male faculty members of color?

2. In what ways does bullying affect gay male faculty members of color's academic lives?

3. How do gay male faculty members of color cope with bullying in higher education?

Researchers and scholars have discussed that bullying is not a new topic (Björkqvist, Österman, & Hjelt- Bäck, 1994; Olweus, 1977, 1993, 2003; Rigby, Smith, & Pepler, 2004). It has existed for a long time and deeply pervades U.S. society (Sanders, 2004). In fact, bullying could occur anywhere and to anyone (Chapell et al., 2004; Orpinas & Horne, 2006; Randall, 1997, 2001; Randle, Stevenson, & Grayling, 2007; Rayner & Cooper, 2006; Rayner & Hoel, 1997). However, bullying has gained significant attention in one area in particular: educational settings such as elementary schools, middle schools, and high schools (McGrath, 2007; Orpinas & Horne, 2006).

There, social scientists have long investigated the influences of bullying and violent behaviors on children. Researchers and scholars have found that a significant factor of bullying in school and childhood is the school environment (Coloroso, 2002), and bullying prevention strategies were proposed that can enable school teachers and administrators to change the school environments to make it non-conducive to bullying (McGrath, 2007; Olweus, 1993, 1994, 2004; Orpinas & Horne, 2006; Rigby, Smith, & Pepler, 2004; Zins, Elias, & Maher, 2007). Elliott (1997) stated that there is a general assumption that "bullying is a part of a human nature, something children must learn to cope with if they are to survive the rough and tumble of everyday life" (p. 33). Hence, the general population has believed that bullying is just a phase in children's developmental behavior that decreases and eventually disappears with maturity (Elliott, 1997). But while many studies into bullying have focused on childhood and primary and secondary school settings, bullying in adulthood did not garner much attention until about two decades ago (Namie, 2003; Olweus, 1994, 2003; Randall, 2001; Randle, Stevenson, & Grayling, 2007).

The National Center for Educational Statistics' 2001 survey found increased rates of bullying within the higher grade school student populations (DeVoe & Kaffenberger, 2005). In addition to the national studies, Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton, and Scheidt (2001) also reported that bullying is disseminated in American school culture. And, contemporary social scientists who are now working on adult bullying surmise that "it has always been prevalent throughout society. It has always been part of our culture" (Porteous, 2002, p. 77).

Contemporary literatures on bullying in adulthood mostly exist within workplace contexts (Schat, Frone, & Kelloway, 2006) where bullying has recently been raised as an issue (Namie, 2003; Randall, 1997, 2001; Rayner, 1999). Because it is a sensitive issue filled with aspects of stigmatization and irrationality (Randall, 2001), adult bullying earned little discussion in the workplace before (Adams, 1992).

As a problem in adulthood, it was categorized ambiguously as a kind of workplace violence or harassment (Glendinning, 2001; Vega & Comer, 2005). Extensive investigations on bullying in European, Canadian, and American workplaces helped clarify the issue. Systematic investigations took place in European countries in the late 1980s (Adams, 1992; Björkqvist, Österman, & Hjelt- Bäck, 1994; Crawford, 1997; Leymann, 1990; Randall, 1997) and in the United States and Canada the 1990s (Glendinning, 2001; LeBlanc & Kelloway, 2001; Namie, 2003; Namie & Namie, 2000, 2003; Schat, Frone, & Kelloway, 2006).

In the field of academia, though, literature on bullying in higher education appears to be scarce (Chapell et al., 2004). Higher education is a complex place in terms of its demographics because it contains both educational and workplace aspects and a mixture of adolescents and adults (students and professors in classroom settings, and bosses and their subordinates in administrations and departments). In addition to scarcity of literature on bullying in higher education, bullying based on sociocultural positions such as race, gender, and sexual orientation in terms of positionality is rarer. No study has shown how bullying impacts campus lives in terms of race and sexual orientation. Some scholars recently started focusing on race-based bullying at workplace (Deitch, Barsky, Butz, Chan, Brief, & Bradly, 2003; Fox & Stallworth, 2005), and others have begun to

investigate the relationship between bullying and sexual orientation (O'Higgins-Norman, 2008; Rivers, 2004; Short, 2007). However, research on bullying in higher education in terms of the combination of race and sexual orientation has not been theoretically and empirically addressed yet. This chapter will focus on this knowledge gap by reviewing literature on bullying and positionality, with the purpose being to provide a fundamental understanding of bullying drawn from both traditional and contemporary literature and from empirical studies.

This chapter consists of four areas. First, a generalized concept of bullying will be discussed in a section that outlines what bullying is according to researchers and scholars in childhood in the K-12 context and in adulthood in the workplace. It will also look at what types of studies have been conducted, what kinds of factors should be included as bullying, who key players are in bullying, and what consequences bullying generates. Second, the chapter will discuss the concept of positionality, describing what positionality is and what research in adult and higher education has been conducted on positionality. Third, how to integrate bullying and positionality will be addressed, particularly focusing on racist bullying, homophobic bullying, and college bullying separately. These three discussions will follow with a chapter summary.

<div align="center">A General Overview of Bullying</div>

According to Agervold (2007), it is significant to achieve a consensus on a definition of bullying among scholars and researchers, so the results and findings of one study can be compared with another. However, with so many independent investigations on bullying, particularly in the context of childhood school settings, there is no agreed on definition of bullying at this point in time (Agervold, 2007; Randall, 2001; Rayner &

Cooper, 2006). For example, the emphasis of early definitions were "on physical bullying and verbal taunting done directly by the bully or bullies to the victim" (Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefooghe, 2002, p. 1119). To understand bullying as a human behavioral phenomenon, Olweus (1978) utilized the term *mobbing* from Austrian ethologist Konrad Lorenz's studies into animal behavior (1966). Mobbing had also been used by Peter-Paul Heinemann in 1972 to describe how "a group of [human] individuals (who are alike) attack and torment an individual who deviates from the others" (p. 3). Later, Olweus (1993) defined student bullying or victimization as exposure "repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students" (p. 9).

Although Olweus's definition of bullying has been popularly cited by scholars and researchers on bullying internationally, there have been some critiques of his 1978 definition because it did not completely capture the bullying phenomenon (Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, & Liefooghe, 2002). According to Smith, Cowie, Olafsson, and Liefooghe (2002), "The emphasis of earlier work on bullying was on physical bullying and verbal taunting done directly by the bully or bullies to the victim. Olweus's earlier work did not fully recognize the extent of indirect bullying" (p. 1119).

Björkqvist, Lagerspetz, and Kaukiainen (1992) showed the importance of indirect aggression as a category. They distinguished among direct physical aggression, direct verbal aggression, and indirect aggression. Direct physical aggression includes punching, kicking, and pushing which usually are seen in any physical fights. Direct verbal aggression includes name calling and taunting. For example, a bully calls a victim who is seen by the bully as physically weaker than the bully sissy. Indirect aggression includes "principal forms of gossiping and spreading rumors, and social exclusion (deliberately

not allowing a person into a group)" (p. 1120). So, bullying is not only a simple phenomenon of physical aggression but also an indirect aggression where a perpetrator does not even have to be in the same location as the victim. These types of aggression will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Many scholars and researchers on bullying in K-12 schools have accepted Olweus's definition. One of the reasons why his definition was accepted by various scholars and researchers was because this definition contains three major factors of bullying. Speaking of what bullying consists of, Olweus (2003) stated that bullying includes *intentionality,* where a bully intentionally hurts the victim and *negative actions* (Olweus, 1993, 1994, 1999, 2003), which is "a term similar to the definition of aggressive behavior….People carry out negative actions through physical contact, with words, or in more indirect ways, such as making mean faces or gestures, spreading rumors, or intentionally excluding someone from a group" (Olweus, 2003, p. 12). Olweus also added the role of social power to the definition. He stated that "bullying…entails an *imbalance in strength* (or an *asymmetrical power relationship),* meaning that students exposed to negative actions have difficulty defending themselves" (Olweus, 2003, p. 12, italics in original). In considering the power imbalance in bullying, Olweus (1993) clarified how the power concept should be applied to delineate bullying:

> The term bullying is not (or should not be) used when two students of approximately the same strength (physical or psychological) are fighting or quarreling. In order to use the terms bullying, there should be an *imbalance in strength* (an asymmetric power relationship). (p. 10, italics in original)

Considering the different types of bullying, Olweus expanded his definition of

bullying further in 1999:

Bullying is thus characterized by the following three criteria: (1) It is aggressive

behavior or intentional 'harm doing' (2) which is carried out 'repeatedly and over

time' (3) in an interpersonal relationship characterized by an imbalance of power.

One might add that the bullying behavior often occurs without apparent

provocation. (Olweus, 1999, p. 10)

Olweus (1999) also stated that it is useful to differentiate the notions "between *direct*

bullying/victimization—with relatively open attacks on the victim—and *indirect*

bullying/victimization in the form of social isolation and intentional exclusion from a

group" (p. 11, italics in original). Olweus's definitions of bullying cover the important

components of bullying and are currently accepted by many researchers internationally

(Rigby, Smith, & Pepler, 2004; Smith, Cowei, Olafsson, & Liefooghe, 2002; Smith &

Sharp, 1994; Sveinsson & Morris, 2007).

Contemporary General Definitions of Bullying

Contemporary definitions of bullying seem to include broad ranges of behaviors

from minor interactions between people to behaviors that are criminal (Macklem, 2003).

Contemporary scholars have a tendency to follow the conventional definition of bullying.

One example is the U.S. national study that was conducted by Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla,

Ruan, Simons-Morton, and Scheidt (2001) that included a definition of bullying adopted

from Olweus's 1999 definition as follows:

Bullying is a specific type of aggression in which (1) the behavior is intended to

harm or disturb, (2) the behavior occurs repeatedly over time, and (3) there is an

imbalance of power, with a more powerful person or group attacking a less

powerful one. (Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton, & Scheidt, 2001,

p. 2095)

Although some scholars use Olweus's definition as the operational definition of

bullying in their studies, others utilize Olweus's definition as foundation for their own

definition of bullying or they modify or re-word Olweus's definition. For example,

Hanewinkel (2004) utilized Olweus's definition of bullying by stating "a person is being

bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the

part of one or more other persons" (p. 83). Hanewinkel (2004) added that the term

bullying is not appropriate to use when two people who are of about "the same strength

physically or psychologically fight or quarrel. The term 'bullying' is appropriate when

there is an imbalance of strength where the one who is exposed to bullying is physically

and /or psychologically weaker than her/his opponent" (p. 84). Smith and Sharp (1994)

also emphasized power dynamics in their definition. Their argument is that "power can

be abused…[that] is inescapable in examining human behaviour" (p. 4). They described

bullying as "the systematic abuse of power" because "there will always be power

relationships in social groups, by virtue of strength or size or ability, force of personality,

sheer numbers or recognized hierarchy" (p. 2). Harris and Petrie (2003) included power

dynamics in their definition of bullying as "intentionally harmful, aggressive behavior of

a more powerful person or group of people directed repeatedly toward a less powerful

person, usually without provocation" (p. 2).

Garrett (2003) also mentioned power dynamics but she focused more on how one

could dominate others in a situation of bullying. She defined bullying as "something that

someone repeatedly does or says to gain power over or to dominate another individual. Bullying is where a child or group of children keep taking advantage of the power they have to hurt or reject someone else" (p. 6). Bullying involves hitting or kicking (Garrett, 2003; Olweus, 1993). "It may be passive as in rumors, exclusion or manipulation. But threats, teasing and taunting are more common and can be more damaging….Bullying can also be defined as unwanted words or physical actions that can make a person feel bad" (p. 5). Garrett described how children may bully others and stated what it means to conduct bullying as following: "calling them names, saying or writing nasty comments about then, leaving them out of activities or not talking to them, threatening them, or making them feel uncomfortable or scared, stealing or damaging their belongings, hitting or kicking them, or making them do things they don't want to do" (p. 6)

Plaford (2006) also defined what bullying is by his own words. He stated that bullying includes "any manner in which one or several people use fear, intimidation, harassment, threat, coercion, humiliation, or isolation to negatively affect another person" (p. 21). Plaford stated that bullying consists of many different aspects. When bullying is physical, bullying takes the form of hitting, striking, pinching, shoving, tripping, grabbing, holding, or touching someone in a painful, threatening, unfriendly, unwelcome, demeaning, or humiliating manner. "It also includes the threat of such physical action" (Plaford, 2006, p. 20). Bullying also includes "harassment, verbal abuse, verbal put-downs, social ridicule, and jokes or pranks at another's expense. Bullying can also involve socially isolating other people, intentionally omitting or not including them, leaving them off the team, choosing them last for everything, starting rumors" (p. 20). Plaford stated that bullying can occur anywhere. For example, it occurs "face-to-face, but

it can also start behind someone's back. It can occur over the telephone, via email, or even through an embarrassing or humiliating web page" (pp. 20-21).

Although there are various definitions of bullying that have been developed by many scholars who attempted to depict the phenomenon of bullying in their fields, there are some commonalities among definitions regarding the basic understanding of bullying. Most scholars agree that bullying is *intentional* and *unprovoked aggression* that involves *disparity of power* between the victim and his or her perpetrators. Macklem (2003) and Ross (2003) provided a variation of the same theme, but questioned the factor of repetition maintaining that a child's perception of being bullied should be considered, regardless of whether the incident occurred one or several times. Similarly, Sharp, Thompson, and Arora (2000) maintain that the long-term effects on the victim rather than the component of repetition is a more essential feature of bullying, because a victim is likely to experience emotional trauma as a result of even one such incident. Besag (1989), on the other hand, includes elements of repetition and power dominance similar to those in Olweus's 1999 definition, but also adds a component of highly competitive yet socially acceptable behavior. Crick and Dodge (1999), however, have proposed a more restrictive definition. They view bullying as "a type of proactive aggression in which aggressive acts are employed to achieve interpersonal dominance over another" (p. 129). Because it is difficult to define what actual bullying is (Agervold, 2007; Macklem, 2003), there is not a universally agreed on definition of bullying at this point in time (Rigby, Smith, & Pepler, 2004; Sveinsson & Morris, 2007).

Adult Bullying: Workplace Contexts

Bullying is an established feature of primary and secondary schools (Needham, 2003; Olweus, 1993, 2003; Orpinas & Horns, 2006; Rigby, Smith, & Pepler, 2004). But when researchers look at bullying in late adolescence and adulthood, they focus on violence and on bullying in the workplace. "Contemporary studies of bullying at work have drawn from the original conceptual base in childhood studies and have developed the topic to be applicable to modern-day working situations" (Rayner & Cooper, 2006, p. 212). Bullying in the workplace is gaining attention from contemporary social scientists who are interested in investigating physical and psychological harassment and violence in communities and neighborhoods where adults interact (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2005; Horn, 2002; Furnham & Taylor, 2004; Koonin & Green, 2004; Namie & Namie, 2000; Randall, 1997, 2001). Since many adults have jobs outside of their homes, adult bullying in the workplace has been more extensively studied in recent years by scholars not only in the social sciences but also in the business fields of human resource development and organizational development (Bowie, 2002; Needham, 2003; Rennie Peyton, 2003; Schat, Frone, & Kelloway, 2006).

One of the earlier studies that directly addressed workplace bullying was *The Harassed Worker* (Brodsky, 1976) written by the Independent Medical examiner for the California Workers' Compensation Appeals Board. This is an important early text that described bullying as a wider context of harassment. Brodsky (1976) defined harassment as conduct involving "repeated and persistent attempts by one person to torment, wear down, frustrate, or get a reaction from another. It is treatment which persistently provokes, pressures, frightens, intimidates or otherwise discomforts another person" (p.

2). Further, Brodsky distinguished two kinds of harassment. The first kind is *subjective harassment*. It refers to awareness of harassment by the target. In this type of harassment, the target perceives internally and psychologically that he or she is the subject of the harassment by someone. The second kind of harassment is *objective harassment.* This type of harassment is where the target is able to find out "actual external evidence of harassment…in statements from coworkers, employers, subordinates, or independent observers" (Brodsky, 1976, p. 3). Brodsky (1976) emphasized that these two types cannot be separated or independent. Rather, they should be treated as a dichotomy. In short, Brodsky stated, "if one is objectively being harassed, one usually has the subjective sense of being harassed" (p. 3). This allows the researchers and scholars to be able to look at absolute behaviors, whether or not someone finds them bullying, as well as victims' reactions to situations, whether or not an outsider would judge them as bullying (Brodsky, 1976). Although Brodsky's text provided new insights on how organizations should treat harassment and bullying as organizational issues instead of dismissing harassment and bullying, Brodsky's text was ignored at that time in the United States.

However, Brodsky's text was rediscovered by Scandinavian researchers who widened the contemporary field of bullying, harassment, and violence (Rayner & Cooper, 2006). *Bullying* is now a common descriptor in the field in English-speaking countries whereas Olweus (1978), for example, initially utilized the term *mobbing* when he described the situation where a child is being mobbed by other children in the playground, (Schat, Frone, & Kelloway, 2006). The early investigations of workplace bullying conducted by Scandinavian scholars and researchers also called the phenomenon *mobbing.* For example, Leymann, like Olweus (1979, 1993), borrowed the term,

mobbing, from Heinemann (1972) and Lorenz (1966) when he encountered a similar kind of phenomenon in the workplace in the early 1980s. He did not decide to use the term *bullying* which was utilized by English and Australian researchers (Leymann, 1996).

Although some contemporary scholars and researchers often utilize mobbing and bullying interchangeably, Leymann (1996) distinguished between bullying and mobbing.

> The connotation of 'bullying' is physical aggression and threat. In fact, bullying at school is strongly characterized by such physically aggressive acts. In contrast, physical violence is very seldom found in mobbing behaviour at work. Rather, mobbing is characterized by much more sophisticated behaviours such as, for example, socially isolating the victim. I suggest keeping the work 'bullying' for acticities between children and teenagers at school and reserving the word mobbing for adult behaviour. (Leymann, 1996, p. 167)

Further, Leymann (1990) called "'mobbing,' 'ganging up on someone' or psychic terror" (p. 119) and "psychological terror" (Leymann, 1996, p. 165) to describe the phenomenon. He stated that mobbing:

> occurs as schism, where the victim is subjected to a systematic stigmatizing through inter alia, injustices (encroachment of a person's rights), which after a few years can mean that the person in question is unable to find employment in his/her specific trade. (Leymann, 1990, p. 119)

He stated that although there are many behaviors that could be described as mobbing, "Psychological terror or mobbing in working life means hostile and unethical communication which is directed in a systematic way by one or a number of persons mainly toward one individual" (Leymann, 1990, p. 120).

The concept of *workplace bullying* migrated to the United Kingdom in the early 1990s (Adams, 1992). The first time the term, *workplace bullying,* appeared in public was in 1992 when the late Andrea Adams, a pioneering English journalist, utilized it to depict workplace issues. At that time, bullying was understood primarily as a problem afflicting children at school, so there was initial surprise that conduct associated with playgrounds could be happening to adults in the workplace (Namie, 2003). Adams (1992) illustrated what was actually going on in the workplace by providing narrative stories from the victims of workplace bullying in the United Kingdom. From the victims' stories, she argued that workplace bullying exists, and:

> Bullying at work, like bullying at school, often takes place where there are not witnesses. Without concrete evidence, however, proof is almost impossible….Recognition is a major problem because bullying is rarely confined to derisory remarks or open aggression. It can be subtle, devious and immensely difficult to confront for those whose confidence and self-esteem have been exposed to a misuse of personal power and position. (Adams, 1992, p. 17)

Adams's (1992) attempt to reveal the real situations in the U.K.'s the workplace where adult bullying had been occurring caused scholars and the public to reconsider the concept of bullying as a lifelong phenomenon.

Zapf (1999), a German scholar, stated that both muddying and bullying are phenomena that happen to adults and are severe forms of harassment in the workplace as Adams (1992) and Leymann (1990, 1996) had described. Zapf (1999) explained that the term *mobbing* has a slightly different connotation compared to bullying. "Mobbing is defined as psychological aggression that often involves a group of 'mobbers' rather than

a single person….Bullying, on the other hand, connotes physical aggression by a single person, mostly by a supervisor" (p. 70). In sum, the phenomenon has been labeled *mobbing at work* in some Scandinavian and German-speaking countries (Leymann, 1996; Zapf, 1999) and *bullying at work* in many English-speaking countries (Adams, 1992; Liefooghe & Olafsson, 1999; Namie, 2003; Rayner, 1997).

There are also many definitions that illustrate the phenomena of workplace bullying in contemporary literature and research. For example, Einarsen (1999) stated:

Bullying occurs when someone at work is systematically subjected to aggressive behaviour from one or more colleagues or superiors over a long period of time, in a situation where the target finds it difficult to defend him or herself or to escape the situation. (p. 16)

This definition is cited by many contemporary scholars and researchers of bullying. It emphasizes the bully's intention of hurting his or her victims by behaving aggressively. Since bullies are aggressive and relentless, the victims are unable to deal with and endure the bullies' actions.

Like Einarsen's definition of workplace bullying, Namie (2003) was aware of aggressive behaviors and intention in bullies. Namie (2003) added to Einarsen's definition:

Workplace bullying as 'status-blind' interpersonal hostility that is deliberate, repeated and sufficiently severe as to harm the targeted person's health or economic status. Further, it is driven by perpetrators' need to control another individual, often undermining legitimate business interests in the process. (pp. 1-2)

Namie (2003) argued that a bully has a more powerful position in which the bully has an opportunity to control the victim's life at workplace because "it is the aggressor's desire to control the target that motivates the action" (p. 2).

Furthermore, Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, and Cooper (2005) stated that the concept of bullying refers to:

> situations where an employee is subjected to repeated and unwanted actions and practices solely directed against them or towards a group of employees….The key element of the bullying concept is…about persistent exposure to negative and aggressive behaviors of a primarily psychological nature leading to stigmatization and victimization of the focal person(s). (p. 230)

From their definition of workplace bullying, Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, and Cooper (2005) underlined that the duration and the frequency of the experience of bullying are important dimensions. They stated that bullying is not about single acts of aggression rather, it is "about behaviour directed against a target repeatedly and over a long period of time" (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2005, pp. 230-231).

Some researchers developed definitions of the phenomena of workplace bullying from their own work and research experience or they borrowed or modified other researchers' definitions. For example, Randall (1997, 2001) provided a general definition of workplace bullying as: "the aggressive behaviour arising from the deliberate intent to cause physical or psychological distress to others" (p. 4). Although some researchers such as Björkqvist, Österman, and Hjelt-Bäck (1994), Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, and Cooper (2005), and Namie (2003), submit that bullying behaviors are repeated many times and are continued for a long period of time by the bullies, it does not mean that one time

bullying does not affect victims or targets of bullying at all. Randall (1997, 2001) pointed out that bullies can psychologically make a huge negative impact to a victim. Randall developed his operational definition of bullying from the workplace context and applied it to adulthood, in general, while focusing on adulthood aggression.

Many scholars and researchers on bullying repeatedly stated that it is difficult, however, to define what bullying consists of in adulthood (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2005; Randall, 1997, 2001; Rayner & Cooper, 2006). One of reasons that it is difficult to define bullying at the workplace in ways similar to the definition of childhood bullying in school contexts is because bullying and harassment are often treated as the same issue at the workplace. In fact, McMahon (2000) pointed out that some scholars and researchers discussed workplace bullying interchangeably with workplace harassment. For McMahon, bullying is "an abuse of power, although not necessarily with the superior as aggressor. Bullying has been linked to anti-social personality disorder and to childhood abuse" (p. 384) and it can "involve physical violence" (p. 384) and verbal intimidation. On the other hand, definitions of harassment at the workplace appears to be oriented at some personal characteristic of the victim (McMahon, 2000) such as aggressive sexual behavior and racially based mistreatment.

The legal difference between bullying and harassment lies in specificity. According to McMahon (2000) and Namie and Namie (2000), bullying cases rarely make it to the U.S. court. The law in the United States does not protect workers who are tormented by others' actions or behaviors such as demeaning and insulting (Vega & Comer, 2005). However, the same workers who are discriminated or harassed by others

in the workplace are protected under Title VII (Namie & Namie, 2000; Vega & Comer, 2005).

Adams (1992) also argued that the term *bullying* might resist acceptance as a phenomenon between adults at the workplace. Bullying is one of the most influential factors in terms of stress to the employees, but because the term carries too strong an association with childhood, being identified as the victim of bullying at work stigmatizes an adult. Having said that, although bullying and harassment are different phenomena, it might be easier for adults to deal with workplace bullying as a sort of harassment because they are suppose to be protected by some sort of organizational laws (Namie, 2003).

Namie and Namie (2000) provided a scale of severity of damage in terms of violence. The scale scores between 1 and 10. They stated that rudeness or incivility would fall near the low end, which is between 1 and 3 in the severity of damage scale, and physical violence would appear at the high end, which is 10, whereas bullying would cover a wide middle range of destructive, intimidating phenomenon, which is between 3 and 9 or 10. Since it is difficult to determine how bullying is actually damaging the victims, researchers and scholars are calling for more investigations into bullying phenomena in adulthood.

Summary

Although bullying exists anywhere and happens to anyone, it has been a difficult phenomenon for scholars and researchers to define. There are many variables to consider when distinguishing bullying from mobbing and harassment. Unique terms are created, borrowed and modified from the work of other scholars to pinpoint just what bullying is. Altogether, there are several commonalities in the definitions of bullying: 1) It is

aggressive and intentionally harmful; 2) it one or more times; 3) it involves imbalance of power and the domination of one person over another. Legal issues differentiate bullying from harassment, since people are protected from harassment by legal policies in school and organizational contexts whereas bullying is not illegal. Adams (1992) and Namie and Namie (2000) discussed that bullying itself is an ambiguous phenomenon and it is difficult to know how much bullying damaging the victims. Researchers and scholars are still calling for more investigations into how to define bullying.

Forms of Bullying

According to Randall (1997, 2001), two important types of aggression are related to bullying behaviors: affective aggression and instrumental aggression. The former "is accompanied by strong negative emotions" (Randall, 2001, p. 38) that cause aggressive behavior toward a provocateur, often involving physical violence. Instrumental aggression, in contrast, is behavior that "does not have a strong emotional basis and yet can be extremely aggressive" (Randall, 2001, p. 38). It "is a means to some desired end which is other than the intent to cause harm" (Randall, 1997, p. 7). By applying the concept of instrumental aggression, bullying can be seen to occur when a person benefits from it.

Misawa (2009) provided some hypothetical examples of affective aggression and instrumental aggression in his writing about the intersection of homophobic bullying and racist bullying:

A hypothetical example using children for affective aggression is a child making fun of the way another young person looks while wearing thick black eye glasses. Another example is where race is the factor that angers one child for no apparent

reason and leads to physical and emotional violence. In an adult workplace

context, an instance of affective aggression would be where a male worker, who

had been at the company for over 10 years, discloses his sexual orientation to a

colleague and is later shunned by not being invited to important staff meetings as

before. An example of instrumental aggression in children is where a strong boy

looks for a target that is less strong to take money from on the playground. In this

case, the strong boy (a bully) has a purpose for his aggressive action. In the adult

workplace context, instrumental aggression would occur when the boss who

threatens to fire a worker if that person does not drop everything and go buy the

boss some coffee. (Misawa, 2009, p. 51)

These examples above illustrate difference between affective aggression and instrumental

aggression, which connect with different types of bullying. Scholars and researchers in

bullying, such as Adams (1992), Olweus (2003), Persons, (2005), and Randall (2001),

have pointed out several different components of bullying:

1. It is a aggressive and intentionally harmful;

2. It is carried out repeatedly after the first incident;

3. It occurs in a relationship where there is an imbalance of power;

4. It usually occurs with no provocation from the victim;

5. It is an initial desire to hurt; and

6. The bully enjoys hurting the weaker person.

Direct and Indirect Bullying

Elliott (1997) stated that "bullying takes many forms. It can be physical, like a

child being pushed, beaten or thumped with knuckles. It can involve a weapon and

threats….Bullying can also be verbal and emotional, racial or sexual" (p. 2). Researchers and scholars agree that bullying is a form of aggression (Adams, 1992; Csóti, 2003; Olweus, 1993, 2003, 2004; Randall, 1997, 2001; Rayner & Cooper, 2006). Further, those researchers and scholars categorized types of bullying by types of aggression in bullying in both childhood and adulthood. For example, Harris and Petrie (2003) provided a succinct summary of the types of bullying:

> Not all bullying is obvious, as hitting or verbal teasing are. Sometimes bullying is subtle, such as consistently excluding victims from groups and activities. This type of bullying is particularly insidious, because often victims do not realize that they are being bullied. (p. 2).

Also, a number of scholars and researchers who specialize bullying have proposed a distinction between direct and indirect forms of bullying. For example, direct bullying refers to face-to-face physical or verbal confrontations, while indirect bullying is usually described as less visible harm-doing, such as spreading rumors and social exclusion (Rigby, Smith, & Pepler, 2004).

Harris and Petrie (2003) stated that "bullying can be direct and also indirect" (p. 2) and provided the list of factors in direct bullying and indirect bullying. They provided a comprehensive list of behaviors in direct bullying and indirect bullying.

Table 2.1

Direct Bullying and Indirect Bullying

Direct Bullying	Indirect Bullying
Taunting, teasing	Influencing others to taunt or tease
Calling names	Influencing others to call others names
Verbally criticizing unfairly	Influencing others to criticize unfairly
Threatening/obscene gestures	Spreading rumors about others
Menacing stares	Making anonymous phone calls
Hitting	Ignoring others intentionally
Using a weapon or threatening to use one	Influencing others to physically hurt someone
Stealing or hiding another's belongings	Excluding others on purpose

Note. From *Bullying: Bullies, the victims, the bystanders* (p. 3), by S. Harris and G. F. Petrie, 2003, Lanham, MD: A ScarecrowEducation Book. Copyright 2003 by Sandra Louise Koger Harris and Garth Franklin Petrie.

In addition to the distinction between direct and indirect forms of bullying, scholars and researchers such as Newman and Baron (1998), Sanders (2004), and Smith and Sharp (1994), distinguished the difference between direct aggression, direct verbal aggression, and indirect aggression. Neuman and Baron (1998) defined workplace aggression as "efforts by individuals to harm others with whom they work, or have worked, or the organizations in which they are presently, or were previously, employed" (p. 395). Neuman and Baron (1998) argued that aggression is a natural human behavior

and occurs within three dichotomous conditions that were proposed by Buss (1961): verbal-physical, direct-indirect, and active-passive. Randall (2001) provided a succinct summary of those three conditions:

> Verbal forms consist of efforts to cause harm using words, whereas physical forms of aggression make use of overt actions to cause harm. Direct forms of aggression are those where harm is delivered directly to targets, whereas indirect forms inflict harm through the actions of other gents or on people, objects and/or resources that are valued by the target. Active aggressive forms cause harm through the performance of some behaviour, whereas passive forms cause the damage by withholding something valued by the victims. (Randall, 2001, p. 41)

In sum, direct aggression is characterized as physical involvement, such as kicking, punching, and pushing. It is a face-to-face phenomenon, which enables a bully to directly damage a victim. Direct verbal aggression includes name-calling and threats and occurs in a space where the bully and the victim are simultaneously located. The least identified and most difficult to define is indirect aggression (Smith & Sharp, 1994). It involves behaviors such as spreading rumors and telling takes. "Direct aggression is explicitly exhibited from the aggressor to the victim whereas indirect aggression involves a third party" (Sanders, 2004, p. 5). Contemporary scholars and researchers on bullying in both K-12 and the workplace seem to agree with these conditions of bullying in school contexts and work settings.

Summary

This section addressed the concept of aggression. Researchers and scholars found that bullying has a strong relation to aggression. Many researchers have addressed direct

bullying and indirect bullying. They also have provided a list of behaviors for each type of bullying. Researchers and scholars pointed out that both direct bullying and indirect bullying exist everywhere including within school contexts and the workplace.

Prevalence of Bullying

This section addresses the degree to which bullying occurs in American culture. Both the traditional school setting, K-12 and the workplace are examined by examining national studies.

Bullying in Childhood: K-12 Contexts

The first systematic investigation into bullying in education that received great attention was conducted and published by Olweus (1973). It gave momentum to bullying research in Scandinavian and European countries (Olweus, 1978, 1993; Randall, 2001). Olweus (1973) surveyed bullying behaviors of primary and secondary school students in Scandinavian countries and found that bullying was promulgated by school culture. He found that children were either bullying other children or being bullied by other children daily. He also discovered that an average of 7% of school children behaved as bullies from the second through ninth grades while the rate of being bullied diminished from second grade to 15% and in ninth grade to 5%. The average percentage of students being bullied also decreased with age from approximately 12% in grades 2-6 to 5% in grades 7-9. More recently, in the United States the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) found a similar result in its 2001 survey: as the grade levels of students increased, students' likelihood of being bullied decreased. For example, 14% of 6th-graders reported being bullied at school, compared to 7% of 9th-graders, and 2% of 12th-graders (DeVoe, Peter, Noonan, Snyder, & Baum, 2005).

However, misconceptions emerged from the results of research reports and data about bullying. For instance, although the NCES survey showed that the *number* of reported bullying incidents in schools generally decreased in 2001 from its two earlier surveys (1999 and 1995), as student grade levels increased from sixth to twelfth, the *percentage* of students who reported that they had been bullied at school actually increased from 5 to 8% (DeVoe & Kaffenberger, 2005; DeVoe, Peter, Noonan, Snyder, & Baum, 2005). Further, how NCES defined what was meant by "at school" differed in each of its three surveys. While, the 1999 survey defined "at school" as "in the school building, on the school grounds, or on a school bus" (DeVoe & Kaffenberger, 2005, p. 17), the 2001 and 2003 surveys defined it as "in the school building, on school property, on a school bus, or *going to and from school*" (DeVoe et al., 2005, p. 39; emphasis added). Not only are the data, therefore, from these 1999 and the 2001/2003 surveys not strictly comparable, but the fact that the data was gathered across different cultures and time periods is also problematic. Nevertheless, all three surveys as well as the Olweus study defined bullying the same way (if not in the same context). Even if the *rate* of bullying occurrences does decrease as children advance in grades, bullying continues to occur throughout adolescence and into adulthood (Namie & Namie, 2000; Randall, 1997, 2001).

Olweus (1978) also investigated bullies, whipping boys (victims), and well-adjusted boys (regular boys who were in a controlled group in the study). His research focused on "the possible presence of, and the mechanisms behind, more serious forms of mobbing, in which individual children and youths…are subjected to physical and/or mental violence and oppression from other children and youths during somewhat longer

periods of time" (p. 6). Olweus (1978) explored bullying from a psychosocial perspective. In a classroom context in school where the school size was not significant, a bullying problem was related to "the character of the interpersonal relations among boys in the class" (Olweus, 1978, p. 77). He also found psychological and developmental aspects of bullying in a school setting:

> The highly aggressive boys did not in general 'outgrow' their aggressive reaction patterns. And those boys who were unpopular and the target of other boys' aggression, respectively, in grade 6 were in large measure the least liked and the most attacked boys in grade 9. (Olweus, 1978, pp. 130-131)

Olweus's research (1973, 1978) showed that bullying among school children did exist in Scandinavian countries. Olweus (1995) stated that researchers and scholars in other countries followed with investigations into bullying in K-12 school settings in "Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, Australia, Canada, and the United States" (p. 196).

In the United States, investigating bullying in school settings has generated strong research from scholars since the 1990s. One of the major national investigations on bullying was implemented by Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simons-Morton, and Scheidt in 2001. Their study's purpose was to "measure the prevalence of bullying behavior among U.S. youth and to determine the association of bullying and being bullied with indicators of psychosocial adjustment, including problem behavior, school adjustment, social/emotional adjustment, and parenting" (Nansel et al., 2001, p. 2094). Their study was based on the World Health Organization's *Healthy Behaviour in School-aged Children* survey, which was completed by 15,686 students in grades 6 through 10 in private and public schools across the United States. Nansel et al. (2001) found that

bullying permeated the U.S. grade school culture. They reported that 29.9% of the total sample of the survey responded that they were involved in some kind of bullying. Of the 29.9% of the sample that indicated their involvement of bullying, 13.0% of the respondents reported that they were bullies, 10.6% of the respondents reported that they were targets of bullying, and 6.3% of the respondents reported that they were both bullies and targets of bullying. This study showed that bullying in school is a critical issue.

Nansel, Overpeck, Haynie, Ruan, and Scheidt (2003) further investigated the relationship between bullying and violence in schools in the United States based on the national survey study of Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla et al. (2001). Nansel, Overpeck, Haynie, et al. (2003) reported that bullying is associated with significant violence-related behaviors such as weapon carrying, frequent fighting, and being injured in a fight. According to Nansel, Overpeck, Denise et al. (2003), behaviors like these "are believed to be important indicators of violence because of their potential for physical harm" (p. 349). They found that there were positive correlations between bullying and those violence-related behaviors. They stated that those correlations were "stronger for bullies than targets, and stronger for bullying that occurred away from school" (p. 353). From their research, it becomes obvious that bullying cannot be ignored in school settings.

Bullying in Adulthood: Workplace Contexts

When researchers look at bullying in adulthood, the major focus is typically physical or psychological harassment and violence in workplace and community settings. (Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2005; Furnham & Taylor, 2004; Horn, 2002; Koonin & Green, 2004; Namie & Namie, 2000, 2003; Needham, 2003; Randall, 1997, 2001). Since many adults have jobs outside of their homes, adult bullying in the workplace has been

more extensively studied in recent years by scholars not only in the social sciences but also in the business fields of human resource development and organizational development (Bowie, 2002).

In the United States, workplace aggression seems to include bullying at the workplace. There are two national surveys of workplace aggression that were conducted by the National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University (2000) and by the Northwestern National Life Insurance Company (1993). The former found that 33% of respondents reported experiencing verbal abuse at work, and the latter found that 19% of respondents reported experiencing work related harassment and 7% reported threats of physical harm.

Keashly (1998) reviewed the collection of bullying-related research. At the time of her publication in 1998, she chose the terms *emotional abuse* in the workplace. She defines it as the hostile verbal and nonverbal behaviors, independent of racial or sexual content, directed at a person to gain control over, even subservience from, that person. Later, Keashly collaborated with Jagatic to investigate how much bullying permeates the workplace in the United States (Keashly & Jagatic, 2003). The percentage of the stratified random sample of 1,110 Michigan residents who reported being mistreated within the past twelve months was 28%, which qualified as bullying. Of those, 77% reported being bothered by the experience.

Namie and Namie (2000, 2003) also investigated workplace bullying within the U.S. workplace. Namie and Namie (2003) stated that "until now, workplace bullying has not been highly publicized. Yet one in five U.S. workers has been a victim, with adverse consequences for individuals, organizations, and society" (p. 1). They looked for how

gender affects bullying phenomena in the workplace. They found that when the targeted person is a woman, she is bullied by a woman in 46% of cases; when the target is a man, he is bullied by a woman 28 % of the time. Overall, women comprise the majority of bullied people, which is about 72%.

Summary

This section addressed how much bullying permeates American culture by looking at national studies of bullying both in K-12 schools and the workplace. Although there was a misconception that bullying is a childhood phenomena. In fact, the term bullying has very strong association with children's behaviors and many scholars and researchers have investigated the phenomena. However, recent studies of bullying have indicated that bullying is developmental and does not disappear when people get older. In fact, national studies showed that bullying exists widely in adulthood in the workplace.

Key Characters in Bullying

Researchers and scholars of bullying described that there are at least three groups of people involved in the phenomenon of bullying: bullies, victims, and bystanders (Harris & Petrie, 2003; Namie & Namie, 2000; Randall, 2001). Contemporary researchers and scholars of bullying indicated that there are several subcategories within those three groups. This section will attempt to reveal what characteristics bullies, victims, and bystanders have both in school and workplace contexts.

Profile of Bullies

Researchers and scholars of bullying have explored what kinds of people bully others in educational and workplace contexts (Elliott, 1997; Henkin, 2005; Macklem, 2003; Olweus, 1993; Orpinas & Horne, 2006; Pearce, 1997; Randall, 1997, 2001; Smith

& Sharp, 1994). They pointed out that people who are about to bully others have a number of factors. Parsons (2005) provided three types factors: learned bullying, control disorder, and bullying for gain and control.

Bullying is a learned behavior, so people can learn to bully in several ways including "being treated with aggression, witnessing acts of aggression, or being rewarded for aggressive behavior" (Parsons, 2005, p. 13). Aggressive behaviors include the use of physical punishment, inconsistent punishment, and overindulgence and permissiveness, which relate to children's aggressive behavior. Scholars and researchers such as Olweus (1993), Orpinas and Horne (2006), and Parsons (2005) argued that bullies' upbringing in their childhood could determine whether children become bullies.

Although most bullying is a learned behavior, some people are born with or develop a behavioral control disorder (Parsons, 2005). These people feel at odds with a hostile world: "they are emotional raw nerves, misreading and misunderstanding any kind of interaction with others and unable to control their own often violent impulses" (Parsons, 2005, p. 12). They feel entirely justified in their behavior because they are reacting to perceived threats and provocation.

Bullying for gain and control indicates that people have a conscious goal in mind when they bully others. They deliberately use aggression to get what they want from some else (Orpinas & Horne, 2006; Parsons, 2005). These people engage in voluntary aggression for their own advantage. Because they detect a pattern of aggression in the world around then, they also feel justified in their behavior (Randall, 2001). Another aspect of this type of bully is that they see the act as social interaction in terms of establishing and maintaining a hierarchy (Namie, 2003; Smith & Sharp, 1994). They

deliberately "employ coercion, manipulation, and deception to solidify their dominance in the social pecking order and reinforce their sense of status and self-esteem" (Parsons, 2005, p. 13). These people are often seen as agreeable, well-meaning, confident, and capable individuals, yet reserve a totally different face for their targets. Their sense of entitlement, elitism, and arrogance make them feel justified in their behavior (Elliott, 1997).

Pearce (1997) developed three elements of bullying:

1. The deliberate use of aggression;

2. An unequal power relationship between the bully and victim; and

3. The causing of physical pain and/or emotional distress. (Pearce, 1997, p. 70)

Pearce (1997) stated that the "aggression of the bully can take many different forms, ranging from teasing at the mild end to physical violence or emotional abuse at its most extreme" (p. 70). So it is imperative to distinguish different types of bullies. Many researchers and scholars of bullying agree that there are at least three types of bullies: The aggressive bully, the anxious bully, and the passive bully.

According to researchers and scholars, such as Olweus (1993), Pearce (1997), and Randall (2001), most bullies are categorized as being aggressive. They are prepared to direct their aggression against peers and coworkers and they see little wrong in their aggression and bullying. Aggressive bullies are often involved in other antisocial behavior and they are not anxious, insecure or without friends (Olweus, 1993; Orpinas & Horne, 2006). The following characteristics are typical of the aggressive bully that was listed by Pearce (1997, p. 74): a) aggressive to a person, no matter what position of authority; b) poor impulse control; c) violence seen as positive quality; d) wishing to

dominate; e) physically and emotionally strong; f) insensitive to the feelings of others; and g) good self-esteem.

According to Pearce (1997), about 20% of bullies fall into this second category, the anxious bully. These bullies are typically "more disturbed than any of the other types of bully or victim and they share many of the characteristics of the victim at the same time as being a bully" (p. 74). The anxious bullies: a) are anxious and aggressive; b) have low self-esteem; c) are insecure and without friends; d) pick on unsuitable victims; e) provoke attacks by other bullies; and f) are emotionally unstable.

The majority of bullying involves more people than just the bully and the victim. The bullies often gather a small group around them and then choose a single victim who is isolated from any protective relationships (Olweus, 1993). The bully's followers get involved partly to protect themselves and partly to have the status of belonging to the group (Coloroso, 2002). They are "less common than the aggressive bullies. They are less likely to start the bullying but will follow the aggressive bully if the bullying behavior is rewarded" (Orpinas & Horne, 2006, p. 19). This is the third category, the passive bully or the follower (Orpinas & Horne, 2006). The followers become involved in bullying in a passive way and have the following characteristics: a) easily dominated; b) passive and easily led; c) not particularly aggressive; d) have empathy for others' feelings; and e) feel guilty after bullying. (Pearce, 1997, p. 74)

Profile of Victims

Most of the time, the victims of bullies are people on the bottom rung of the social ladder. Researchers and scholars of bullying agreed that there are at least two categories of the victims of bullies: passive and provocative (Coloroso, 2002; Harris & Petrie,

2003). However, most victims of bullying are passive (Harris & Petrie, 2003). These people tend to be anxious, sensitive, insecure, and cautious. They do not attempt to retaliate when they are mistreated. They tend to be isolated or socially withdrawn (Macklem, 2003). Passive victims tend to have difficulty standing up for themselves when engaged with a group of people. Passive victims are the most frequently targeted type (Harris & Petrie, 2003). They usually do not have a single, solid friendship among their peers (Olweus, 1993). Passive victims suffer from low self-esteem and rarely report the incidents of bullying, because they fear retaliation (Macklem, 2003). "They see themselves as unattractive, stupid, and as failures. They have little sense of humor and sometimes are described as depressed" (Harris & Petrie, 2003, p. 5).

> Orpinas and Horne (2006) also described passive victims as follows:
> They may exhibit some characteristics that make them easier targets of aggression: having few friends or no lasting friendships, having fewer verbal skills to respond to verbal taunting, or appearing shy and anxious. Sometimes just being different (e.g., having an accent, being unusually tall, or dressing against the mainstream) may be enough to increase the likelihood of being the target of bullying. (pp. 20-21)

Whereas passive victims are quiet and shy, provocative victims are more active, assertive, and somewhat more confident (Byrne, 1994; Harris & Petrie, 2003; Olweus, 1993). Through inappropriate behaviors, such as teasing and annoying behaviors, provocative victims "may antagonize not only a bully but also the entire classroom" (Orpinas & Horne, 2006, p. 22) and workplace. They continue their behavior, perceived by others to be annoying, until someone points that out to them. Olweus (1993) described

the provocative victim as generally the least popular person with their peers because provocative victims' behavior is often so disruptive that everyone reacts negatively to it.

Profile of Bystanders

The third character within the act of bullying is bystanders. Scholars and researchers such as Coloroso (2002), Harris and Petrie (2003), and Orpinas and Horne (2006) described bystanders as "those who witness the aggression" (Orpinas & Horne, 2006, p. 23). Bystanders "see what is happening yet do not understand what is occurring well enough to deal with their own emotional reactions. Nor are they able to construct strategies to prevent the bullying behavior" (Harris & Petrie, 2003, p. 7). There are two groups within bystanders: those who are part of the problem and those who are part of the solution (Orpinas & Horne, 2006). Bystanders who are part of the problem typically encourage bullies to continue bullying the victim or to retaliate. For example, bystanders may tell the bully to not stop fighting even when the bully is showing signs of losing interest in the act of bullying. Often, this kind of bystander enjoys seeing other people being bullied (Orpinas & Horne, 2006).

On the other hand, bystanders who are part of the solution are those who try to help solve or defuse the problem (Coloroso, 2002; Orpinas & Horne, 2006). They may choose to ask for help from someone who has more power or situates in a higher position. However, this type of bystanders could experience anger, sadness, and fear like the victims of bullying (Harris & Petrie, 2003). Also, this type of bystanders may "feel guilt when they cannot help the victim and fear that the same thing might happen to them" (Harris & Petrie, 2003, p. 8). Orpinas and Horne (2006) called this type of bystander a secondary victim to an act of bullying.

Summary

This section discussed three main roles in the bullying phenomenon: bullies, victims, and bystanders. There are three types of bullies: aggressive, anxious, and passive. Each enjoys the imbalance of power between themselves and their victims, as scholars and researchers of bullying have noted that all bullies are usually physically or psychologically stronger than their victims. There are two types of victims: passive and provocative. Passive victims are the ones that most people mean when they assign the label "victim" to a person; they are quiet, shy, and do not fight back when mistreated by others. Provocative victims are more active, assertive, and somewhat more confident. However, they annoy other people and are unpopular among their peers. Bystanders can be divided into two types: those who are part of the problem and those who are part of the solution. Some bystanders are willing to help the victims (part of the solution), but others encourage the bullies to continue bullying the victims (part of the problem). Some scholars stated that bystanders who try to help the victims may become secondary victims of the bullying process because they "may not have the skills or the knowledge to stop the bullying and may feel guilty for not doing anything to stop it" (Orpinas & Horne, 2006, p. 23).

Consequences of Bullying

Researchers and scholars of bullying found that victims of bullying reported both physical and psychological negative effects from bullying. Some victims reported depression and low self-esteem as well as other problems related to stress. Garrett (2003) stated possible affects of being bullied as follows: a) stomachaches; b) nightmares; c)

reluctance to go to school; d) loss of confidence; e) loss of contact with friends; and f)

isolation (Garrett, 2003, p. 18).

Bullying creates a hostile environment because the victims of bullying feel

negative about the environment. Bullying has an impact on other students at school who

are bystanders to bullying (Orpinas & Horne, 2006). Bullying creates a climate of fear

and disrespect in schools and has a negative impact on student learning (Olweus, 1993).

For example, students who are the target of bullying are likely to avoid going to school

because they fear for their safety (Olweus, 1993). Bullying also creates a hostile

environment in the workplace. Employees who are the victims of bullying take more sick

leaves (Marano, 1995). All of these consequences are likely to be detrimental to personal,

academic, and professional life, which may result in victims receiving lower grades,

being isolated and even transferring school or company or quitting their job.

Olweus (1993) and Nansel, Overpeck, Haynie, Ruan, and Scheidt (2003) found

that bullying can be a sign of other serious antisocial and/or violent behavior. Children

and youth who frequently bully their peers are more likely than others to get into frequent

fights, be injured in a fight, vandalize or steal property, drink alcohol, smoke, be truant

from school, drop out of school, and carry a weapon.

Some victims of bullying are living with thoughts of suicide (Garbarino & deLala,

2002). Orpinas and Horne (2006) stated that "suicide and homicide are relatively rare

consequences of bullying" (p. 31). However, Speaker and Petersen (2000) indicated that

school children's suicide rates are relatively high in terms of experiencing some kind of

school violence. They stated that there is strong relationship between bullying and suicide

ideation.

Klomek, Marrocco, Kleinman, Schonfeld, and Gould (2007) also found that a relationship between being a victim of bullying and suicide. Their study was to assess the association between bullying behavior and depression, suicide ideation, and suicide attempts among adolescents. They found that frequent adolescent exposure to victimization or bullying from others was related to high risks of depression, suicide ideation, and suicide attempts. Their finding also showed that "both victims and bullies are at high risk and the most troubled adolescents are those who are both victims and bullies" (p. 40). They concluded that victimization and bullying are potential risk factors for adolescent depression and suicide.

Bullying negatively influences people's physical and psychological health. Researchers and scholars stated that any exposure to bullying negatively affects people's health and life (Harris & Petrie, 2003).

Positionality and Power Dynamics

The culture of the United States represents a multicultural perspective. The metaphor of *a melting pot* symbolizes the population in the United States because, although there were many different cultures in the United States, the dominant European culture extended its domination over the non-Europeans, often referred to from the dominant White cultural perspective as *others* (Sissel & Sheared, 2001). By domination, the European culture became the conventional norm in the United States, referred to in kind as *White supremacy* (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Manglitz, 2003; Shore, 2006; Sullivan, 2003).

White supremacy greatly influenced non-White cultures in America. It perpetuated power relations among non-White people in the United States, and

emphasized the European tradition of male supremacy and Christianity. Therefore, it created a social power hierarchy based on European ideals, particularly along racial, gender and religious lines (Hays & Collins, 1994). Non-White people were forced to live as the "Others" in a *White-world* that devalued dark/red colored skin and hair. Europeans imposed their Eurocentric cultural perspectives crafted specifically over time so that they could rule over others (Shore, 2006).

Once White people dominated social positions, they assigned social norms that differed from social norms of immigrant, trafficked and native people within America (Hays & Collins, 1994). While White norms were said to be based on Christianity, they were actually based on whatever gave power to the White culture. Non-White people would not be given access to the things White people found pleasurable. Large numbers of people, the slaves, were treated like animals.

Under the European-based patriarchy, women had very little power (Collins, 1990). Even though some women aligned with White racial supremacy, even they, too, received less rights than their male counterparts (Murray, 1970). For example, writings of feminists of color indicated that although People of Color were eventually able to obtain racial equalities in the U.S. Constitution, the life conditions for *women* of color did not improve (Collins, 1990; hooks, 1989; Murray, 1970).

In the patriarchal White society, the preferred sexual orientation is heterosexual. Although different cultures view sexual orientation differently, most of them now have similarly strong views about sexual orientation because of Western influence. Sexual minorities were actively involved in both the Women's and Civil Rights movements. In fact, the gay rights movement is a branch from the 1980s of the ongoing feminist

movement. As a result of the gay rights movement, people have started revealing and expressing their sexual orientations.

The social movements, such as Women's Movement in the early 20th century and gay movement in the late 20th century, were derived from the concept of democracy. In the ideal democratic society, all people are equal and rightly protected simply by being human. Social movements made people became more aware of how social context affected people's everyday lives. The awareness continues to spread throughout humanity. Even now, conventional higher education, with its long history of lending credibility to White heterosexual male privilege, is questioning whether education really is able to serve the diverse college populations of today (Johnson-Bailey, 2001). In other words, higher education is now challenged by democracy to disassociated education from White male supremacy to meet the needs of a diverse social context.

Positionality

In the last decade, scholars have increasingly focused on the concept of *positionality* in higher education. A groundbreaking study on positionality was published by Maher and Tetreault in 1994. In their book, *The Feminist Classroom: An Inside Look at How Professors and Students Are Transforming Higher Education for Diverse Society,* they defined positionality as the way "people are defined not in terms of fixed identities, but by their location within shifting networks of relationships, which can be analyzed and changed" (p. 164). Correspondingly, Martin and Gunten (2002) described the term positionality as "a concept that acknowledges that we are all raced, classed, [oriented,] and gendered, and that these identities are relational, complex, and fluid positions rather than essential qualities" (p. 46). We all live framed with socially constructed positions in

society, memberships to which, wanted or not, we belong. Such automatic categorization is embedded in our society and is often at work in higher education.

The concept of positionality has led many scholars in higher education to examine their own *positions*. One might call such examinations *critical reflections* based on outcomes that lead to better understandings of one's practices (Brookfield, 1990; Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1998, 2000; Tisdell, 1995, 2001). Such studies (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1998, 2001; Tisdell, 1995, 2001) have examined the positionalities of gender, race, and/or class in adult higher education settings. In fact, most studies (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1998, 2001; Tisdell, 1995, 2001) of that sort addressed two or more positionalities, such as gender and race; race, gender, and class; or gender and sexuality. After all, positionalities are socially constructed identities, and people do not have just one positionality but rather multiple positionalities.

Positionality and Learning Experience

Positionality influences people's life experiences; depending on what social positions people belong to, they experience treatment differently from others, either better or worse. Usher, Bryant, and Johnston (1997) pointed out that people's experiences are valuable, and they described how experiences contribute to people's lives. Other researchers (Jarvis, 1987; Lindeman, 1961) also studied the learning process of adults in general, and they pointed to the value of *learning-from-experiences* in adult learning. As long as people are alive, each moment is an experience for them. In other words, according to researchers, people might be learning-from-experience, either consciously or unconsciously, every moment of their lives. Freire (1970) stated that people learn from experience because they always play a role in each situation.

The learning process (Jarvis, 1987) is one of the adult-learning models. Jarvis stated that people learn from their experiences at all times. He wrote, "all learning begins with experience" (p. 16). His learning process model mainly dealt with the gap between one's past experiences (which have already become a part of one's knowledge or common sense) and the experience that is happening. He described nine adult-learning stages that happen within a sociocultural context. Merriam and Caffarella (1999) gave a concise overview of Jarvis's model of the learning process in their book, *Learning in Adulthood*:

> A person enters a social situation, has an experience, and can exit unchanged because he or she ignored the event or took it for granted. One might also go from the experience to memorization and exit either unchanged or changed. For a higher type of learning, a person might go from the experience to reasoning and reflecting to practice and experimentation to evaluation to memorization and to being changed. (pp. 284-285)

Clark and Caffarella (1999) wrote about two important perspectives of adult development, which are sociocultural factors of development and the integrative paradigm of development. They stated that sociocultural perspectives include private and public outlooks. Social roles come along with us at every point in human life. Each person has his or her own social roles. Each person's role can also be viewed collectively as the role of a community. How people belong within the role of a community forms their social position, which is positionality.

When we address sociocultural perspectives and the social roles of individuals in adult and higher education, key factors are often ignored. Merriam and Caffarella (1999)

stated "not everyone wants to admit that the issues of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation have or should have any educational relevance" (p. 127). Those factors are important issues to consider in contemporary education and in the learning process of adults because these factors impact adult life. Some people are oppressed by other individuals or society because of these factors. It is necessary to acknowledge them in education. Jarvis's model focused on dealing with learning in the sociocultural context, but Jarvis unfortunately did not expand the model to minorities. Jarvis' model of the learning process applies to White adults. The context he used does not appear to include diverse races or sexual orientations. It is likely that some people might not be able to live Jarvis's scenarios because of their race, ethnicity, gender, class, disability, wealth, and/or sexual orientation. In other words, their learning processes could be blocked by invisible barriers.

Power Relationships Based on Race and Ethnicity

Race is a significant and influential factor in the U.S., according to scholars like Baumgartner and Merriam (2000). People in the United States are from different racial backgrounds, some of which have given shape to social movements (Sissel & Sheared, 2001). Many scholars, especially those who have one or more minority identities, now discuss issues of race in academia (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Haney Lopez, 1995a; Johnson-Bailey, 2002a; Moya, 2000; Peterson, 1999; Rocco & Gallagher, 2004; Sissel & Sheared, 2001). Three recent studies (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Johnson-Bailey, 2002a, 2002b; Sissel & Sheared, 2001) have provided strong theoretical perspectives on race in adult higher education. The discussion of race originated with African Americans who had been severely marginalized and relegated to

a non-human status by the White male supremacist society that dominated the U.S. (Tate, 1997).

Although race symbolizes diversification in the U.S. population, there are both positive and negative sides to it. Chavez and Guido-DiBrito (1999) stated, "Racial identity is a surface-level manifestation based on what we look like and yet has deep implications in how we are treated" (p. 40). They also pointed to two sociocultural effects of the process of racial identity development:

1. Positive development: People learn "social and cultural value through religious, familial, neighborhood, and educational communities" (p. 39), which makes them accepting of society. People are taught by such social and cultural environments to examine their identity throughout their lives.

2. Negative influence: People have to select their identity to be suited for the society through pop-culture and media which often negatively portray cultures other than mainstream (White culture).

There are several definitions of race given from many different scholars. Moya (2000) described race under the postmodern perspective of English literature. She stated that "classification into which any given individual is placed in the United States today is based much more on how they look, speak, act, walk, think, and identify than on the word or words on their birth certificates" (p. 95). Haney Lopez (1995b) defined race from the perspective of the study of law:

The characteristics of our hair, complexion, and facial features still influence whether we are figuratively free or enslaved. Race dominates our personal lives. It manifests itself in our speech, dance, neighbors, and friends…. Race determines

our economic prospects…. Race permeates our politics…. In short, race mediates

every aspect of our lives. (p. 192)

He also defined race from a historical view. He wrote that race was created to categorize

immigrants and keep track of their numbers. Race is still a tool to measure and categorize

individual's "skin color, facial features, national origin, language, culture, ancestry, the

speculations of scientists, popular opinion, or some combination of the above, and which

of these or other factors would govern in those inevitable cases where the various indices

of race contradicted each other" (Haney Lopez, 1995b, p. 543).

Alper and Beckwith (2002) argued that race is a facade. They stated that

"Although it is not widely known, for many years researchers in genetics have

accumulated evidence that physical and physiological characteristics are not suitable

categories for defining races" (p. 177). Physical features should not categorize people,

because two people from the same *race* are usually more genetically diverse than two

people from a different *race*. Genetics suggests that human genes do not play important

roles when race is defined.

In the field of education, there are also many scholars who are researching current

issues on race. Merriam and Caffarella (1999) stated that it is important to know race as

one of the perspectives of adult development because racial identity influences adult

learning and adult education. For Johnson-Bailey (2002a), race comes from

objectiveness and is constructed from sociocultural perspectives. It is "used to organize

people into groups according to their physical appearance" (p. 40). In general, racial

identity seems to be a framework in which individuals categorize others, and it is based

on not only skin color, which perpetuates racism and discrimination (Hayes & Colin,

1994), but also culture, language, national origin, ancestry, the speculations of scientists and scholars in various fields, popular stereotypical thoughts, or some combination of these perspectives (Haney Lopez, 1995b).

Racism in the American Society

Race is an important element in American society because the U.S. population consists of many different racial groups. In the western society, there are several categories used to identify or stereotype individuals. They are: ability, class, gender, language, race, and sexual orientation. These categories limit access to opportunities for people who make up the categories, especially opportunities in education (Sissel & Sheared, 2001). Perhaps, race among them, carries the heaviest consequences in society and history.

Race indicates *People of Color* (not usually *White people*) and it often indicates African Americans in particular (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). Some scholars argue that White is also a race and an identity. Literature shows that when researchers, authors, and people talk about race, they are usually talking about African American, Asian American, Latino/a, Native American, and mixed race people (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Johnson-Bailey, 2001; Kumashiro, 2001; Sissel & Sheared, 2001; Tisdell, 1995). Guy (2004) specifically used the term *colored* in his writing, and he explained his historical reasoning that "the term *colored* was in use at the time of the 1890 census and included Blacks, Chinese, Japanese, and Indians" (p. 55). The ancestors and sometimes the actual people who are non-Whites have experienced a very different history in their culture than the one popularized in the U.S., but such experiences are usually ignored and remain unrecognized by popular culture.

People of Color in the United States have always experienced some kind of discrimination based on their racial and/or ethnic backgrounds (Rocco & Gallagher, 2004). In fact, the United States is a country that was always based on hierarchical classes of humans, a social system "built on a foundation of coercive power that validates that legal system as based on what is in the best interest of the dominant group" (p. 35). People even "rank-order groups according to their alleged contributions and participation in maintaining society" (Johnson-Bailey, 2002a, p. 41). Thus, those who have not been represented in society experience powerlessness and marginalization.

How and why have People of Color been marginalized? To answer this question, some historical components of U.S. history have to be considered (Giroux, 1994). One of the reasons why racism has existed and been maintained for such a long time is because U.S. history has only one viewpoint. Giroux (1994) discussed two types of racism in American history: the old racism and the new racism. He stated that "the old racism developed within the historical legacy of colonialism and modern slavery and rested on a blatant ideological appeal to pseudobiological and pseudoscientific theories of racism to justify inequality, hierarchies, and exploitation as part of the universal order" (p. 37).

In the old racism, people looked at others' differences as inferior and bad. So, people hated others because of differences they could identify. The obvious factor was people's skin color, which indicated that the people were from a different culture other than the White culture. This racism was one of the perspectives of the White culture "that refuses to critically engage in ethical and political terms its own privileged site of enunciation" (Giroux, 1994, p. 36); it conquered society because it produced knowledge of Otherness by constructing biased meanings and making them social commonsense.

Old racism contained two perspectives: belongingness and Otherness. The perspective of

belongingness meant the White perspective, and Otherness meant the non-White

perspectives. This relationship between belongingness and Otherness was a binary

system, in which belongingness surpassed Otherness.

Giroux (1994) stated that new racism has represented the differences and the

multi-dimensional otherness of mainstream society since the 1960s. Those people and

cultures that had been ignored by Whites emerged and wielded their differences to

acquire equalities. While Whites were the only race able to dominate and discriminate the

non-White perspectives in the old racism, Whites came to feel insecure about their

culture's history of domination. The new racism might be described as a fear of losing

White power. The thought of losing power has fostered "a deep ambivalence on the part

of liberals and conservatives about the traditional categories that have been used to

defend racist practices" (p. 37). Since the civil rights movements in the United States, the

population and culture in the country have become mixed. The new racism created more

cultural boundaries and spaces for discrimination in the United States.

The definition of the term *racism* is slightly different among authors in

contemporary literature and research, so it is important to look into several definitions to

see how each scholar has defined it. Colin and Preciphs (1991) defined it as "conscious or

unconscious, and expressed in actions or attitudes initiated by individuals, groups, or

institutions that treat human beings unjustly because of their skin pigmentation. . . .

Racism is expressed in attitudes, behaviors, and institutions" (p. 62). Flannery (1994)

defined the term racism as "the thoughts, acts, and procedures of a system that bases the

power of one group over another on skin color" (p. 17). Weissglass (2001) defines racism

as "the systematic mistreatment of certain groups of people (often referred to as People of Color) on the basis of skin color or other physical characteristics" (p. 72). There are three common themes that have emerged from these definitions of the term *racism*: a) People of Color have been mistreated by a group of White people because their skin colors and their physical characteristics are different from Whites, b) conscious and unconscious attitudes and behaviors from White people toward People of Color are negative, and c) People of Color are discriminated against in institutional settings. Thus, racism consists of a personal dimension, a group dimension, and an institutional dimension. Each dimension oppresses and negatively impacts the lives of People of Color.

Hayes and Colin (1994) described two aspects of racism. The first aspect was that ways of thinking or feeling about racism can be understood as stereotypes that have already been imbued in American culture as natural phenomenon. The stereotypical thoughts of racism are held not only by individuals, but also by White groups as a whole. So, some White people do not recognize how they behave when they see People of Color in their daily lives. The second aspect is that stereotypes have negative implications for People of Color. Some White people think that People of Color are inferior or that they are not compatible with American society. Those two aspects of racism influence American society.

In addition to the two aspects of racism in the United States, Hayes and Colin (1994) pointed out three factors that have perpetuated racism in the American culture. The first factor is *individual beliefs and behavior*. Racism consists of self-perceptions that include an individual's negative attitude and behavior toward People of Color (Hayes & Colin, 1994). An individual plays a crucial role in a society where racism is formed

because an individual's beliefs become a group thought as individuals get together. Hayes and Colin (1994) said that discrimination aimed towards People of Color is conducted both consciously and unconsciously because racists grow up in a culture that teaches negative stereotypes of minority people. The culture is then passed to the next generation.

The second factor is *educational institutions*. Hayes and Colin (1994) point out that both formal curriculum and informal curriculum promote racist beliefs and thoughts. In formal education, there are biased materials and teaching styles that marginalize or ignore the perspectives of People of Color. Also, the interactions among students and between students and teachers are important factors in formulating individual beliefs and thoughts regarding People of Color. Teachers are critical in this aspect because they might transfer their bias to unsuspecting students (blatant racism is not part of most curricula).

The third factor is *organizational policies and practices*. Hayes and Colin (1994) stated that the policies and practices of minorities are institutionalized and based on White male perspectives. Those policies are often based on a continuation of the old racism, which limits access of People of Color to mainstream discourses. Thus, even though the policymakers state that the policies are for minorities, it is not really for minorities because the policies are accessible to White males only, not to People of Color (Hayes & Colin, 1994).

Hayes and Colin (1994) concluded that those factors are a crucial problem in our society because they perpetuate racism. Racism is social problem that negatively influences "all human interactions and social institutions" (p. 14). People, they said, are

not aware of racism or the racist perspectives around them in their daily lives. Being aware of such perspectives might reduce the amount of racism in the United States.

Racism in Higher Education

Hemphill (2001) criticized how the field of adult education has generalized knowledge into practices. As a result, the field of adult education has been dominated by White discourse, and the voices and perspectives of minorities have not often been addressed. He pointed out that the universality and the generalization from the White perspective have perpetuated inequality in American society. The knowledge and the practices in the field of adult education have been primarily from White scholars. He stated two reasons why the dominant group based knowledge, universal knowledge, is a problem in adult and higher education:

1. These universal generalizations operate hegemonically to marginalize learners and practitioners who do not conform to generalized learning or motivational patterns;

2. The generalizations frustrate adult education practitioners who often care about the needs of those who are culturally, socially, economically, and linguistically marginalized. (pp. 15-16)

So, universality uncovers not only the invisibilities of minority perspectives, but also leads to unconnected teachers-students interactions.

Flannery (1994) approached racism from the knowledge that people have in common. She stated that universality perpetuates racism in the United States. In fact, she believes that racism is "individual and collective behaviors that are manifest in our society" (p. 17). Universality plays an important role in the historical perpetuation of

racism because universal knowledge involves incorrect generalizations (Flannery, 1994; Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1998). In fact, generalizations are created, defined, and approved mainly by one group of people, White people, and they have the power to take over other specialized knowledge and have dominated mainstream society and made others inferior. Those powerful people have not been representing others, and have created standardizations and oppressed People of Color (Flannery, 1994; Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 1998). Flannery stated that the field of adult education has valued the universal understandings of racism. She said that there needs to be more diverse understandings for adult learners. Since the perspectives of People of Color have not appeared much in the literature of adult education, "People of Color need to be considered on their own as human subjects" (p. 22) in order to represent differing aspects in the field of adult education. The reason why that diversity is important in the field of adult education and in American society is because common knowledge or stereotypes involve racist perspectives. Flannery, therefore, stated that instead of reexamining universal knowledge to prevent racism, new perspectives that are based on People of Color need to be created because universality perpetuates racism in the society.

The field of education perpetuates racism in American society. According to Johnson-Bailey (2002a), race influences the whole society and is a symbolic element in U.S. society. In such a race-based society, there are, of course, some conflicts between races. From the recent writings of Johnson-Bailey (2001, 2002a), African Americans could not have received a good education during the times of slavery, and even afterwards there was segregation in education between White and Black people. Finally, in the 1960s after the desegregation legal case *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*,

universities and colleges in the United States started to open their doors to Black students and other students of color. Yet, there are still some inequalities in contemporary education, especially in adult and higher education (Johnson-Bailey, 2002a).

Johnson-Bailey, Tisdell, and Cervero (1994) stated that racism exists in the field of adult and higher education, and it keeps People of Color from getting into the mainstream discourse. In addition, they pointed out that U.S. society generally has continued to support racism and specifically implicated the professions in the field of adult and higher education as having perpetuated racism since there is a correlation between adult and higher education and perspectives of adults on society.

The authors stated that racism in adult and higher education has been depicted through three areas: faculty, curriculum, and interactions among faculty and students. The first area that perpetuates racism is the faculty in the graduate school because the faculty members guide learners in the program with knowledge that is produced universally (it does not account for cultural, ethnic, or other differences of its learners), mostly by White scholars (Johnson-Bailey, Tisdell, & Cervero, 1994). In fact, about 95% of the members of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education were White, and that clearly shows that future scholars in the field will be mostly White. There are a few People of Color in the field, but their perspectives do not often appear in the field. This powerlessness perpetuates racism in the field of adult and higher education (Johnson-Bailey, Tisdell, & Cervero, 1994).

The second area that perpetuates racism is the curriculum in the field of adult and higher education. The curriculum was developed by White males when the field was created, and "what gets taught and what has counted as true knowledge, throughout the

entire educational system, has generally represented a White world view" (Johnson-Bailey, Tisdell, & Cervero, 1994, pp. 67-68).

The third thing that perpetuates racism is the interaction among students and teachers. Racism exists in the educational settings because both students and teachers in adult and higher education have some assumptions regarding their students' and their teachers' racial and cultural background. Stereotypical assumptions cause each to look at People of Color as inferior people. When People of Color in higher education are recognized, in most cases they are not recognized for their competency but for the uniqueness of their background (Johnson-Bailey, Tisdell, & Cervero, 1994).

Racism is one of the most negative social perspectives in U.S. society. When scholars examined perspectives of racism in the United States, they all found that racism came from individuals' negative thoughts toward People of Color (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Education, though, can be a tool that society can use to diminish racism. If adults are educated in a non-racist manner, their children will also learn a non-racist perspective. Hayes (1994) stated that "adult education has the potential to be a powerful tool for assisting individuals and institutions to confront racism (and sexism), but adult educators must first recognize and eliminate the racism (and sexism) in their own practice" (p. 77). So, adult and higher educators are playing extremely important roles in society concerning racism.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is based on the fact that a person's skin color becomes an identifier used to categorize that person by other people of dissimilar skin

color. Race is a significant factor in external human development and in social constructions of contemporary society (Ladson-Billings, 2000).

According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), "Critical Race Theory (CRT) movement is a collection of activists in society and scholars in education interested in researching and transforming the relationship shared by race, racism, and power" (p. 2). Solorzano (1997) also defined CRT as "a framework or set of basic perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural and cultural aspects of society that maintain the subordination and marginalization of People of Color" (p. 6). Although there is not a single genetic characteristic possessed by every member of one racial group (Lewontin, Rose, & Kamin, 1984), they do share social characteristics; however, there are huge gaps among racial groups in terms of social privilege in the U.S. Six important themes surround race that Delgado and Stefancic (2001) singled out in CRT: 1) Racism is endemic and ordinary; 2) Our system of White-over-color serves important material and psychological purposes; 3) Race is socially constructed; 4) Different minority groups are racialized at different times depending on economic need; 5) Individuals do not have unitary identities; and 6) A unique voice of color can communicate stories to White people who are unlikely to know the stories.

Asch (2000) stated, "CRT is skeptical about achieving the kind of social transformation that would enable historically excluded groups to achieve and maintain a valued place in American life" (p. 1). CRT helps people who have been marginalized because of their skin color to articulate their voices in society to obtain a more equal status in society for their race.

Although Critical Race Theory focuses broadly on racial perspectives in a whole society and the field of law, it can apply to specific areas such as the experiences of gay male professors of color and gay male adult students of color in higher education. Since White male heterosexual perspectives are embedded in the U.S. and European higher educational system, CRT will give understanding to how the participants' races impact their academic lives.

<p align="center">*Power Relations Based on Sexual Orientation*</p>

Sexual orientation is an important element in contemporary education. However, it has been recognized as a crucial element of human life only for a couple of decades. People's conceptions about sexual orientation are still different and the subject is often controversial. Sexual orientation, for some people, is very private, and rarely talked about in public. For others, sexual orientation is one of their strongest identities, and they openly talk about it every day.

The most common sexual orientation is heterosexuality (Edwards & Brooks, 1999; Grace, 2001; Hill, 1995, 2004; Kumashiro, 2001; Sullivan, 2003; Tisdell, 1995; Wall & Evans, 2000); it has dominated, ignored, and marginalized homosexuality for eons. According to Foucault (1990), the words *homosexual* and *heterosexual* were only created recently in the nineteenth century. At that time, scholars who were researching sexuality tried to categorize sexual behavior (Foucault, 1990). Evans and Wall (2000) stated that the term heterosexuality was actually coined after the term homosexuality was coined; sexual orientation had not existed in the modern era because people assumed that everyone was a) heterosexual, b) a heterosexual pervert, or c) going through a Freudian stage leading to heterosexuality.

In the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, several scholars "especially Kann, Krafft-Ebring, Tardieu, Molle, and Havelock Ellis" (Foucault, 1990, p. 63) classified sexual behaviors other than heterosexual ones as deviant. They could do that because early models of sexual orientation were based on a conservative essentialist presumption—they thought that homosexuality (not yet a term at that time) was deviant because their culture tolerated only heterosexuality. If they encountered homosexual people, they tried to *fix* them by making them into heterosexuals. Recently, it has been shown that human sexual orientation is largely determined before people are born (Foucault, 1990). This finding is helping to open doors for non-heterosexual people in society, but the degree of acceptance and tolerance is exceedingly small despite its attention in the media.

Homosexuality was only thought of as a sexual perversion until Freud began studying sexuality. He introduced the concept that sexuality is an important component of human development (Bocock, 1976). His model of sexual orientation was not based on the immediate psychological perspective (the one which led to labeling homosexuals as perverts) but on the human development perspective. He described sexual orientation as a life cycle, *psychosexual development*, and he hypothesized that sexual development began from infancy and, for all people, went through several stages on the path to puberty, one of which was homosexual in nature (Freud, 1962) (thus the often cited ex-gay mantra that homosexuality is just a phase). Freud also said that sexual attraction to objects and people is related to a child's relationship with the mother and the father during childhood (Freud, 1962); and called it the *Oedipus Complex*. With this model, he

stated that homosexuality was a step in the pathway to normality, by which he meant heterosexuality (Freud, 1962).

Sexual orientation models were fashioned throughout the mid-twentieth century in Europe to prove that non-heterosexual behavior was common. However, those studies were largely destroyed by the Nazis and were not even recognized in "red-blooded" America until the 1970s. Sexual identity models have since started to appear as a field of study. The year 1973 was an especially important year for researchers of sexual orientation because "the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from the diagnostic category of mental illness" (Edwards & Brooks, 1999, p. 50). Since then, homosexuality has *not* been considered a mental illness by the American Psychiatric Association and all other psychological and sociological institutions of credibility, and many scholars now think of homosexuality as another expression of healthy human development. However, a vacuum in research on sexuality was also produced by APA's move that contemporary researchers continue "to fill with normalizing and positive models and less pathologically based theories in relation to sexual orientation" (Edwards & Brooks, 1999, p. 51).

Sexual Orientation in Higher Education

The college campus plays an important role in the lives of college students. In fact, campus climate influences students' learning because it is a part of the students' lives (Dilley, 2002). According to Dilley (2002), a large increase in the reported numbers of LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer) students has occurred since the 1970s. In other words, he stated that there have been an increasing number of *out* students who are proud of themselves as LGBTQ people. As for gay students, they are

becoming more visible and more active in the campus community in the recent years

(Dilley, 2002). As a result of having more *out* students, the research on LGBTQ students

in higher education has been increasing.

Garcia, Adams, Friedman, and East (2002) researched the possible connections in

past abuse, suicide ideation, and sexual orientation among college students. They found

that there was high correlation between sexual orientation and suicide ideation among

college students. They especially stated that gay male students and bisexual male students

reported more frequently than heterosexual male students that they had suicide ideation.

The reason why gay male and bisexual male students think more frequently about suicide

was because they "experience many forms of discrimination, societal stressors, and

outright hatred in their communities" (p. 12). The college environment for the LGBTQ

students has not been fully acknowledged yet by universities and administrations because

there has been "very little in the way of support or role models to guide them through

these experiences" (p. 12). Thus, the U.S. college communities, especially college

administrations, need to look into the diverse student population (Garcia, Adams,

Friedman, & East, 2002) and how to better support them.

The role of administrations in higher education is important because

administrations ensure a safe campus life for all students. Bowen and Bourgeois (2001)

focused specifically on university administrations. The purpose of their study was to

examine the utilization of various social psychology theories that were developed for

understanding and changing biased behavior toward LGB (lesbian, gay, and bisexual)

students. The study found that those university and college administrations that promoted

positive interactions and attitudes among LGB students and heterosexual students

resulted in student comfort ratings that were significantly more positive. Their positive attitude created a positive campus climate for all people. Thus, administrations have an important influence on the campus climate.

College students also play an important role in making a safe campus. Newman, Dannenfelser, and Benishek (2002) stated that students themselves influence their campus; whether or not their campus climate is safe depends on the attitudes students have of each other. The Newman et al. study compared beginning graduate level social work students to beginning graduate level counseling students. They looked specifically at social work students in higher education because a previous study by DeCrescenzo in 1984 had found that "social workers scored at the highest level of homophobia" (p. 274). Thus, they examined the acceptance of lesbians and gay men within such a college environment.

The study concluded that most respondents in a large sample of beginning MSW (Master of Social Work) and graduate counseling students expressed acceptance on the majority of items measuring attitudes toward lesbian and gay people. The results showed that most respondents showed acceptance towards the majority of the items measuring attitudes toward lesbian and gay men, and a minority of the respondents expressed negative attitudes toward lesbian and gay men. The implication of that study was that students of social work and counseling psychology needed to be more engaged in the protection of human rights and private beliefs, and, as a professional obligation, work toward nondiscriminatory treatment of all people.

Aberson, Swan, and Emerson (1999) conducted a study of prejudice and homophobia on campus. They examined the use of sexual orientation as a meaningful

social category and the consequences of using this category in the higher educational settings by asking participants to rate how well a male applicant for a campus-wide AIDS program would relate to the students on campus. There were four control applicants: a gay man who did not justify why he would be a good candidate for the job, one who said why he would be (in a negative manner), and their two heterosexual counterparts—all of whom said they had contracted HIV through a brief, intense sexual encounter.

The researchers found that the label *gay man* did evoke social categorization that led to bias by the participants in their evaluations. The participants favored the heterosexual applicant who did not justify why he would relate to the students on campus, even though the only factor (that was controlled for) between two of the applicants who did not make a justification was their sexual orientation. Theoretically, if no bias existed in the minds of the participants towards gay men, then the ratings for those two applicants would have been equal and not have favored the heterosexual one. They also found that the participants showed their true colors only when there was no negativity from the applicants; the participants did not mimic their favoritism of the heterosexual male applicant who gave negative justifications for relating to the students on campus.

Categorizations have influenced people's lives in the United States before, especially for minority people. (The categorization of race, for example, became racism.) Like bias against racial minorities, U.S. college students did not express bias against gay men overtly; but that does not mean that covert negative attitudes were not present. Thus, it is important to examine the campus climate regularly to ensure a safe learning

environment for all learners. In the campus environment especially, there are diverse students and teachers.

Homophobia and Heterosexism/Heterocentricism in Education

Although there are several researchers who have addressed discriminatory behavior towards racial minorities, there are a few scholars who have addressed discriminatory behavior towards sexual minorities (Obear, 1991). Hill (1995) researched gay education, and specifically addressed one of the issues of sexual minorities in adult education. He stated that the field of adult education "reproduces heterocentric assumptions, social relations, and beliefs" (p. 142). According to him, educational programs, pedagogy, and purpose, through educational institutions or classrooms, influence how learners perceive homophobic and heterocentric feelings towards their sexual orientation, which in turn oppresses learners' lives.

Several researchers (Blumenfeld, 1992; Dilley, 2002; Jagose, 1996; Obear, 1991) defined the term *homophobia* as the irrational fear and hatred of gays and lesbians. Heterosexism is the idea that everything is heterosexual; it is superior to any other form of self-expression, and everything should be heterosexual (Hill, 1995; Rhoads, 1997).

According to Obear (1991), homophobia and heterosexism can be described at the three levels: the cultural level, the institutional level, and the individual level. At the cultural level, homophobia is seen in stereotypes surrounding images of deviance and the disapproval of homosexual relationships (Obear, 1991). Heterosexuality is articulated as a norm and as a cultural obligation or natural behavior in society through mass media. The traditional belief of a heterosexual *family* role is emphasized throughout society. The second level of homophobia is the institutional level. Homophobia at this level limits

legal protection, marriage, and health care. Religious organizations, in general, influence institutional homophobia. The third level is individual homophobia. At this level, individuals show prejudice towards sexual minorities through their personal belief systems. Emotions range from pity and anger to sorrow and disgust, and college campuses are not immune (D'Augelli, 1989). Physical and verbal harassment, rape, and murder are the results of individual homophobia (D'Augelli, 1989, Obear, 1991).

Hill (1995) stated that there are three common types of educational organizations that promote heterocentric adult education: cultural organizations, service organizations, and occupational associations. He specifically describes the cultural organizations and the service organizations. In the cultural organizations, Hill (1995) stated that mass media and libraries influence the education of adults. He pointed out that libraries facilitate educational activities and workshops for adults under the notion that the education being offered gives a community perspective, but these types of educational activities may actually promote the negative side of gay people, which in turn oppresses gay people. Another aspect is the indigenous gay press. It provides appropriate information not only to gay people, but also to heterosexual people. Hill (1995) stated "many small publishing operations are a voice for the voiceless" (p. 149).

Hill (1995) stated that service organizations are major providers of adult education. This can be seen at the well-organized gay and lesbian community centers that have influenced heterocentric communities. "Those centers act as resources for learning, lending libraries and archives, sites of oral history, networking, telephone hot lines, referral services, advice, recreation, speaker bureaus, medical services, and psychological support" (p. 150). These services are designed to educate people about gay and lesbian

issues. They allow non-heterosexual people to broadcast their unheard voices in heterocentric societies.

Homophobia and heterosexism create non-inclusive and unwelcoming environments for gay people (Simoni, 1996). Environments that are negative towards gay men discourage such individuals from coming out and may lead to gay men having low self-esteems (Rhoads, 1997). Rhoads (1997) suggested that coming out increased self-esteem and self-confidence of gay and bisexual males in his study.

Croteau and Lark (1995) showcased ten exemplary efforts that address homophobia and heterosexism and create a more welcoming environment for individuals in higher education. Although this research addressed only the staff of student affairs and professionals who work in universities, the research may also apply to students at the university. Croteau and Lark (1995) described the staff in student affairs as inclusive of lesbian, gay, bisexual people. They treated gay students the same as other heterosexual students on every occasion. Although such practice has been conducted by the staff in higher education to promote welcoming, inclusive, and safe environments, gay students do not yet feel fully part of college environments where they tend to disclose their sexuality. Rhoads (1995) stated that this situation decreases student self-esteem.

There were several studies that focused on how campus environments had influenced students in higher education. However, those studies demonstrated only part of the reality for gay students who were struggling with their identity when they were on university campuses. Even though university faculty and administrators sometimes help guide students who are struggling with their sexuality, Dilley (2002) found that current

mainstream universities created a norm of heterosexism in their learning environments. Likewise, professors used mainly heterocentric practices for their lecture classes.

Once individuals begin to understand how environmental factors interact with sexual identity, faculty and staff should construct environments that embrace gay students and assist students who wish to define their sexuality. In order to create such environments, faculty and staff in higher education need to be aware of their students' situation and be more sensitive to them. It is important for those educators to be more inclusive. In order to be more inclusive in their practice in higher education, they must listen to their learners' voices and understand their students' identities. Sometimes those identities have multiple dimensions.

Queer Theory

Queer Theory is a technique for analyzing social texts with an eye to exposing underlying meanings, distinctions, and relations of power in the larger culture which produces the texts. The resulting analyses reveal complicated cultural issues and problems for the regulations of sexual behavior that often result in the oppression of sexual minorities. Queer Theory looks into anything that comes between normative and deviant, particularly sexual activities and identities. Queer Theory is also concerned with the normative behaviors and identities which define the term "queer." Thus, Queer Theory's expansive scope covers all human behaviors. The theory insists that sexual behaviors, concepts linking sexual behaviors to sexual identities, and categories of normative and deviant sexualities are *all* social constructs (Gamson, 2000). Queer Theory is moving from "explaining the modern homosexual" to questioning the operation of the

heterosexual and homosexual binary. That makes it possible for scholars to become aware and more accepting of sexual orientation in contemporary adult education.

Although research in adult and higher education has usually been conducted under a heterocentric lens, Queer Theory did become a lasting part of the field's newly opening door to diverse adult learners. Queer Theory complements the sociocultural perspective of adult development and the power relationship studies of Critical Theory. Queer Theory will facilitate examination of how sexual orientation impacts participants' relationship with others in higher education, and bring understanding about how sexual orientation intertwines with race.

Bullying and Positionality

There are various kinds of bullying, too. Schwartz (1999) distinguished between generic bullying and hate bullying. Schwartz (1999) defined, on one hand, generic bullying as "targeting a specific child, usually one perceived to be weak, for a violent or aggressive act" (p. 4). Here, she described that bullying is typically a one-on-one activity where one of them is stronger than the other one. On the other hand, hate bullying is "victimizing a person of a different (and perceived to be inferior) gender, race, ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation is a specific kind of bullying. It is the result of the perpetrator's need to exercise power over the victim and publicly claim superiority" (p. 4). Fox and Stallworth (2005) defined racial/ethnic bullying as maltreatment and hostile behavior toward People of Color that "ranges from the most subtle, even unconscious incivilities to the most blatant, intentional emotional abuse" and includes "single incidents and escalating patters of behavior" (p. 439). Also, O'Higgins-Norman (2008) defined homophobic bullying as "any behavior that intentionally harasses or physically

hurts another individual. It can be carried out by one person or by a group of people and it can involve direct or indirect name-calling, exclusion, mocking or damage to a person's property" (p.6).

Regardless of the definition of bullying or the form it assumes, researchers have theorized that bullying is the exercise of societal power (Namie & Namie, 2000; Olweus, 1993; Randall, 2001) in terms of sociocultural and socioeconomic positions. Bullying stems from a power imbalance which has been shaped by social structures that stabilize or disrupt the practice of democracy (Calderón, 2007; Cervero & Wilson, 2001; Johnson-Bailey, 2002a; Sissel & Sheared, 2001; Tisdell, 2001; Tisdell, Hanley, & Taylor, 2000). This power imbalance is reflected through dichotomous positions such as majority/minority, heterosexual/homosexual, and White people/People of Color (Cervero & Wilson, 2001; Johnson-Bailey, 2002a; Johnson-Bailey & Cervero 2000; Misawa, 2006; Tisdell, 2001). However, the relation between people's sociocultural positions and their experience of being bullied appears to be little researched.

Bullying in Higher Education

Aggression and bullying behaviors exist not only in the workplace but also in higher education. In the United States, Chapell, Casey, De la Cruz, Ferrell, Forman, Lipkin, et al. (2004) conducted a study of bullying by students and teachers in college using a modified version of Olweus's (1996, 1999) studies that defined the effect of bullying as:

When someone hurts you by: (1) attacking you verbally using harmful words or names; (2) attacking you physically; (3) making obscene gestures towards you; or

(4) intentionally isolating you or excluding you from a social group. (Chapell et al., 2004, p. 57)

From their bullying questionnaire, these researchers found that over 60% of students had seen a student being bullied by another student, and more than four out of ten of the respondents reported that they had seen a teacher bully a student. Chapell et al. concluded that "teachers are abusing their power and bullying students at all levels of education" (p. 61). Such studies of college professors and undergraduate students indicate that bullying is a common issue in undergraduate school; it may also be a problem in graduate school. From the review of literature in writing this chapter, a relationship between bullying and sociocultural positions is evident in academia.

Chapter Summary

This literature review has identified many significant conventional and contemporary understandings of bullying and positionality. There were three main sections in this chapter. The first section reviewed literature on bullying, gave general definitions of bullying, looked at the prevalence of bullying, at types of bullying, and at agents of bullying in childhood and adulthood. The second section addressed how positionality impacts people's lives. It looked at the perspectives of the greater society and of higher education regarding race and sexual orientation. It also addressed the intersection of race and sexual orientation. The third section addressed racist bullying and homophobic bullying and argued that since power disparity regarding positionality exists in society and higher educational contexts, bullying based on race and sexual orientation also exists. This dissertation study provides new knowledge on the intersection of

bullying and positionality with regards to race and sexual orientation for male professors

in the context of adult and higher education.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to understand how adult bullying influences the lives of gay male faculty members of color in higher education. This study particularly focused on the exploration and examination of gay male faculty members of color's negative experiences and experiences of being victims of adult bullying in higher education related to the intersection of racism and homophobia. The research questions for this study were as follows:

1. How is bullying manifested in the lives of gay male faculty members of color?

2. In what ways does bullying affect gay male faculty members of color's academic lives?

3. How do gay male faculty members of color cope with bullying in higher education?

This chapter describes the methodology that was implemented to answer these research questions, organized in the following sections: design of the study, sample selection, data collection, data analysis, validity and reliability, researcher bias and assumptions, and chapter summary.

Design of the Study

A qualitative approach was implemented in this study to explore how adult bullying influences gay male faculty members of color in higher education. Rather than finding the causal relationships or correlations between multiple variables, this study

aimed to understand the situations, experiences and process of how gay male faculty members of color survive in a post-secondary academic environment. Such research should focus on quality, nature, or essence to provide a better understanding and explanation of the social phenomenon (Merriam, 2002). As stated by Marshall and Rossman (2006), qualitative researchers "are intrigued by the complexity of social interactions expressed in daily life and by the meanings that the participants themselves attribute to these interactions" (p. 2). Therefore, qualitative research does not require laboratory experiments, rather it requires a larger scale of research like societal or natural settings (Glesne, 2006).

According to Marshall and Rossman (2006), the nature of qualitative research, in general, is to understand how individuals engage in an experience, interact with other individuals going through the same experience, and make meaning of an experience. In fact, Glesne (2006) described how qualitative research enabled us "to understand social phenomena from the perspectives of those involved, to contextualize issues in their particular socio-cultural-political milieu, and sometimes to transform or change social conditions" (p. 4). The nature of contemporary society is heavily influenced by how individuals think and make meanings using their own taken-for-granted frames of reference (Mezirow, 2000). Understanding and making meanings from societal phenomena is a pivotal part of qualitative research.

Merriam (2002) also pondered what the actual meaning of qualitative research was and posited that "a central characteristic of qualitative research is that individuals construct reality in interaction with their social worlds. Constructionism thus underlies…[any] basic interpretive qualitative study" (p. 37). Qualitative research

encompasses a number of research methods and terminology such as "naturalistic inquiry, interpretive research, field study, participant observation, inductive research, case study, and ethnography" (Merriam, 1998, p. 5).

Common to all forms of qualitative research are several concepts that help us understand a societal phenomenon and its meaning. Merriam (1998) stated five characteristics of qualitative research. The first characteristic of qualitative research is that researchers "are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed" (p. 6). Qualitative researchers are interested in knowing about how people understand the world and how they construct meanings of the world throughout their life experiences. Also, qualitative research in this sense is to understand the nature of the settings to find out "how all the parts work together to form a whole" (p. 6). Qualitative researchers do not pursue numerical answers to questions to solve problems and do not have a hypothesis to test for answers, rather they seek out phenomenon or cultures that influence people and society. So, qualitative researchers are looking for processes and phenomena that lead to understandings.

A second characteristic of qualitative research is the role of qualitative researchers. In qualitative research, according to Merriam (1998), "the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis" (p. 7). Glesne (2006) also stated that a qualitative researcher "becomes the main research instrument as he or she observes, asks questions, and interacts with research participants" (p. 5). The researcher conducts interviews with people and/or observes culture and phenomena to gather data. While researchers are interviewing and/or observing, they usually keep field notes. After collecting data, the researchers analyze the interviews, observations and field notes.

The findings of research may be different depending on who gathers and analyzes data because the raw data and analyses are bridged by the qualitative researchers themselves as instruments of data collection and analysis. Since the nature of qualitative research is to investigate the meaning-making process, qualitative researchers have to be adaptive and responsive (Merriam & Simpson, 2000).

In addition to the role of qualitative researchers as central data gatherers, it is natural to think of where researchers go to gather data. Gathering qualitative research data involves field work (Merriam, 1998). Unlike quantitative inquiry, the qualitative researcher must physically go to the research site, whether it be a group of people, an institution, or some other field to collect the data. A qualitative researcher must be at the research site to understand a phenomenon and how it involves people. However, there is an exception to this characteristic, document analysis, where qualitative researchers do not engage in fieldwork. Instead, it involves examining written materials, drawings objects, or photographs.

A fourth characteristic of qualitative research is that it "primarily employs an inductive research strategy" (Merriam, 1998, p. 7). Qualitative research is an appropriate methodology to use when there is little knowledge about the problem (Merriam & Simpson, 2000). The qualitative researchers "build toward theory from observations and intuitive understandings gained in the field" (Merriam, 1998, p. 7). The qualitative researchers seek themes, categories, typologies, concepts, or theories from the data. This inductive way of researching is uniquely qualitative.

A fifth characteristic of qualitative research is the "richly descriptive" (Merriam, 1998, p. 8) outcome. Unlike quantitative research that pursues quantifiable answers or

data to match phenomena or hypotheses, qualitative research uses words or drawings to describe phenomena. These words and drawings come from qualitative researchers and research participants. The types of data are direct quotes from interview transcriptions, direct citations from the original documents and field notes that justify the findings (Merriam, 1998). Qualitative data sources provide long and detailed information about the participants that enables researchers to descriptively relate their findings.

From reviews of Merriam's five characteristics of qualitative research and from other scholars' perspectives on qualitative research, qualitative research design best fit this study since it allowed the researcher of this study to focus on investigating and understanding the experiences of gay male faculty members of color's lives in higher education in terms of being victims of racial and homophobic bullying. This study focused on understanding how gay adult males of color make meaning through their experiences of bullying in higher education. A qualitative design enabled the researcher of this study to more deeply investigate their experiences than would a quantitative design. Qualitative research allowed the researcher to study inductively and provided the researcher with enough flexibility to analyze the themes and concepts.

Narrative Inquiry

Although qualitative research is a type of research in academia and has its own characteristics distinct from other types of research, it is nearly impossible to categorize qualitative research as one kind of research because the field of qualitative research contains immense areas such as different academic disciplines, philosophical orientations, and methodologies. Qualitative research emphasizes the understanding and

interpretation of participants' lives through multiple realities that are constructed and perceived by people interacting with their environment (Glesne, 2006).

Since this study investigated research participants' life experiences with bullying in higher education, the research methodology for this study needed to be specific. The central point of this study was to understand people's life experiences, so the main component of this study's data had to be from participants' life stories to illustrate their experiences.

One of the methodologies used in qualitative research to understand participants' life experiences is narrative inquiry (Altman, 2008; Craig & Huber, 2007), which was chosen for this study. Narrative inquiry has a long history of wide utilization in academia. For example, "humanities and social science scholars have debated the nature and significance of narrative in literature, historical writings, the popular media, personal documents such as diaries and letters, oral stories of various kinds, as well as in the academic disciplines themselves" (Chase, 1995, p. 1).

Polkinghorne (1995) also argued that qualitative researchers have increasingly utilized narrative inquiry. He thought that a reason that researchers preferred narrative inquiry was because it enabled them to investigate their research participants' lives. Polkinghorne (1995) described what narrative meant to him in his article, *Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis*:

> Narrative is the linguistic form uniquely suited for displaying human existence as situated action. Narrative descriptions exhibit human activity as purposeful engagement in the world. Narrative is the type of discourse composition that

draws together diverse events, happenings, and actions of human lives into

thematically unified goal-directed process. (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 5)

According to Johnson-Bailey (2004), the utilization of narratives in qualitative

research has increased over the last decade. One of reasons that narratives in qualitative

research has increased was because they are accessible, familiar, and "easily understood

as the discourse used to frame our everyday lives, the method as universal appeal"

(Johnson-Bailey, 2004, p. 124). Since narratives are embedded in our culture, "we find

and construct meaning in our lives by telling our stories" (p. 124). From Johnson-

Bailey's perceptive, narrating stories is a natural way of communicating for humans and

has indeed attracted many followers in qualitative research.

Definition is central to any research project. Narrative inquiry has many different

scholarly definitions. In her book chapter, *Exploring Life and Experience Through*

Narrative Inquiry, Kramp (2004) described narrative inquiry's main idea and stated that

the central "object of narrative inquiry is understanding" which is "the outcome of

interpretation" (p. 104). Narrative inquiry is based on interpretive and phenomenological

accounts of people's life experiences. It structures experiences and gives them meaning

(Kramp, 2004). In their book, *Narrative Research: Reading, Analysis, and Interpretation,*

Lieblich, Ruval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998) defined narrative inquiry as "any study that

uses or analyzes narrative material" (p. 2). Narratives also provide "us with access to

people's identity and personality" (p. 7). In their account, Lieblich, Ruval-Mashiach, and

Zilber (1998) stated that narratives and stories are often used interchangeably and that

narratives and stories uncover people's identities: "A story created, told, revised, and

retold throughout one's life" (p. 7).

Riessman (1993) who wrote the oft cited book, *Narrative Analysis,* pointed out a similar point on narrative inquiry and stated, "Nature and the world do not tell stories, individuals do. Interpretation is inevitable because narratives are representations….Telling stories about past events seems to be a universal human activity" (pp. 2-3). What narrative inquiry means for Riessman (1993) is to investigate stories that are "organized around consequential events" (p. 3) as told by participants.

Riessman (1993) stated that people's experiences can be represented and naturally made meaningful through stories. To strengthen this argument, Riessman (1993) described five fundamental levels of the representation of experience in the research process of narrative inquiry: attending to experiences, telling about experiences, transcribing experiences, analyzing experiences, and reading experiences. Riessman (1993) described that the first level of representation in a research process is to attend to experience. At this level, individuals exist at a place where they "make discrete certain features in the stream of consciousness" (p. 9) such as reflecting, remembering, and recollecting. For example, suppose some beachgoers "scan the beach (metaphorically speaking) and isolate certain images, which are known in a given language community by certain words" (p. 9) such as sunlight, sand, and wave. Riessman (1993) stated that it is not possible for people to capture everything that they see, hear, feel, and smell with language, so they only pick out what stands out the most to them. By being in an environment and by attending to a scene, certain phenomena are caught in meaningful ways as memories, however each captured phenomenon is partial because it is selected and interpreted by one individual who experienced it.

When individuals come back from attending to the phenomena with a meaningful experience, they enter to the second level, telling about their experience to others. Experiences have to be told to become narratives. Through the telling process, individuals become narrators who "re-present the events, already ordered to some degree, to those listeners in conversation, with all the opportunities and constraints the form of discourse entails" (Riessman, 1993, p. 9). This process is collaborative because a narrator and a listener produce a narrative together by talking and listening, respectively. However, this level is also incomplete or partial because those stories are still selected from the narrator's memories.

The third level involves transcribing an experience. At this level of representation in the research process as developed by Riessman (1993), narrator's stories transform from conversational form to textual form. Listeners act like social science investigators and tape the narrative in the conversation. "Whatever form of taping used, they would ultimately have to represent it in some kind of text…into written speech" (p. 11). At this level, Riessman (1993) argued that "transcribing…is still incomplete, partial, and selective" (p. 11) like the previous levels of presentation. Riessman described the fate of representing narratives in research that "There is not one, true representation of spoken language….The form of representation reflects the artist's view and conceptions….[because] investigators fix the essence….By denying [readers'] information, they paradoxically provide us room to supply our own" (p. 13). It has been an issue for qualitative research to transform spoken language into written text because thoughtful investigators no longer assume that the language is transparent.

The fourth level of representation in the research process, analyzing experience, starts when the investigator explicitly analyzes the transcript. At this level, the narrative is analyzed through the investigator's lens. Typically, the investigator "sits with pages of tape-recorded stories, snips away at the flow of talk to make it fit between the covers of a book, and tries to create sense and dramatic tension" (p. 13). This level is critical because the investigator has to make appropriate "decisions about form, ordering, style of presentation, and how the fragments of lives that have been given in interviews will be housed" (p. 13). The investigator has the right to shape the narrative by deciding what to include and what to exclude for the final narrative construction. "In the end, the analyst creates a metastory about what happened by telling what the interview narratives signify, editing and reshaping what was told, and turning it into a hybrid story….Values, politics, and theoretical commitments enter once again" (pp. 13-14).

The narrative that was constructed in the experience analysis process is then shared with readers at the fifth and final level of representation in the research process. "All a reader has is the analyst's representation" (Riessman, 1993, p. 14). Readers read the narrative that was created by the investigator to experience and understand it for the first time. This is also an interpretative process. However, the process is more complex because this level involves people beyond the relationship of narrator (participant) and investigator (researcher). It is tricky because "a writer cannot tell all" (p. 14). Riessman (1993) also described readers as critical components since "our subjects do not hold still for their portraits" (p. 15). Collaboration with readers is significant in the representation of research.

Riessman's (1993) five levels of representation in the research process were best suited for this study. There were three reasons that narrative inquiry was chosen as the best fit methodology for this study. First, this study focused on people's life experiences, investigating gay male faculty members of color's experiences with bullying in higher education to understand the nature of adult bullying in post-secondary education in the United States. Since people in general have stories to tell, it seemed to be important to listen to their stories. Stories are based on specific contexts, and as such they would assist in understanding the phenomenon of bullying.

Second, this study focused on people's voices which had not yet been heard much in mainstream academia. As mentioned in the first chapter and in the relevant literature of the second chapter, there is a lack of understanding about the lives of gay adult men of color in academia and in American society. One of the reasons is that their lives go unstudied in the United States, where people do not wish to talk about issues of sexuality and race in daily conversations (McCready & Kumashiro, 2006; Misawa, 2006, 2009).

In addition to a lack of discourse on race and sexual orientation, talking about bullying in adulthood is also scarcely found in contemporary society (Field, 1996, Lines, 2008; Needham, 2003; Watson, 2008). A reason that we do not talk about bullying in adulthood is that it has some kind of societal stigma attached to it (Arnold, 1994), in a way similar to that of homosexuality (Nagel, 2003). Bullying carries a societal stigma because the concept of bullying is seen as a children's phenomenon (Randall, 1997, 2001). Since adults have responsibilities to foster future generations of humans, they are role models for children's, and as such, adults enjoy higher status in society than children. However, adults are stigmatized or degraded when they are in a less powerful

position. Since powerlessness and bullying are negatively correlated in the concept of positionality, talking about bullying in adulthood becomes a forbidden aspect of the adult world.

Third, this study contained an emancipatory aspect. There were two assumptions: a) the participants might be better equipped to deal with charged feelings from bitter past experiences of being bullied by telling their stories; and b) this research process might be liberating as a collaborative process where a narrator and a listener co-create and co-represent a narrative that is based on the narrator's life experience. So, it was important to listen to the stories that were told by these victims of academic bullying because it could be a way to help the participants emancipate from their negative and traumatic experiences.

Chapter IV and Chapter V will present various narratives from gay male faculty members of color in higher education about their experiences of being victims of adult bullying in academia. Their narratives provide deeper understanding of how adult bullying influenced their lives in higher education.

Sample Selection

The selection of research participants was an important part of this study. Participants for this study were selected through a *purposeful* sampling. Patton (2002) states, "the logic and power of purposeful sampling drive from the emphasis on in-depth understanding" (p. 46). That is, the purposeful sampling allows the qualitative researchers to precisely implement studies that help people learn "a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry" (p. 230). Merriam (1998) also stated, "Purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover,

understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (p. 61).

In this study, the participants consisted of people whose identities were specifically gay male faculty members of color in higher education who could talk about their experiences of being gay male faculty members of color. Since this study needed a very specific population, selection criteria was strictly based on ethnic/racial background, gender, academic affiliation and sexual orientation. For this study, the phrase "gay men of color" had three crucial implications, which were "men," "gay men," and "men of color." As for the first term "men," it implicated adult male people who were over 25 years old. The adult education literature pointed out that people become able to take personal and sociocultural responsibilities around the age of 25 or older (Merriam & Caffarella, 1999). As for the second criterion "gay men," it implicated men who were attracted sexually to other men and who had had an intimate and/or sexual relationship with another man. In this study, only people who identified themselves as gay were included. People who did not identify themselves as gay (closeted) were not included in this study. As for the third term "men of color," it implicated male people whose racial identities were not White in the United States. These groups included Asian Pacific American, Black American, Latino, Native American, and mixed race people. Criteria also included willingness to talk about their experiences of being bullied in terms of their race and sexual orientation in higher education as gay male faculty members of color. Only individuals meeting these guidelines were considered for participation in this study. The participants in this study were made aware of these criteria in the consent agreement. Exclusion/inclusion criteria for this study involved the consideration of only those

individuals who represented current professors in U.S. higher education, and only those individuals met the criteria for gay men of color.

The procedures for recruiting research participants involved the following methods: referrals, networking by attending national and international conferences, such as AAACE, AERA, and AERC, and by means of emails, announcements, listservs through Lambda, GLOBES, the Queer Studies Special Interest Group of the American Educational Research Association, and NGLTF (National Gay, Lesbian Task Force), and flyer advertisements. The strategies of acquiring participants in this study did not involve manipulation or intimidation. The recruitment process took place during the Spring Semester of 2008.

Only the principal investigator, was the lead recruiter of participants, and held the responsibility of explaining the consent agreement and interviewing procedures to participants. Although the researcher decided to be the one who would handle this study, the researcher did ask several individuals to be "indirect recruiting agents" for this study to recruit a larger research population. Qualitative researchers, such as Berg (2007), Merriam (1998, 2002), and Patton (2002), call this *snowballing* or *snowball sampling*. Berg (2007) stated that it "refers to using people whom the original guide(s) introduces to the ethnographer as person who can also vouch for the legitimacy and safety of the researcher" (p. 186). These indirect recruitment agents were already known persons to or contacts of the researcher, all of them professors who were either gay male faculty members or faculty members of color at various institutions. Using indirect recruitment agents was a means of providing information by forwarding the description of this study

to prospective participants who could then contact the researcher if they were interested in either participating in the study or learning more about the study.

Originally, the number of the prospective participants for this study was between five and twenty gay male faculty members of color in higher education in the United States. Because there are no specific requirements for sample size in qualitative research (Patton, 2002), sampling to the point of minimum samples was an ideal for this study. Patton (2002) stated that "I recommend that qualitative sampling designs specify *minimum samples* based on expected reasonable coverage of the phenomenon given the purpose of the study and stakeholder interests" (p. 246). Based on experiences of qualitative researchers, five to twenty interviews seemed likely to generate sufficient data for this narrative study. Although over thirty people contacted the researcher of this study because they were interested in participating in the study or they wanted more information about the study, in the end, nineteen of them were qualified and interviewed.

Data Collection

Qualitative researchers use a variety of methods to collect data and demonstrate a complete account of the situation or phenomena being studied to the readers. In qualitative research, especially in narrative inquiry, interviewing is an effective way of capturing life stories from participants (Kramp, 2004). In fact, the most commonly used method for qualitative research is interviews (Patton, 2002), so interviewing was the main data collection strategy used for this study.

Interviews

The interviews were conducted individually, focusing on issues that directly related to the research questions (Merriam, 1998). According to Patton (2002), the

purpose of interviewing is to "allow us to enter into the other person's perspective" (p. 341) and conducting interviews is pivotal because qualitative researchers "interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe" (p. 340). Patton (2002) stated that it is not possible to objectively record feelings, thoughts, and intentions. The interview becomes a unique form of data collection in that it can provide subjective information such as what people think about particular issues, what their feelings are, how they personally interpret behaviors and events, and what their worldview is (Gubrium & Holstein, 2001).

Interviews in qualitative research vary in their degree of structure from completely structured to completely unstructured (Merriam & Simpson, 2000). The highly structured interview is often an oral configuration of a written survey, and may be used to gather demographic information (Merriam, 1998). On the other end of the continuum is the unstructured interview. In this interview type the research participant is encouraged to talk openly on the particular area under study. Thus, in the completely unstructured interview the interviewee has more direct control over the direction of the interview whereas in structured interviews an interviewee has virtually no control (Merriam & Simpson, 2000).

The most common type of interview is the semistructured interview. In this particular type of interview, specific information is requested from all participants (Ezzy, 2002; Merriam, 1998; Patton, 2002). Questions are phrased in such a way that exploration is required and yes/no questions are avoided (Patton, 2002). Research questions are usually formulated ahead of time, but the wording of the questions and the particular order in which they will be asked is left open. Participants may also be asked to

talk freely about a particular topic thus incorporating elements of the unstructured interview, and may be asked specific demographic questions which incorporate elements of the structured interview. Generally in a semistructured interview, certain open-ended questions will be asked of all research participants. The interviewer may ask more specific questions of some participants depending on what the interviewee reveals (Merriam, 1998). These additional questions may be formulated during the interview itself. Often in qualitative research, additional questions arise from the data obtained in the interviews. Sometimes researchers go back and ask further questions of the first few interviewees if additional questions become clearly relevant to the study.

Considering that this study aimed to better understand how adult bullying influences the lives of gay male faculty members of color in higher education in terms of the intersection of race and sexual orientation, a semistructured interview approach was determined to be most conducive for listening to and collecting narratives for the proposed research project. Participants' experiences cannot be fully observed objectively, so the best way to get such information is to ask participants (Patton, 2002). A semistructured interview approach enabled the participants and the investigator to stay focused on the topic of bullying. Since participants in this study talked about their experiences of being bullied in higher education and at the same time brought diverse life experiences with them based on race, sexual orientation, and gender, it was important to let them talk about and explain what their experiences of being bullied were like and how they felt and still felt about classroom environments and campus experiences in terms of the phenomenon of bullying.

Nineteen gay male faculty members of color in higher education were interviewed for this study. The interviews ranged in length from one hour and five minutes to two hours and thirty minutes. Originally, all interviews for this study were to be face-to-face interviews. However, since most of the participants resided outside of the State of Georgia (where the researcher resides), all of the interviews for this study were conducted by telephone.

Researchers and scholars have argued that telephone interviews and face-to-face interviews have their own advantages and disadvantages. There are always pros and cons to how scholars and researchers conduct interviews. Berg (2007) stated that "telephone interviews are not a major way of collecting qualitative data" (p. 108) because "telephone interviews lack face-to-face nonverbal cues that researchers use to pace their interviews and to determine the direction to move in" (p. 108). However, other scholars and researchers found that telephone interviews held benefits, too, for collecting data.

Shuy (2001) stated five advantages of telephone interviews: a) reduced interviewer effects; b) better interviewer uniformity in delivery; c) greater standardization of questions; d) researcher safety; and e) greater cost-efficiency and fast results (p. 540). Two of Shuy's advantages were pivotal in the decision to conduct interviews for this study by telephone: a) cost- and time-efficiencies; and b) safety for the researcher and participants. Most of the participants in this study lived outside the state of Georgia and had very little time available as it was to participate in this study. Only one of the nineteen participants was teaching in Georgia, but even then he was teaching at several different locations which were far from the researcher's current location. Because this study required specific sample populations, gay male faculty members of color in higher

education, reaching many participants was a limiting factor in the use of face-to-face interviews.

Sullivan and Losberg (2003) stated, "sampling is fraught with dilemmas, particularly with populations that are difficult to define, hard to reach, or resistant to identification because of potential discrimination, social isolation or other reasons that are relevant to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) populations" (p. 148). In addition to the difficulty of locating gay populations for research in general, identifying gay male faculty members who are also racial minorities was challenging. Because race and sexual orientation are still somewhat taboo topics in daily conversation in American culture and often times censored (McCready & Kumashiro, 2006; Nagel, 2003), identifying gay male faculty members of color was a difficult challenge to begin with.

As professors, the participants also could be considered as elites in American society. Odendahl and Shaw (2001) stated, "Elites…often are inaccessible, much less open to being the subjects of scrutiny. They ably protect themselves from outsiders. Barriers to reaching elites are real and include the difficulty of identifying who they are" (p. 299). Because the participants in this study were teaching and working at various places in higher education across the United States, time was an important part of their lives. So, considering the distance between researcher and participants, the difficulty in identifying gay male professors of color, and the problem of reaching people in elite positions, conducting telephone interviews rapidly became the best option in terms of cost and time for both the researcher and the participants.

Conducting telephone interviews also became an effective option for this study because of the safety issues for both the researcher and participants. According to

Sullivan and Losberg (2003), this type of research has to deal with sensitive issues. In this study, the researcher and research participants were able to place some distance between each other when they listened to, talked about, and reflected on painful or traumatic experiences in higher education. Most of the participants had experienced the pre and post Civil Rights Movements in the 1960s and the pre and post Stonewall moment in 1969. Their experiences of being marginalized had influenced how they saw the world in academia. The participants in this study remembered how they were treated differently because of their race and/or sexual orientation. This study not only focused on participants' experiences of race and sexual orientation in general, but also focused on participants' negative experiences and experiences of being victims of bullying in academia in terms of racism and homophobia. The participants in this study actually talked about their most negative experiences which related to racism and homophobia that had been affecting their physical and psychological well-beings. In the telephone interviews, the participants actually talked about how difficult it was for them to revisit their painful past experiences that still often greatly affect their daily lives as gay male faculty members of color in higher education. However, they mentioned that having conversations with the researcher by phone was actually easier for them when sharing their stories. So, telephone interviews turned out to be a safer option given the experiences being shared of being victims of bullying in terms of racism and homophobia in higher education.

At the beginning of the telephone interviews, the participants were informed that the individual telephone interview would involve sharing their life stories and their identities in higher education. Each telephone interview process began with an informal

conversation to introduce the purpose of the research and example interview questions. Also, the consent form was read to each participant by the researcher, and any questions from participants were answered before receiving their consent. The consent form can be found in Appendix A.

After obtaining consent from a participant prior to the interview, the interview was begun with the researcher asking the participant demographic information. The demographic information sheet can be found in Appendix B. Then, the participants were asked about their experiences of being bullied in terms of their race and sexual orientation in higher education based on the research questions. The interview guide can be found in Appendix C. All of the nineteen interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by the researcher.

In qualitative research, being an insider (emic) or an outsider (etic) is significant. According to Johnson-Bailey (2004), the insider-outsider perspectives of qualitative researchers are unavoidable factors that have to be dealt with. Because each person has various sociocultural identities, insider-outsider perspectives become a central issue in qualitative research (Johnson-Bailey, 2004), especially when the qualitative researchers study an underrepresented population. In that case, insider-outsider perspectives influence the study itself and the subjectivity of the researchers in terms of their sociocultural identities.

Several scholars (Johnson-Bailey, 2004; LaSala, 2003; O'Connor, 2004) described an advantage of being an insider researcher: the greater ease in establishing rapport with the study group and greater reliability in data interpretation because of a shared outlook or knowledge with the group. Qualitative researchers who are inside

members of the groups or communities they study may have a unique ability not only to elicit emic perspectives, but also to acknowledge the significance of those perspectives. The personal familiarity of insider researchers with issues affecting their participants' lives may enable them to formulate research questions and hypotheses that would not easily occur to outsiders (di Mauro, 2003; O'Connor, 2004).

In this study, insider-outsider perspectives seemed to be key to mutual understandings. Particularly, the researcher of this study utilized both insider and outsider perspectives effectively when he was conducting telephone interviews with nineteen gay male faculty members of color. The researcher of this study understood how he had to negotiate his own identities as a gay male student of color with the research participants when he conducted interviews with them as scholars and researchers have described in works about how insider and outsider perspectives influence research. For the most part, the researcher for this study seemed to be an insider as both a person of color and a gay person. However, he was not totally an insider to some participants because of his other sociocultural statuses such as race (Asian), ethnicity (Japanese, foreign born), and academic status (graduate student). Those outsider perspectives of the researcher actually helped him manage this study in a more purposeful manner by asking research participants to provide more examples or explanations instead of assuming their experiences. Since he had not yet experienced being bullied as a faculty member in higher education, it was crucial for the researcher to investigate further and ask more questions to really understand participants' experiences.

Also, while his outsider's perspectives drove his interview process with the participants well, his insider's perspectives as a gay man of color also helped him when

he was conducting telephone interviews with his participants. As an insider, the researcher was able to share his own experiences of being a gay man of color in higher education to establish trust with the participants. In fact, one of the participants told him in an interview that he was more comfortable talking about his own experiences as a gay man of color in higher education because the researcher was also a gay man of color. Despite the researcher's race being different from the races of the participants, the researcher was still a minority in that respect. That type of sharing at the beginning in almost casual conversations was helpful in telephone interviewing in this study as an icebreaker.

Although "breaking the ice" is an important part of any interview processes in qualitative research (Patton, 2002), telling one's painful and negative stories to others is often difficult still, especially in communications with a person who is not known well (Weiss, 1994). Telephone interviewing was adequate for this study because it provided a safety of distance between the researcher and the participants. Because the participants had been wounded by their negative experiences for a long time, it was often difficult for the participants to move to deeply personal and sensitive areas when they were sharing their stories with the researcher. By listening to those experiences and reflecting his own experiences as a gay man of color in higher education, the researcher often felt as if he was experiencing participants' negative experiences, but the distance between the researcher and participants allowed the researcher to better manage the narratives from a somewhat more independent standpoint. In other words, it would have been more difficult for the researcher to be less subjective in this study if he had conducted face to face interviews. Overall, telephone interviewing effectively helped the researcher and the

participants feel safer in sharing sensitive stories and the distance may have lessened the impacts of positionality in data collection, so it turned out to be an effective method of collecting data for this study.

<center>Data Analysis</center>

In a qualitative study, researchers define data analysis as making meaning out of what people have told of their life experience (Ezzy, 2002; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998; Patton, 2002). So, data collection and data analysis should be conducted simultaneously (Ezzy, 2002; Patton, 2002) because "the investigator knows what the problem is and has selected a sample to collect data in order to address the problem" (Merriam, 1998, p. 162). This strategy of collecting data and analyzing data simultaneously was adopted by the researcher for this study. Furthermore, analyzing and collecting data simultaneously allowed the researcher to make adjustments in subsequent data collections by doing such things as asking different questions (or rephrasing questions or providing some examples), cross-referencing something a participant was saying with what a previous participant had anonymously said, and rewording sensitive questions. Merriam (1998) wrote, "Data that have been analyzed while being collected are both parsimonious and illuminating" (p. 164).

Since this research was a narrative inquiry, it was important to describe participants' life stories accurately in the analysis process. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998) stated that narrative analysis in qualitative research involves participants' life experiences and their self identities, and they may "provide researchers with a key to discovering identity and understanding" (p. 8) a narrator's truth or reality. So, the first step of data analysis was to transcribe interviews accurately from audio into a text format.

Riessman (1993) stated that "taping and transcribing are absolutely essential to narrative analysis" (p. 56). All of the nineteen interviews were transcribed by the researcher. According to Ezzy (2002), the process of transcribing has two components that a researcher should take into account. First, it is a listening process in that the researcher needs to be an active listener. It is essential for the researcher to capture exactly what the interview participant says. Since narrative analysis means the whole of a person's account (Ezzy, 2002), it is significant to listen to the interview tape until getting all of interviewee's words on the transcription. The other component of transcribing consists of interpreting ideas in context. So, it is crucial to take notes on what is being said at the interviews to figure out what the potential interpretations are. After transcribing interviews, an executive summary of findings was forwarded to the interviewees to check for data accuracy, errors, and distortions.

After that, the second phase of data analysis, which was to construct narratives of each interview participant, was conducted. According to Johnson-Bailey (2002b), "the process of developing the narratives began by summarizing what [an investigator] perceive[s] as the highlights of the respondents' life, thereby generating categories" (p. 324). Because this research focused on participants' experiences of being bullied in higher education because of their race and sexual orientation, constructing each participant's narrative of being bullied was an appropriate focus in the process. Johnson-Bailey (2002b) provided a significant tip for constructing narratives from interviews: because narrative analysis centers on research participant's personal accounts, participant responses are important, not the interviewer questions. So, what she did for her narrative analysis was that she removed all interview questions from the transcription.

By removing the questions from the body of the transcript the text resembled a

cohesive first-person statement, and at this point the oral narrative looked like a

written autobiographical account. The new transcript…was coded according to

the major themes and the data pertaining to each them were grouped and

analyzed. (Johnson-Bailey, 2002b, p. 324)

The way that Johnson-Bailey (2002b) constructed narratives from her research

participants was the best strategy for this study because it illuminated research

participants' voices.

After constructing narratives, the third phase was implemented. It was analyzing

the data extensively to find commonalities in the narratives. Identifying themes is called

coding (Charmaz, 2006; Glesne, 2006). In fact, Merriam (1998) provided a helpful

definition of the term *coding* that was used as a basis for data analysis.

Coding is nothing more than assigning some sort of shorthand designation to

various aspects of your data so that you can easily retrieve specific pieces of the

data. The designations can be single words, letters, numbers, phrases, or

combinations of these. (p. 164)

Charmaz (2006) also described what coding means in general from a grounded

theorist perspective. She described that "coding means naming segments of data with a

label that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes, and accounts for each piece of data.

Coding is the first step in moving beyond concrete statements in the data to making

analytic interpretations" (p. 43). Charmaz (2006) was cautious about how to code. She

stated:

The codes stick closely to the data, show actions, and indicate how dilemmas

surrounding disclosure arise….Many of the codes are short. They also imply

crucial relationships between telling and self, as defined by both self-disclosing

and other. Hence, the codes suggest building categories concerned with telling,

disclosing, self, and identity. (p. 45)

It is imperative to note that authors, in the literature on qualitative research, consistently

assert the importance of coding (Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Patton, 2002). For example,

Charmaz (2006) considered how "coding generates the bones of your analysis….[and]

coding is more than a beginning; it shapes an analytic frame from which you build the

analysis" (p. 45). Charmaz (2006) stated that there are at least two main phases in coding:

an initial phase and a focused, selective phase.

In the first phase, an initial coding, researchers name each word, line, or segment

of data (Charmaz, 2006). This phase of coding is important because "it moves us toward

later decisions about defining our core conceptual categories" (p. 47). She suggested that

researchers ask following questions in this phase: a) What is this data a study of? b) What

does the data suggest or pronounce?, c) From whose point of view? and d) What

theoretical category does this specific datum indicate? (Charmaz, 2006, p. 47). In her

articulation of this step, Charmaz (2006) stated, "initial coding should stick closely to the

data. Try to see actions in each segment of data….Attempt to code with words that reflect

action" (pp. 47-48). She suggested that researchers should be creative with their coding

words because she believed "the openness in initial coding should spark your thinking

and allow new ideas to emerge" (p. 48).

In this initial phase, there are several types of coding: word-by-word coding, line-by-coding, coding incident to incident, using comparative methods, and *in vivo* codes. In word-by-word coding, researchers look into each word that their interview participants said. "Word-by-word analysis forces you to attend to images and meanings" (p. 50). According to Charmaz, this coding style is useful for researchers who work with "documents or certain types of ephemera, such as Internet data" (p. 50).

The second type of coding is line-by-line coding. The focus moves from words to "naming each line of your written data" (p. 50). Charmaz provided methods that researchers could use to conduct line-by-line coding, including: a) breaking the data up into their component parts or properties; b) defining the actions on which they rest; c) looking for tacit assumptions; d) explicating implicit actions and meanings; e) crystallizing the significance of the points; f) comparing data with data; and g) identifying gaps in the data (p. 50).This type of coding is particularly helpful, according to Charmaz, if researchers utilize data from interviews, observations, documents, ethnographies and autobiographies.

The third type of coding is an extension of the line-by-line coding, called incident coding. Charmaz (2006) stated that this type of coding lets researchers conduct a comparative study of incidents. "Here, you have to compare incident with incident, then as your ideas take hold, compare incidents to your conceptualization of incidents coded earlier" (p. 53). Charmaz provided a way of using this type of analysis. She suggested that researchers should first compare and code the same or similar events. After that, they should define patterns and important processes. Last, they should compare "dissimilar events" (p. 53) to conduct further investigations. Comparing incident-to-incident appears

very frequently in qualitative research, particularly in grounded theory research (Merriam, 2002). According to Charmaz (2006), "whatever unit of data you begin coding in grounded theory, you use '*constant comparative methods'* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 cited in Charmaz 2006) to establish analytic distinctions—and thus make comparisons at each level of analytic work" (p. 54). Charmaz suggested that when researchers want to use this method, they should "compare data with data to find similarities and differences" (p. 54).

Also, when comparing data, it helps to make sequential comparisons (Patton, 2002). For example, researchers could compare the earlier part of the interview and the later part of the interview to find commonalities and differences, and they could compare cross data.. Therefore, these constant comparative methods are useful when researchers are organizing data.

In addition to Charmaz's description of the initial coding phase above, Bogdan and Biklen (2007) provided several steps to take to develop a coding system for the initial phase. They pointed out that it is important for a researcher to develop "a list of *coding categories*" after data has been gathered to facilitate coding. They provided a list of the coding families, and they stated that "the families overlap" (p. 173). From review of their list of the coding families, three appropriate coding families have been selected for brief description: definition of the situation codes, event codes, and narrative codes.

The first type of coding that is introduced here is *definition of the situation codes*. According to Bogdan and Biklen (2007), definition of the situation codes are used to locate data that tell the researcher how research participants defined settings or particular topics. By using this type of coding, the researcher is able to identify worldviews of

participants and understand how they see themselves in relation to the setting or research topic. It also facilitates the construction of individual narratives because it illuminates first person accounts.

The second type of coding for this study is *event codes*, which "are directed at units of data that are related to specific activities that occur in the setting or in the lives of the subjects" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 177). This type of coding focuses on particular events in terms of the participants' life experiences. Utilizing event codes also improves organization of data from the research participants. Event codes are particularly helpful when researchers are focusing on particular phenomena or happenings.

According to Bogdan and Biklen (2007), a third type of coding is narrative codes, used to mark where the voices of the participants stand out (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Narrative codes are pivotal to narrative analysis. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) suggested asking following questions when using narrative codes for analyzing data: a) What is the structure of the narrative? b) Where does a particular story begin? c) What story does the participant tell? d) Where does the story conclude? and e)Where are contradictions when participants tell their stories? (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The initial coding phase is crucial for researchers because it requires a lot of effort and time to organize the data from interviews. In fact, many sophisticated researchers have spent tremendous time in this phase (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Charmaz, 2006; Patton, 2002).

After the initial coding (the first phase), researchers should go to the second major phase of organizing data. Charmaz (2006) described it as *focused coding.* What focused coding does is organize the initial coding. Focused coding provides researchers with a way of integrating detailed coding into a larger unit. Charmaz (2006) stated, "Focused

coding means using the most significant and/or frequent earlier codes to sift through large amounts of data…. Focused coding requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorize your data incisively and completely" (pp. 57-58) with the goal being "to determine the adequacy of those codes" (p. 57).

In this second phase of analysis, researchers should be actively involved in the coding process. In Charmaz's (2006) words, "You act upon your data rather than passively read them" (p. 59). By implementing constant comparative methods, researchers are able to discover integrated sets of coding from the preceding data coding phase.

Charmaz (2006) then described a third type of coding, axial coding. The purpose of the axial coding is to relate categories to subcategories and to sort, synthesize, and organize large amounts of data and reassemble them in new ways after open coding. "Axial coding specifies the properties and dimensions of a category" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 60). Charmaz (2006) described Strauss and Corbin's idea of axial coding that included three factors, the first of which they called *conditions*, "the circumstances or situations that form the structure of the studied phenomena" (p. 61). For the second factor, they included *actions or interactions,* "participants' routine or strategic responses to issues, events, or problems" (p. 61). For the third factor, they included *consequences,* "outcomes of actions or interactions" (p. 61). Each of these factors is important in the coding process because they enable researchers to answer contextual questions from data sets. Axial coding provides researchers with a frame on which to integrate their codes.

Charmaz (2006) stated five factors that are important to think about when conducting axial coding:

1. Biographical and interactional contexts of their telling;

2. Social and experiential conditions affecting whom various participants told;

3. Participants' stated intentions for telling;

4. What participants told these individuals; and

5. How participants told them. (Charmaz, 2006, p. 62)

Charmaz stated two arguments, "At best, axial coding helps to clarify and to extend the analytic power of your emerging ideas, At worst, it casts a technological overlay on the data—and perhaps on your final analysis" (p. 63). So, it is the researcher's decision whether or not to do this phase of coding.

Charmaz (2006) also talked about the fourth coding, called *theoretical coding,* which follows the process of focused coding. Theoretical coding was introduced by Glaser (1987), according to Charmaz (2006) who explained, "Theoretical codes specify possible relationships between categories you have developed in your focused coding" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 63). This kind of coding is very sophisticated. When researchers conduct this coding, they do not need to conduct axial coding because "they weave the fractured story back together" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 63).

From the methodological review above, this study was based on a narrative inquiry approach. For the analysis of the narrative data, this study looked into the participants'' experiences of being bullied and their negative experiences in higher education concerning instances of racism, homophobia, and heterosexism; these topics were often personal, sensitive, valuable, and significant. That was partially why this study worked best as a narrative inquiry, because it "honors people's stories as data that can stand on their own as pure description of experience, worthy as narrative documentary of

experience…or analyzed for connections between the psychological, sociological, cultural, political and dramatic dimensions of human experience" (Patton, 2002, pp. 115-116). This study also allowed the participants' stories to be the main and pivotal source of data, which provided an opportunity to explore more thoroughly the participants' lives in higher education.

This narrative study particularly focused on gay male faculty members of color's experiences with adult bullying related to racism, homophobia, and heterosexism in higher education in the United States. This topic had not been explored much in the United States or in any other countries at the time of research, although bullying had been explored in childhood in K-12 schoolings and in adulthood at workplaces or community development (Twale & De Luca, 2008; Westhues, 2006). Of the research on bullying in higher education, there was virtually none that had been done on particular populations; most research and publications were on generic bullying where samples were treated as uniform populations (Fox & Stallworth, 2005). However, the experiences of People of Color and LGBTQ people were different than those of their White, straight colleagues'. People of Color faced racism daily and LGBTQ people faced homophobia and heterosexism all the time. Some scholars like Fox and Stallworth (2005) had examined how race or ethnicity impacted People of Color's experiences in workplace in terms of bullying. Also, O'Higgins-Norman (2008) focused on homophobic bullying in Irish secondary education. However, it was rare for scholars to examine race and sexual orientation simultaneously or racism and homophobia together (McCready & Kumashiro, 2006). Similarly, such intersectionality was rarely examined in adult and higher education (Misawa, 2009).

Because of the lack of research and discussion on race and sexual orientation treated wholly, recruiting population samples for this study was challenging. There were few openly gay male faculty members of color in academia, and it was not easy to locate them because, depending on the place of employment, potential participants and actual participants feared that they might be attacked personally or professionally just by participating in this study. Nineteen self-identified gay male faculty members of color in higher education in the United States did eventually voluntarily agree to participate in individual interviews for this study. Twelve identified as either Black or African American, three identified as Asian Pacific Islander or Asian American, one identified as Native American, one identified as Middle Eastern, and two identified as Latino.

The narratives from the nineteen gay male faculty members of color were coded for analysis; the "codes describe the structure of talk itself. When informants tell you their stories, they offer an account of their lives framed in a particular way" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 178). The codes marked critical incidents of the participants' experiences of being bullied in higher education in terms of racism, homophobia, and heterosexism.

<div align="center">Validity and Reliability</div>

Kirk and Miller (1986) stated that validity and reliability are two important elements in qualitative research. They defined that validity "is the extent to which it gives the correct answer" (p. 19), whereas reliability "is the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out" (p. 19). Although Kirk and Miller (1986) emphasized that validity and reliability are important in qualitative research, it does not mean that they are symmetrical.

According to Merriam (1998), "Validity and reliability are concerns that can be approached through careful attention to a study's conceptualization and the way in which the data are collected, analyzed, and interpreted, and the way in which the findings are presented" (pp. 199-200). Qualitative researchers often work in the field for an extended period of time and thus have a greater understanding of the realities of their participants. Merriam suggests that assurance of internal validity is a question of reality.

The qualitative paradigm supposes reality to be an individual construction. But, although qualitative research leans towards internal validity by its very nature, Merriam proposes several strategies that can increase internal validity of projects, including triangulation, multiple sources of data, and multiple methods to confirm findings at their emergence (Berg, 2007; Merriam, 1998, 2000; Patton, 2002). From individual interviews, various stories from the participants were collected to provide better understandings of diverse perspectives in terms of how positionality influences the lives of participants in higher education. Also, field notes were taken by the researcher of this study during all interviews to record how the participants reacted to the interview questions and to record what was happening in terms of the interactions during the interview process. This study was triangulated by utilizing member check, a way of confirming the interpretation of data with participants. This involved contacting participants at a later time. Patton (2002) mentioned that participant reviews may lead to new ideas or questions about the analysis and/or verify the findings. Taking field notes and conducting member checks secured the internal validity of the research.

In addition to internal validity and reliability, Merriam (2002) suggests that external validity is also an important aspect in qualitative studies. She conveys how thick,

rich description can be used to bolster findings and enhance generalizations. She notes

that this strategy will provide consumers of the research with sufficient information to

generalize the study's findings to different settings. An ultimate goal of this study was to

have the ability to generalize its findings to a wider population using important themes

with direct quotes from the participants.

<center>Research Bias and Assumptions</center>

Peshkin (1988) wrote that because "subjectivity operates during the entire

research process," researchers should "systematically identify their subjectivity

throughout the course of their research" (p. 17). Within the qualitative research tradition,

this concern becomes problematic. Lather (1986) states that "new paradigm researchers

must begin to be more systematic about establishing the trustworthiness of their data,"

and suggests that "we must formulate self-corrective techniques that will check the

credibility of our data and minimize the distorting effect of personal bias upon the logic

of evidence" (p. 65). The methods discussed above in conjunction with increasing

validity and reliability are said to help by Lather, but, first and foremost, she suggests that

researchers need to be self-reflexive. This starts with being aware of one's own biases

and assumptions.

This study aimed to understand experiences of gay male faculty members of color

in higher education. This topic has been an attractive research topic for the researcher of

this study since the fall semester of 2002 when he started his Master's program in adult

education at the University of Alaska Anchorage. At that time, he was struggling with his

own identities as a minority student and a minority adjunct professor. He realized that

there were not many actual people who identified as gay people of color and not much

writing on gay people of color in the field of education, particularly in adult education. When he read about gay and lesbian theorists in both sociology and education, a majority of them were White upper middle class males or White upper class females. When he learned about multicultural education, the contents were almost all heterosexual. All emphasized a heteronormative perspective. Neither of the minority perspectives as distinct entities in the macroculture really agreed with him, since he has both racial and sexual minority perspectives. He wanted to look for something that could address his identity as a whole person. Thus, he has been interested in investigating this topic.

This topic allowed him to reflect on his own life. As a gay male doctoral student of color, he has often felt discriminated against and marginalized because of his racial background and sexual orientation. He has seen firsthand, as a gay male student and professor of color, that learning environments do not welcome minorities. He thought that learning environments are unfriendly to minorities despite the emphasis of multicultural education and social justice in higher education because learning environments have been created for and dominated by White heterosexual males since the establishment of higher education. This is a critical point because, although the educational system in the United States advocates inclusion and multiculturalism in the most recent curricula, there has not been much inclusion of minority perspectives into the curriculum, especially when considering perspectives for those with non-heterosexual orientation.

The researcher of this study had already conducted two research studies regarding this topic. He had experience conducting both quantitative research and qualitative research. As for quantitative research, he conducted a research survey that examined whether there was a significant difference between male and female sexual minorities'

experiences on campus and found there was a significant difference in feelings about

classroom climates, although all the participants indicated that their instructors and peers

did not accept subjects pertaining to gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender people. This

particular study indicated that male sexual minority students had felt discriminated and

marginalized because of their sexual orientation. That study gave him an opportunity to

think more about gay male students' experiences in higher education, as he felt the same

way as other gay male students about the campus climate. So, he decided to conduct a

qualitative study that focused specifically on gay male students. At that time, he tried to

capture a more focused picture that included the racial perspective.

The researcher of this study conducted and completed qualitative research for his

Master's thesis at the University of Alaska Anchorage in 2004. His thesis title was *The

Intersection of Race and Sexual Orientation in Adult and Higher Education: Creating

Inclusive Environments for Gay Men of Color.* In it, he studied the experiences gay men

of color in higher education. He interviewed seven people to gain perspective on their

campus experiences. The completed qualitative research project was presented at both

national and international conferences. Of course, it was a continuation of his thinking

process about college experiences of gay male students from the quantitative study that

he had conducted. It was important for him to include race because there was not much

research on race and sexual orientation together. The purpose of his Master's thesis was

to examine the intersection of race and sexual orientation by exploring college

experiences of gay men of color. For that study, he was very much interested in having a

deeper understanding of their life experiences. He conducted seven semistructured

interviews to elicit their life experiences. From the study, he found that the intersection of

race and sexual orientation was troubling in particular educational settings. He recommended similar future research at different locations with more interviews and examination. Thus, this study was designed to expand on his previous study by adding more research to the topic of the intersection of race and sexual orientation in higher education.

The researcher's areas of inquiry at the time of writing were: adult bullying, power dynamics, positionality, race, gender, sexual orientation, feminist theory/pedagogy, antioppressive education, social justice, suicidality, and men's fitness. More specifically, he had been interested in understanding how sociocultural power affects people who are in higher education prior to this study.

The researcher of this study had published two journal articles. One of the articles was about his experience of being a victim of adult bullying because of his race and sexual orientation as a graduate student in higher education. He conducted an autoethnographic study, which took passages from his personal journal to construct how racial and homophobic bullying in academia had influenced his academic journey. He also published a theoretical manuscript on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) people and organizations in higher education in *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*. In it, he examined policies for LGBTQ population in higher education, and pointed out that LGBTQ people were not included and protected by the institutional policies.

He had authored two book chapters and one handbook chapter on the intersection of race and sexual orientation in higher education. One of them, which was based on his

master's thesis, was to be published through the American College Personnel Association.

In contrast with his publications and research interests, for this study he looked at adult bullying in terms of power dynamics and positionality in addition to the intersection of race and sexual orientation in higher education. He was passionate about investigating this topic. However, he foresaw that he might feel too sensitive or too personal while conducting this study. He was an insider for this study because he is also a gay man of color who had been an adjunct professor at a previous institution for five years. So his own perspective might present a bias in the interview and data analysis process. He may have a biased opinion about the experiences of other gay male faculty members of color in higher education. It would not have been appropriate for him to envision that others would also feel the same way as he did. To manage the implicit subjectivity in this research, he had to think broadly and approach this topic at times as if he were an outsider-within.

<div align="center">Chapter Summary</div>

This chapter presented the methodological process and related strategies that were used to explore the experiences of gay male faculty members of color inside classrooms and on campuses of higher education in the United States. The research design, sample selection, data collection, and data analysis of the research process were reviewed. A qualitative research design was conducted and data was collected through in-depth interviews. Methods of enhancing the validity and reliability of this research were described as was the underlying assumptions of the study since they were key issues in the qualitative research process.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS PART ONE: THEME ONE

The purpose of this study was to understand how adult bullying influences the

lives of gay male faculty of color in higher education. This study particularly focused on

the exploration and examination of gay male faculty of color's negative experiences and

experiences of being victims of adult bullying in higher education related to the

intersection of racism and homophobia. The research questions for this study were as

follows:

1. How is bullying manifested in the lives of gay male faculty members of color?

2. In what ways does bullying affect gay male faculty members of color's academic

   lives?

3. How do gay male faculty members of color cope with bullying in higher

   education?

This chapter is organized into three major sections. The opening section presents the

demographic information of the participants, which was acquired from the individual

interviews. Table 4.1 presents the information of the participants in shortened form.

The second major section presents the first theme that emerged from the data,

Managing Anti-Reciprocal Relations with Power Holders, which characterizes gay male

faculty of color's negative experiences, negative treatments, or negative interactions with

different groups of people in higher education such as administrators, colleagues, and

students. Table 4.2 presents the first theme and associated categories in shortened form.

The last section of this chapter concludes with an overall summary of the research findings regarding the first theme.

<center>Participants' Demographic Information</center>

For this study, a total of nineteen gay male faculty members of color voluntarily participated. A questionnaire was sent to the participants prior to the individual interview to prepare them in providing demographic information at the beginning of each interview; the template can be found in Appendix B. Demographic information was then collected separately from and prior to the actual interviews using open-ended and structured conversations based on that questionnaire. The list of interview questions can be found in Appendix C. Table 4.1 describes the demographic information collected from the interview participants (under pseudonyms) including their race, ethnicity, degree of openness of sexual orientation, region, age group, and current job position. Pseudonyms are used throughout this study to ensure anonymity and confidentiality of the participants. These pseudonyms were chosen from the list of the most common male first names and the list of the most common surnames in the U.S. Census 2000 (See Appendix D and Appendix E).

Table 4.1
Demographic Information

Name	Race	Ethnicity	Degree of Openness of Sexual Orientation	Region	Age Group	Current Position
Anthony Young	Black	African American	Open with a few trusted people	West	Late 50s	University Professor (Tenured)
Brian Lee	Asian	Chinese American/ Asian American	Open with everyone	Midwest	Early 40s	Adjunct Professor Part-time Administrator
Chris Wright	Native American	Native American/ Latino	Open with many people	Midwest	Early 40s	Associate Professor (Tenured)
David Green	African American	African American Native American Irish	Open with everyone	Northeast	Late 40s	Assistant Professor (Tenure-Track)
Edward Turner	African American	African American	Open with a few trusted people	Midwest	Early 60s	Associate Professor (Tenured)
Fredrick Smith	African American	African American	Open with a few trusted people	Midwest	Late 40s	Assistant Professor (Tenure-Track)
Gilbert Rivera	Asian/ Pacific Islander	Pilipino American	Open with many people	Midwest	Mid 30s	Adjunct Professor Part-time Administrator
Howard Phillips	African American	African American	Open with everyone	Northeast	Late 30s	Assistant Professor (Tenure-Track)
Jesse Ingram	African American	Black	Open with a few trusted people	Southeast	Mid 40s	University Professor: Interim Vice Provost (Tenured)

Keith Olson	Middle Eastern	White/Middle Eastern	Open with a few trusted people	Northeast	Early 40s	Associate Professor (Tenured)
Leonard Hayes	Latino	Cuban	Open with everyone	Southeast	Mid 50s	University Professor (Tenured)
Melvin Kelly	Black	Black American	Open with everyone	Southeast	Mid 50s	Associate Professor (Tenured)
Nathan Jones	Black	Caribbean Black	Open with a few trusted people	Southeast	Early 40s	Fulltime Professor (Non-Tenure Track)
Oscar Martin	Black	Afro Latino	Open with a few trusted people	Northeast	Late 30s	Associate Professor (Tenured)
Pat Freeman	Asian	Chinese	Open with everyone	Midwest	Mid 30s	Assistant Professor (Tenure-Track)
Ryan Nelson	African American	African American/Black	Open with everyone	Midwest	Late 30s	Assistant Professor (Tenure-Track)
Shane Edwards	African American	African American	Open with many people	Northeast	Late 40s	Associate Professor/ Associate Dean (Tenured)
Terry Davis	African American	Western European	Open with many people	Southeast	Early 40s	Associate Professor (Tenured)
Wesley Vasquez	Latino	Puerto Rican	Open with everyone	Northeast	Mid 40s	Assistant Professor (Tenure Tack, Under Review)

All of the nineteen interviews were conducted by telephone. The interviews ranged in length from one hour and five minutes to two hours and thirty-minutes with an average length of approximately one hour and forty-five minutes. The participants' ages ranged from the mid 30s to the early 60s. In order to establish a robust sample of participants who were of color and openly gay, the sample of this study was drawn from across the United States. One participant was from the West, seven participants were from the Midwest, six participants were from the Northeast, and five participants were from the Southeast. Their positions in higher education varied at the time of the interview. One participant, Professor Nathan Jones, taught full time at one institution and also part time at two other institutions. Two of the participants, Professor Brian Lee and Professor Gilbert Rivera, were adjunct professors who also had administrative positions at their institutions. There were also seven associate professors who had acquired tenures at their college institutions. One of them, Professor Shane Edwards, was an Associate Dean at his institution. There were three university professors, Professor Anthony Young who was a nursing professor, Professor Leonard Hayes who was a law professor, and Professor Jesse Ingram who was an Interim Vice Provost.

The racial identities of the participants varied. Twelve of them identified as either Black or African American, three of them identified as Asian Pacific Islander or Asian American (of those, two were born in the United States and one was foreign born), one identified as Native American, one identified as Middle Eastern, and two identified as Latino (both of them were foreign born). Interestingly, some of them mentioned that they were actually biracial or multiracial because their ancestors came from different racial backgrounds or because their great-great grandparents came from different places.

However, all participants officially self-identified as fitting into only one or two of the racial categories listed on the questionnaire (See Appendix B).

Because American culture has historically been based on that of immigrants from countries in Europe, Africa, and Asia, contemporary Americans often identify themselves in mixed racial terms as culturally diverse people. In fact, many of the participants identified their race and their ethnic background separately. For instance, Professor Brian Lee explained that he identified racially as Asian but that he more frequently identified with his ethnic background than his racial background. According to him, race really did not represent his core identities, so he specifically identified himself as a Chinese American in the interview. Another participant, Professor Chris Wright, talked about his racial identity as a person of mixed-race and provided a brief story about his racial background first as a Native American and then as a descendant of Latinos. However, Professor Wright's core identity was Native American. He said, and he asked for it to be listed as such. Professor Wesley Vasquez also distinguished between his ethnic and racial identities. He placed himself first as Latino and then clarified that he was actually a Puerto Rican. He did not identify himself as American because he was born in Puerto Rico. Even another foreign born professor, Professor Pat Freeman, also identified himself as Asian but more specifically as Chinese, having been born and raised in Hong Kong.

In addition to Professor Lee, Professor Vasquez, Professor Wright, and Professor Freeman above, two more participants emphasized their ethnic backgrounds as complex. Professor David Green identified his racial identity as Black, but he said that his racial identity did not reveal at all where he came from. Professor Green told that his ethnic identities came from "a mixture" saying, "Primarily, I am African American though I

have a Native American, Irish, White Irish ancestry as well." Professor Terry Davis talked about his ethnic background in a little different way by identifying himself as African American, but ethnically as Western European because he was adopted and raised by a White family in a White community when he was small. He said, "My ethnicity has always been tricky. I was raised by a White family, Caucasian family. So, I would say Western European."

As for participants' identifications of sexual orientation, their degrees of openness about their sexual orientation varied from being closed about it to all but a few trusted people to being casually open about it with everyone. Since this study focused on self-identified gay male faculty members of color, there was no person whose sexual orientation was totally closeted in their respective institution of higher education. However, their perception of others about their own sexual orientation or their comfortableness of their sexual orientation on campus varied. Seven participants described how only a few trusted people knew they were gay, four participants said that several people or many people knew that they were gay but were still not totally open about being gay on campus, and eight people responded that they were totally open about being gay on campus so that almost everyone knew.

Theme One: Managing Anti-Reciprocal Relations with Power Holders

This study drew out the life stories of the nineteen participants, focusing on their academic journey through higher education as gay men of color. In the interviews, the participants revealed their experiences in higher education as gay men of color from a time in the past when they were students to the present as faculty. Some had been professors in higher education for more than 30 years; others had just started their careers

as assistant or adjunct professors. In the next three sections of this chapter, the participants' voices will be raised so that their experiences in higher education both as students and as faculty members can be seen with a special emphasis on any experiences involving racism and homophobia that occurred in higher education. This study intended to highlight how racist-homophobic bullying did impact the lives of these gay male faculty members of color in their academic careers in higher education.

Interview notes and transcriptions were produced as data sources for this study based on the individual interviews with participants. The following data display (Table 4.2) presents a summary of the first major theme and several categories that were found in the study:

Table 4.2
Identified Themes in Participants' Life Stories: Theme One

Theme One: Managing Anti-Reciprocal Relations with Power Holders

    a. Positional Bullying

        i. Negotiating the Restricted Self: Political and Hostile Nature in Higher Education
        ii. Tenure Promotion
        iii. Interactions with Power Holders

    b. Counter-Positional Bullying

        i. Bigotry and Stereotypes: Students' Attitudes Towards Gay Male Faculty Members of Color
        ii. Questioning both Authority and Credentials Because of Race and Sexual Orientation
        iii. Student Evaluations

    c. Unintentional Conspirative Positional Bullying

The analysis of the data revealed three main themes: 1) Managing Anti-Reciprocal Relations with Power Holders; 2) Developing a Career Plan Informed by the Restrictions of Homophobia and Racism; and 3) Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization. In this chapter, the first of the three themes is addressed, Managing Anti-Reciprocal Relations with Power Holders. This theme represents various relationships and interactions among the gay male faculty members of color and others such as administrators, deans, chairs, colleagues, and students in higher education to show how positionality affected the experiences of the gay male faculty members of color in higher education. This theme was manifested in three ways: a) *Positional Bullying* (bullying engaged in by a person in a position of power); b) *Counter-Positional Bullying* (bullying engaged in by a person who is in a position of less power but whose positionality empowers them to bully a person disenfranchised by their race, gender, or sexual orientation); and c) *Unintentional Conspirative Positional Bullying* (bullying engaged in simultaneously and collaboratively by a group of at least two people who are in superior and subordinate positions of power in terms of their identities as White and/or heterosexual, which enables them to bully a person who is disenfranchised by their race, gender, or sexual orientation). The following section will cover the first category of *Positional Bullying* under the first main theme, Managing Anti-Reciprocal Relations with Power Holder.

<p style="text-align:center">*Positional Bullying*</p>

Bullying and mobbing grow in an uncivil and hostile environment. Scholars and researchers have found the existence of bullying in K-12 school environments, work environments, and general academic areas including higher education. Higher education

greatly values and sustains a bureaucratic style of management based on traditional ways of managing people such as White supremacy, patriarchy, and elitism. Therefore, people who do not possess majority characteristics have extra burdens placed on them just to be accepted or promoted in mainstream higher education and in some cases even to survive in higher education. Furthermore, such bureaucratic systems create uncivil and hostile environments that encourage bullying and mobbing because of the unevenly distributed power dynamics, and, when race and sexual orientation are added as factors, bullying and mobbing become more complex.

When the participants of this study were asked to describe their experiences in higher education, they often replied by some recounting difficult journey. As faculty members in higher education, the nineteen gay male faculty members of color in this study reported that they had to manage their academic careers through interactions with people in various contexts within higher education. Through those interactions and within those contexts, positional bullying appeared on certain pivotal occasions.

Negotiating the Restricted Self: Political and Hostile Nature in Higher Education

The first subcategory that emerged in the Positional Bullying category*,* was *Negotiating the Restricted Self: Political and Hostile Nature in Higher Education.* Most of the participants in this study (seventeen out of the nineteen participants) responded that they had experienced bullying related to racism, homophobia, heterosexism, and sexism in higher education. For gay men of color, the climate in higher education could be an important indicator of how successful they would be on campus as faculty members. So, to a certain extent, positionality really had impacted the academic lives of the participants. One of the stories that supported this subcategory appeared in Professor

Wesley Vasquez's story. He was a Latino assistant professor who talked about how higher education in general had systematically created an unwelcoming environment for professors like him:

> *I think culturally it's not welcoming... There's no way in which that*
> *space reflects me culturally. So, like you know, in all years I've*
> *been there, I've only been, for example, to one activity where*
> *Latino food was served. One activity. It's kind of weird. It's also*
> *you know the Whitest place I have worked out of my whole life.*
> *Mostly White, It's like 98% of the faculty is White. About 89% of*
> *the students are White. But I didn't mean you know White in the*
> *sense that there's a lot of White people… it's a place that only*
> *reflects, you know, an upper-middle class culture. That doesn't*
> *reflect anything else. So, that regard, it's not a very welcoming*
> *place for me.*

Professor Vasquez also talked about how the institutional culture of the faculty member treatment could be a factor of positional bullying at his current institution. One thing he had understood over time was that when the institution evaluated their faculty members, they always utilized their own standards and criteria which emphasized White supremacy, patriarchy, and heterosexism. It manifested in Professor Vasquez's story that higher education's culture and political standpoints also covertly undermined his academic career.

Gay male faculty members of color in this study also talked about how positional bullying had often manifested itself at an institutional level such as campus climate,

institutional policies, and administration. Professor Vasquez described how positional bullying could exist under the surface to undermine minorities in higher education. Understanding how positionality operated at his current institution made him more aware of positional bullying. He shared a story where he was silenced institutionally because he had to adopt an unquestioned norm, one that was based on White middle class:

> *You know, discrimination in this place is very very sophisticated;*
>
> *it's really not a matter of discrimination, right? It's more a matter*
>
> *of posing a set of White norms and values, White middle class*
>
> *norms and values that are imposed as the norm, never asked. I*
>
> *don't teach in South or Southeast. I'm teaching in Northeast. And*
>
> *it's urban and a very much cosmopolitan environment. But the*
>
> *imposition of these norms, all of that is imposed as an*
>
> *unquestioned norm. There's never a questioning of those norms*
>
> *and there's never a critique of those norms. So, that's how you*
>
> *know White supremacy gets reproduce in that institution.*

Another story that described an institutional act of positional bullying was succinctly evidenced in a story from Professor Terry Davis, an African American associate professor:

> *Higher education tends to be very political. Well, as a person of*
>
> *color, I have been excluded by different institutions, and I have*
>
> *gone to those institutions and I expected that there is their desire to*
>
> *increase diversity but when you get to the intuitions, they are not*
>
> *always understanding what it means to be supportive of faculty of*

color or gay faculty. I have one experience where I went to a

university and was asked to serve on the diversity committees even

though this might not be my expertise. And as a person of color,

gay men, students, minority students, and other students would

come to you for advice or advocacy, so they were either treated

differently or there was a climate of hostility. So, I would advocate

for students and that would cause problem for me. The politics

would then come back to hurt me.

Other support for this subcategory can be found in the interview data from Professor Keith Olson, a Middle Eastern associate professor, who talked about how difficult it was for him to find a position and sustain the position in higher education because the nature of higher education was very homophobic and racist for him:

I mean I had very very hard time getting a job. And, I'm sure that

was mostly because of homophobia. And also certain ideas about

my ethnic and racial background. I'm not the world's most well-

known Queer theorist. But, I identify myself as a Queer theorist,

and I used Queer Theory in my dissertation that became my book

although it is about chronicle traditional English poetry. So, it

wasn't an incredibly left wing, but at the same time, it was enough

of trouble that I had very hard time. I had lots of interviews, but I

had years and years of interviews. But I had very hard time getting

a job. So, I was the third on the list on the position. Luckily, I got

that a visiting position….There was homophobia and certain kind

> *of, homophobia in that way actually, I think. Well, in this case the*
>
> *guy was really out, the department wanted to hire him, but the*
>
> *dean said no.*

Professor Olson felt that homophobia and heterosexism were significant detriments to his academic experiences as a faculty member, once experiencing an incident where race was a primary factor among faculty members in his department:

> *I also feel that if you are of racial and ethnicity and you are gay,*
>
> *there is a sense that they don't want two of them. We already have*
>
> *of those, no matter who you are. And, I know that people of whose*
>
> *racial identification are much more strongly marked, that's a*
>
> *problem. I work in a fairly large department now, so it doesn't*
>
> *come up that much, but in small departments, I think it happens all*
>
> *the time. In a larger department, I have seen things that are*
>
> *certainly shaky. Like, trying to talk about person's skin color, like*
>
> *in terms of you know, how brown it is. Well, here is an example.*
>
> *One time at a faculty meeting, they were discussing that they*
>
> *wanted someone who was African American. So they were actually*
>
> *talking about skin color. I mean unbelievable. Somebody darker,*
>
> *rather than somebody lighter. I thought it was incredible.*

Professor Anthony Young, a Black tenured university professor, and Professor Oscar Martin, a Black associate professor both discussed how their professional discipline had been unwelcoming. Professor Young described how he had been an outsider in his field and at his department:

> *I have been in a profession that is dominated by White women.*
>
> *There're so few people like me in the field of Nursing. They (White*
>
> *female administrators and faculty members) think that they know*
>
> *more than I do simply because of the way I look. And I am a very*
>
> *much minority within the field of Nursing. Simply because I am a*
>
> *person that does not look like them in anyway neither gender-wise*
>
> *or racial-wise.*

Professor Martin also felt that he was an outsider who was different from the other professors in the field:

> *You know, it's higher education, but it's so specific to the field of*
>
> *Nursing. Mainly because I am such an outsider in the world of*
>
> *academic nursing, I'm not what people expect. You know, when I*
>
> *walk into the classroom, students don't expect me to be their*
>
> *professor because the nursing field and professors are mostly old*
>
> *White women.*

The experiences of Professors Olson, Vasquez, Young, and Martin were similar to those of others among the participants in this study. Most of the gay male faculty members of color in this study felt that they were somehow different from other faculty members. They often had to negotiate their racial and sexual identities, which restricted their moves and advancements in higher education. Whereas some places in higher education were inclusive in terms of diversity and positionality, others were not. Professor Olson, a Middle Eastern associate professor, talked about how he had to deal with his positions at the previous institution:

As a faculty member, I definitely had a sense that I was different.

Certainly when I was at the previous institution in Southeast, I had

a sense that I didn't fit in quite. Well, there was this place for an

ethnic person. <laugh> Right? When I left the institution, I was

replaced by a whitish ethnic person. Right? You know sort of a

cream color guy. And, there was definitely this feeling that "OK. I

was little different." And, there was a tenured African American

woman who had been just hired when I got there. And, she actually

said to me about it. And, one day she said we are going to

president's house for the summer reception. And, she said, "You

and I are going to the back door." She also knew that she did not

fit in. I mean the institution is very hard itself to anybody who is

not protestant.

Similarly, Professor David Green, an African American assistant professor, felt that he was different and an outsider at his current location:

I am in Northeast now. In times, I feel I am in an environment

where I am minority, several times over. I'm Black in a White-

dominated place, White culture, and White community, gay in a

pretty predominantly straight community, and I'm in an interracial

couple in a place where there are very few interracial couples. I

feel my difference, my sense of estrangement.

Professor Green discussed how minority scholars' research studies were often discounted by mainstream scholars because minority issues are dismissed as individual and personal.

He expressed how positionality influenced the representation of his scholarship on a White-dominated campus:

> *I think that there is a sense that it seems to be identity focused that my scholarship my work is different from other people's work. It's different in a sense that it carries a different type of validity and it contributes to a sense of not exclusion, but a sense of being conspicuous in my body in a way that other people are not. So, it's sort of tricky kind of in a way which I've been negotiating this over my career trying to think about how to not have those types of anxieties, how people evaluate what I do because I feel that it gets, some of the work I do get diminished and unimportant partly because it's seen as a minority issue.*

For Professor Green, being a Black gay man in a White dominated campus had often made him feel that he was on display since the campus had very few faculty of color. He was often asked to do things related to his race or sexuality, and he often felt that he had no choice but to accept those invitations. He provided an example where he gave a campus wide presentation on his work but felt very vulnerable doing it as a gay assistant professor of color:

> *Recently, I gave a talk on campus. I was selected by the senior class to give a campus wide talk. I was very nervous about it. I didn't really want to do it because it was a big campus-wide talk and I was hoping not to be on display. Sometimes, I don't want to be on display. It has to do with feeling conspicuous. I just want to*

be a faculty member, and not being on display. And, this is where

the trickiness comes in how to talk about that. As you see, at the

previous institution in West, it was a large campus, and I never felt

really on display because there were so many people. They didn't

need me to do things. Sometimes other people would do for them.

But, here, a smaller campus and the campus has very few People

of Color and so as a person of color, I am called on to do things

sometimes in a greater number, in a higher number than I would

have been at other places. And, so, this was one of those cases

when students nominated me for this honor of giving this speech. I

felt really conspicuous. I didn't want to feel that way.

Professor Green continued to speak about his experience of giving the campus talk and

the nervousness and vulnerability he felt in front of the audience as a gay male faculty of

color with research connecting to his identity:

Again my talk was on chapters from my book project. It's a science

fiction novel, Black woman who's married to a White man. So, I

gave the talk and it was very interdisciplinary. I dealt with social

science research, interracial couples. I did a close critical scrutiny

of various texts. I put in a large context of history of interracial

oppression. So, it was a good paper. I am proud of the paper. My

partner was with me in the audience as well. And, he works on

campus, too. I've never been as nervous giving a talk in my life.

But I was very nervous on that day because it was campus-wide. I

was on the stage, lights on my face. I couldn't see. But, I felt very

vulnerable. I felt very exposed because at that point, you know,

people weave to link my scholarship with my body, with my person.

I wasn't writing about being gay. But, I was not writing about gay

people. Since I am in an interracial couple relationship as well, it

linked me to what I was writing about, what I was speaking about,

in a way that made me feel very exposed. , I was very

uncomfortable in my skin. And, so I stumbled a little more than I

usually do... I felt so acutely unnerved.

Professor Shane Edwards, an African American associate dean and associate professor, also expressed how he had experienced positional bullying at his previous institution where, as a minority faculty, he was given extra burdens and began to feel like an institutional display. While it was good for the institution because of the increased visibility of minorities on campus, it was not good for his career as a faculty member when he went up for his tenure review where the service component was not really valued and did not help his promotion:

I think the biggest negative example would have been when I didn't

get promoted at the other institution. And, it was couched under

scholarship that I didn't have enough scholarship, but at the same

time it was here where they were definitely using me a lot for

service and making sure that I had high visibility so they could say

that they had minority faculty. But when it came time to making

sure that I was doing the things that were going to ultimately get

> *me promoted, nobody was working with me. I think that's the*
>
> *major issue.*

Gay male faculty members of color in this study perceived the college environment as a key issue for them. Higher education utilized its own positional power to marginalize, discount, and bully the gay male faculty members of color, preventing them from gaining profits and advantages. The next subcategory is specifically about gay male faculty members' experiences of their tenure promotion in higher education.

Tenure Promotions

The second subcategory under *Positional Bullying* that emerged from the data was *Tenure promotions*. Like all other professors in higher education, gay male faculty members of color also go through promotions from assistant professor, to associates professor, and finally to full professor. Tenure promotion is an important aspect of professors' lives in higher education. Having a secured position enhances people's abilities to pursue a higher quality of life not only in their personal lives off campus but also in their lives at their workplaces.

However, the process of tenure promotions is thought of as mysterious and secretive for faculty members who are coming up for their tenure promotions. This institutional ritual often creates hostile and uncivil environments in higher education because criteria or standards for tenuring a faculty member are often based on traditional and conventional rules and regulations where White supremacy and heterosexism collaborate to embed racism and homophobia in the process, which damages the prospects for gay male faculty members of color, who work extra hard to compete with

others such as White men, White women, heterosexual men, and heterosexual women who may be socioculturally advantaged.

In this study, twelve participants had experienced or were experiencing the process of tenure promotion either at their previous institutions or at their current institutions. Ten people were tenured as associate professors or university professors, one assistant professor was in the review process of his tenure, and one assistant processor had just been denied his tenure.

Professor Shane Edwards, an African American associate professor and associate dean, described above in the previous subsection how he was doing something about diversity for the institution as he was asked but that his service for the university did nothing to help him receive a tenure promotion. His experience showed that the institution of higher education utilized positional power to gain its own benefit by using him as a display due to his being a gay male faculty member of color. Professor Edwards in that case was used by the institution for the institution's advantages. He described how he was isolated when he went up for his tenure review. No one helped him with the promotion process. After all of his work, Professor Edwards was denied his tenure at the institution and eventually left.

Professor Fredric Smith, an African American gay male faculty member, was an assistant professor who was also denied his tenure. Professor Smith went up for his tenure reviews last year. He described how things could change over time. His previous annual reviews were mostly positive, so he had thought that his tenure process would go well. However, it had turned out to be the biggest disappointment and the most negative experience for him as a faculty member in higher education:

This was a recent event. Actually, I was denied tenure. It happened

over the Christmas Break. And, I was totally surprised by it.

Because all my reviews each year I received outstanding, the

highest you could get. Then, come to my review…. Then I find out,

my work was not good enough. But the main thing is that I had

more publications than the person I went up with and I had raised

more money. But, there was some issue about how much research

time I was allocated. So, it came down to how much time was I, did

I have for research.

Professor Smith analyzed his experience and pointed out that this was a setup because he thought that everything was going well and he was receiving excellent reviews during his untenured years on tenure-track at the institution. However, no one person had told him that he needed more research time. By reflecting on the experience, Professor Smith was figuring out that positionality really influenced his tenure. In particular, race was a prominent factor to the denial of his tenure. He said that he had observed how other People of Color were treated in the department at his current institution. He had witnessed racism in the department and how race was strategically utilized to eliminate People of Color through tenure process. This is his position:

I think more race than anything [affected my tenure denial]

because there were only four African American professors here in

my department. So, the dean had fired one of them, denied me

tenure, gave my supervisor [who is African American] a limited

contract. So, my supervisor only got a two-year contract as our

division head. Normally, most people get a four-year contract. So,

it seems like there's some racism. Only because there's just a few

of us now, three of us are almost out to the door. So, I think that's

a big thing.

From his experience of having been denied his tenure, Professor Smith talked about how his perception of being a faculty member in higher education had been altered by the experience:

I think that the tenure business was the most negative. And, it has

changed my whole view of teaching and being in higher education.

I no longer want a professor position. Because if I do it again, I

would have to start all over. Because I mean my publications were

surrounding [medical and health] thing, and if I move to another

area, it's probably going to be education. I will not have any

publications that are really targeted at education thing. I still want

to stay in academia, but as an administrator. I will never go back

on the tenure truck. It has been a painful experience for me.

Professor Leonard Hayes, a Latino tenured university professor, had likewise experienced tenure process difficulties in higher education for over thirty years during his academic career. He particularly pointed out his negative experience in one of his tenure promotions at a previous institution where his sexual orientation was a significant factor:

One example is that when I was being considered for tenure at the

previous institution in South, one faculty member tried to get

> *junior faculty member to vote against me. Because I was gay. And,*
>
> *you know, that's one example of bullying.*

Professor Terry Davis, an African American associate professor, who had been to several different institutions before he came to his current institution said that he used to be a very active advocate for students and faculty members when they experienced negativity while teaching at previous institutions. However, helping others who experienced negativity did impact his tenure review.

According to Professor Davis, being a gay male faculty member of color in higher education was not easy for him. Because of the campus demographics with very few African Americans on campus, he had been aware of discrimination that was going on behind his back, and he sort of knew how his race and sexual orientation could be the obstacles in his career as a gay male faculty of color at the previous institution:

> *Well, my first couple of years there, I always felt like there was a*
>
> *target on my back, and I really, I was really having a hard time*
>
> *finding out specifically why. I knew that I was one of very very few*
>
> *African Americans on campus on faculty, and then also being gay,*
>
> *so I felt that, you know, I just felt like, you know…I didn't feel*
>
> *like…I know that my performance was never given the same weight*
>
> *as the other people's performance, when I would publish a major*
>
> *piece, you know, get teach awards, those were always diminished*
>
> *and minimized, and my contributions were devalued. And that was*
>
> *a part of I think that the move to try and create a rationale to my*
>
> *interpretation. It would have been illegal for them to dismiss me*

because I was gay or because I was African American or because I

confronted the issues of discrimination. But that's precisely what

happened. But they have created an argument that was based on

performance. They were firing you because your performance did

not reach the criteria. So there were many indicators and there

were something was going on behind the scene.

Professor Davis was not exactly sure what was really going on behind his back during his tenure process, but he knew that the institution was not supportive when he confronted the issues of discrimination. He felt that he was publicly fooled and professionally attacked through his whole tenure process. He had originally thought that he was doing the right thing to combat issues of discrimination since the institution seemed to be all for promoting diversity. The denial of his tenure coldly impacted his professional life.

The tenure process also impacted Professor Wesley Vasquez, a Latino assistant processor. At the time of his interview for this study, his tenure file was been reviewed, and he was at the final phase of the process. He mentioned in the interview that he had already been unofficially informed by the institution that he was going to receive his tenure at the institution. However, when he reflected on his experience of the tenure process, it was not all positive. In fact, he found that the tenure process was utilized to promote incivility and foster bullying among faculty members:

The tenure process was one of the most negative experiences in

higher education for me. I mean I think that, that is a moment

when people who don't like you feel completely free to treat you

badly and let you know that they don't give a fine f_ _ _. That's

very complex.

In such an intricate and politically natured space at his current institution, Professor Vasquez came to understand the institutional culture and the departmental culture where positional bullying also appeared:

You know, I ran into some serious rude exchanges where I just

simply have to leave. Well, for example, my chair was not really

supportive of this process although you know the chair has to

represent the will of the department not their will. There's no such

thing like a supportive environment for me, you know, in this place

I work. The tenuring of faculty is understood as an achievement of

failure of that faculty member. It's never understood as an

achievement of failure of the department. You know, there's very

little departmental commitment in tenuring people.

He provided an incident of positional bullying where he had to deal with his chair for his tenure promotion:

One time, during my tenure review, my chair called me to come to

his office. Then, he told me, "I have to write a letter for you, and

it's the most complicated thing I have to write because I don't

know if I'm doing the right thing by writing your supportive letter.

And, I know that you know, well," I mean, he stops and says, "You

have been so incredibly rude ever since you got here, but I always

figured that sentiment was mutual." I guess that's not a subtle

moment of rudeness, I mean I'm telling you it was very very rude.

But, I have to say you know in five years of being there it was the

only time that I encountered that. But, I encountered it because this

person could. You know, when, and it was like a perfect situation

to be able to do that because you know they had their hand on the

pen that was going to say "keep or let him go." So, he knew that I

had to be polite. This one guy was aggressive because he could. If

he had not had that opportunity, he would have had never done

that because really we never talk. Because we just don't talk.

Professor Vasquez also reflected on his experiences with his chair and others faculty

members at his current institution where positional bullying continuously manifested in

tenure processes:

Many chairs are not very supportive at all. Because sometimes

people get hired and the chair didn't want these people hired. They

make the faculty person's life hell, you know? Every day, day in

and day out, I know that in my school the last two black women

went up for tenure, were denied tenure. And, it was because their

chair wrote a letter asking the committee not to tenure them.

Experiences like those of Professor Edwards, Professor Smith, Professor Hayes,

Professor Davis, and Professor Vasquez are not uncommon for gay male faculty

members of color in higher education. A tenure process is highly political and reflects on

the culture of program, department, and institution in higher education. Institutional

abuse of power or institutional positional bullying including institutionalized racism and

homophobia continue to influence the lives of gay male faculty members of color in higher education.

Interactions with Power Holders: Manifestations of Homophobia, Heterosexism, and Racism

Like any community, higher education has its own social culture of how people interact with each other. Since higher education has been traditionally bureaucratic, it manifests some kind of power dynamics among populations in higher education. The third subcategory that emerged from the participants' stories was *Interactions with power holders.* This subcategory presents how gay male faculty members of color had to deal with people who had higher institutional and/or sociocultural statues in their careers. In some cases, those people with higher status often automatically assume that gay male faculty members of color are subordinates. This subcategory was seen in all of the nineteen participant data. In this subcategory, participants talked about how their White and/or heterosexual deans, chairs, and colleagues had abusively and politically utilized their positional power or status to exclude, isolate, undermine, humiliate, devalue, intimidate, and/or bully gay male faculty members of color based on their race and/or sexual orientation.

Power holders: Deans. When the participants talked about their negative experiences as gay male faculty members of color in higher education, they described their relationships with power holders. Professor Melvin Kelly, a Black American associate professor, talked about his experience of being excluded from an important meeting about the new tenure and promotion process by his associate dean:

When I was in the previous university in South, there was a

meeting. The university had changed the tenure and promotion

process. One of the associate deans held a meeting to describe the

changes to the junior faculty members. And, he only sent the

invitations to the meeting to the White faculty members. He didn't

send the invitations to any of the People of Color who were the

junior faculty members. I found out about the meeting because one

of the White members asked me, "Are you going to the meeting?"

And, I said, "What meeting?" I went to him, one of the assistant

deans, and asked "What happened that you only sent the

information to the White people?" And, he said, "Oh, you're

trying to play the race card." <laugh> And I said, "Is it true that

you only sent the information to the White people?" And, he got

upset, and you know, he said it was just a mistake or something

like that. But it was sort of a big mistake.

More often, gay male faculty members of color in this study described a more overt appearance of positional bullying. The story from Professor David Green, an African American assistant professor, clearly described how positional bullying operated under the power holder, a newly hired White female dean. She had different visions and management styles, and utilized her positional power to push her own agendas, which influenced Professor Green's perception of being an assistant professor at his current institution:

One of the incidents that I want to mention with the new White female dean. I am on a program committee for Africana Studies…. It has to do with the vision, how the Africana studies search should proceed. For example, the faculty on the committees, they believe that the college should exhibit greater, these are my words, paraphrasing, they should, the college should exhibit a stronger commitment to developing the Africana Studies program…. Despite the fact, we don't have a director. Because directorship is hard to find. But, in the absence of director, the college already has some vision of what an Africana studies program should look like, should therefore hire faculty to contribute to curriculum that's going to create a stronger program…. The dean, on the other hand, believed differently. She was afraid or nervous about hiring faculty to fill up the Africana Studies program because she felt that a director, any potential director, would want to have the freedom to bring in their own people…. And, so in that meeting, with all of those other faculty from the committees, that tension was those hostile and conflict were under the surface, near to the surface, although people tried to keep their language very respectful. It was very tense. Maybe 15 people were in there…. I was one of the junior people in the committee. I am very junior. In the fact, I was the most junior person in the room…. I'd been invited to join the

> *Africana studies program, and I was only one person of African*
>
> *descendant in the room.*

Although a racial dynamic was apparent at the meeting, it did not impact how Professor Green continued to manage his position there. He tried to understand what was going on in terms of his role in the committee because he was a new committee member. So, he did not speak much in that meeting. A couple of days after the meeting, Professor Green received an email from the new White female dean. Her positional bullying toward Professor Green overtly appeared:

> *I got an email from the dean a couple of days later. She wanted to*
>
> *have lunch with me. The email mentioned she wanted to talk about*
>
> *that meeting. So, I went to one of my colleagues who is the acting*
>
> *chair of Africana Studies and talked about that. He was upset*
>
> *because he felt that was very clear that what she was going to do,*
>
> *just take my brain. She wanted to get some insight on, the dynamic*
>
> *of the program committee, what they thought about her and about*
>
> *the process. How she can circumvent it. He felt that she could use*
>
> *me to get information about them. The other thing was he thought*
>
> *that she was trying to, I thought it as well, as a person of African*
>
> *decedent, try to use me as a person of color who is African*
>
> *descendent, as somehow authority on African stuff, on Africana*
>
> *studies. As if somehow, my being Black would lead kind of*
>
> *authenticity to whatever view that I might have. It made me*
>
> *uncomfortable what she was thinking. I didn't want to go to the*

meeting….It was very uncomfortable for me. I wasn't forthcoming.

I offered what I could offer, but I was not going to share

information that I heard from my colleagues at the meeting. And,

she tried to get me offer up some personal experiences, personal

views on Africana studies. Very reticent to get into the middle of

this sort of dynamic between the dean's office and the program

committee. I did not think I should be put in that position. And

noted my colleague, he was furious that he was putting me in that

position. And, so I was very reticent. I spoke very generally about

my views about the program, but I did not want to share very much

with her. I did not want to be put in a position where I had to.

The dean was not happy with what Professor Green was sharing. She was not getting

what she wanted from him. So, she went to the next level of using her positional power to

try to get what she wanted at the lunch meeting:

She was not being aggressive or hostile. I knew she was using very

respective and polite tones but underneath at all there was this

other agenda…. And what she said to me was that "Well, David,

you should really try to value your contribution to the campus

because after all the college has done a lot for you." And, she did

not clarify what she meant. When she said that, I was absolutely

shocked. I was shocked almost speechless because what she was

implying was that the college had offered, had done a partner

hire…. and that I owe her. I owe her information. That's how I

read it…. And, this is the kind of management style that she has

been exhibiting on campus…. I was angry at myself not calling her

on it. But, I was so surprised she would even mention that, and I

was kind of paralyzed. I did not say anything about it, and give

what she wanted. And, we ended up the meeting with her being

frustrated, but I felt, "Oh, my God. This woman tried to threaten

me, blackmail me."….I felt so unsafe that this is kind a personality

that I am dealing with.

Often times, the college sociocultural environment changes when new leaders come in, as happened to Professor Green. On one hand, new leaders with different perspectives may help transform colleges into better places, but on the other hand, new leaders may begin to create an uncivil or hostile environment. Professor Fredrick Smith, an African American assistant professor directly witnessed how negatively People of Color at his current college were being treated by the new dean, and then he actually experienced some racism from the dean himself:

I have mixed emotion about her. And, it really came from other

people on campus. The people I have talked to had warned me

before she even came over that she was racist. But, when she first

got here, I didn't think so until she started making some comments

that I thought were very strange or a person in her position to

make. The first time, she was trying to tell a story, but the story

was about her daughter who has wondered why Black people have

bad teeth. What she was trying to say was that Blacks do not have

> *access to oral health care, things like that. But it didn't come off*
>
> *that way. And, I took it very offensive.*

In addition to his negative experience about race with the new White female dean, Professor Smith had a similar experience with the male former dean of the institution regarding sexual orientation:

> *There was our former dean. I thought was a very kind of good*
>
> *friends. We were very pleasant with each other when we talked.*
>
> *But one day he saw me with another professor who was White and*
>
> *who was openly gay, and he just made an assumption that I was*
>
> *gay and he could talk to me very freely about it. And, I didn't tell*
>
> *him I was or anything, he just assumed. It's kind of obvious and so*
>
> *blunt the way he kind of put it. <laugh> Well, then, he wanted to*
>
> *know who else is in the college is gay. It was like a witch hunting*
>
> *to me. I was like I don't know. But, he wanted names and then he*
>
> *proceeded to ask me about certain people and he says, "I think*
>
> *that one might be." So, that's kind of an inconvenience with sexual*
>
> *orientation. After that I limited my contact with him, I try not to get*
>
> *into any issue that might even involve around that.*

Positional bullying could also manifest covertly and politically. Professor Terry Davis, an African American associate professor, provided an example where an administrator was camouflaging his homophobia to foster homophobia and heterosexism on campus:

I had a conversation with one of the administrators who I thought

was supportive about diversity and who had actually interviewed

me for the position, and said to me that I would be valuable asset

in their effort towards diversity. But I didn't realize that it turned

out he was homophobic and previously tried to interfere with an

openly gay man becoming a department chair at the institution.

Not understanding that he would not be supportive, I have been I

guess fooled by it<laugh>…There is rhetoric of diversity. You

know, people talk about diversity and they talk about in terms of

numbers and trying to increase numbers and tolerance. But that's

not always manifesting a feel welcoming environment.

Professor Davis also described a specific incident where the administrator and he were

dealing with the discrimination policy on campus:

There was a movement on campus and faculty senate to add sexual

orientation to the discrimination policy. And, I was on the

university senate chairing the diversity committee out of the senate

and for the senate. And, you know, the conversation about benefits

for the LGBT faculty and students, and staff, like health benefit,

tuition waiver, and those kinds of things. Those conversations

came up along side of this conversation about inclusion sexual

orientation in the discrimination policy and this administrator

particular articulated that it was slippery slope and we were

referred to gay and lesbian people are those people. So, that was

one very clear indication, and there was also what I come to

understand that he had intentionally blocked the advancement,

tried to keep that person from becoming a departmental chair who

was gay.

The gay male faculty members of color in this study reported that positional bullying could also be passive in higher education. The story from Professor Pat Freeman, an Asian assistant professor, was an example. He expressed that passive forms of discouragement had restricted him more in terms of what he could do in academia than overt or aggressive discouragement:

I think for orientation. It depends on how you got into your

position. Because I chose another field that was not LGBT or

Asian Pacific Islanders (API), in this case is gerontology and

geriatrics,… my evaluation is not necessarily based on LGBT work

or API focused research. Instead, for me it's been kind of difficult

to try to do more research in LGBT or API because either my

department or my boss don't view it as important, or they don't

view it as this is the area of inquiry that they expected from

me….So, a lot of API and LGBT work that I'm trying to do are

always on a top of what I'm doing and so it becomes an add-on….

So, I ended up not being able to focus more on LGBT and API

work. But I think it has to do with more inconveniences that

because of my boss and my department don't really prioritize

LGBT work or API work specifically that inconveniences that I

have to do my other work on top of what I want to do sometimes,

LGBT and API work. I don't know if discourage is the right word

because discourage sounds a little more active. But, a little more

passive than that where if you say, "I did this, and I did that."

They're kind of, "Oh, that's nice." So, it's very passive kind of,

"That's nice"…but it's never encouraged. So, then you kind of

read between the lines and kind of know, "Okay, that's not

something that they don't really care about," you know? No one

ever said don't do it. Or No one else said it is not very important.

They all say, "That's nice." But, it's never a priority.

Uneven distribution of power: Departmental chairs and colleagues. Positional bullying appears in top-down relationships through institutional status and sociocultural identities like race and sexual orientation and rankings like dean and professor. The gay male faculty members of color participating in this study also talked about how their chairs and colleagues at their departments could utilize their power to bully or mob gay male faculty members of color. Most participants, seventeen out of the nineteen participants, described positional bullying that appeared at a departmental level including in general faculty interactions, at faculty meetings, and at staff meetings. Professor Chris Wright, a Native American associate processor, expressed how power dynamics operated among faculty members at departmental meetings:

I don't think I felt uncomfortable. I think that they probably felt

more uncomfortable around me as being around a person of color

than someone who is openly gay. I think it's been more of an issue

in that way. You know, students are actually very accepting often

times more than some of my colleagues. I can tell, often times you

can tell at meetings where, you know, just by body languages of

people or terribly comfortable. Or if I'm in a meeting with another

gay colleague, you know, we're talking about gay issue, I can just

tell by body language they are uncomfortable being around, you

know? I've seen situations where being around a person of color,

you can tell body language that they felt uncomfortable, you know?

So much more they exclude themselves versus excluding me in my

case. They can just tell me, you know? But just tightening up. It's

not like they move together the side of the room or anything, but

you can just tell when people are uncomfortable.

All of the participants who talked about their relationships with their colleagues (a total number of seventeen out of the nineteen participants) had constantly been disrespected, disregarded, and questioned either overtly or covertly by their colleagues because of their race and/or sexual orientation. Since gay male faculty members of color were isolated and not perceived as members of the gang by their colleagues, their academic journeys were made all the more difficult. One of the stories told by Professor Edward Turner, an African American associate professor, succinctly depicted how he was disrespected and discounted by his colleagues in his department as a gay male faculty of color:

Well, I feel that I'm excluded by the way people respond what I do.

Because they think that anybody can do what I do. I had made a

name for myself in the world of in the area of children's literature

where most colleagues are White females. And, I guess distinct

feeling from some of my colleagues that they think anyone can do

this or ask me, "How did you get to do it? I mean how are you

feeling to be well known? How are you functioning so highly in

this area?" Do you understand what I'm saying? They question my

success and my achievement. And I know they're questioning me

from racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual preference point of view….

I think that if I were a White male, I think what I experience would

be completely different because there would be an expectation that

White men know about these things. I don't think they would

question that at all.

Professor Turner continued to describe how people questioned his authority of

knowledge or credentials to be a professor in the department. He provided one incident

that had happened at another of the faculty meetings where his race and sexual

orientation became factors in positional bullying from his colleagues:

It could be, in terms of race, a little bit more overt than it is with

sexual orientation. Once I was in a meeting with colleagues, and

we were talking about some situation and people couldn't really

get a grasp on it. It was a question that puzzler or certain kind of

situation that puzzles many people, and I said, am I to offer this

kind of explanation, and I offered my explanation and people were

agreeing with it. One of my colleagues said to me, she was a White

female, "That makes sense to me, but if you could come up with it,

why couldn't other people come up with it?" In another words, I

could understand it and how come other people couldn't

understand it. That was absolutely an insult…. My opinions aren't

valued and what I bring to the table in terms of my knowledge and

experience are just dismissed.

Professor Turner described how other colleagues had excluded and put him down

covertly in the department:

The other way that I feel excluded is that whenever good things

have come to me, I've been offered various ways of being involved

on a national level in committees and so forth. Whenever those

situations were presented themselves and I have shared with my

colleagues, while they have said congratulations to me, their

congratulations does not ring, their congratulations rings shallow.

They aren't really excited or happy for me. They wonder why I'm

working so hard. And, they have in so much told me, "Why you're

doing all of these things?" I had to say to them, "You don't

understand. I've been excluded for so long, here and the national

round." Now, these things are coming to me late in my career. I

still want to do them. And, I am making limitations, I don't accept

everything. But, that is just one more way of people saying things

that harm or hurt or exclude.

Professor Turner also expressed that his sexual orientation had often been troubling to his colleagues in his department:

> *I often find people's response sexual orientation part very*
>
> *puzzling...Well, what I mean by that is their response is puzzling.*
>
> *They already see that you're black. And then, they react to the fact*
>
> *that I'm not married and that I'm old as I am, that I'm gay, and I*
>
> *have a few mannerisms, but for the most part, it's just baffle*
>
> *them.... They're baffled and are confused, and they don't really*
>
> *know quite where put me in a little niche in terms of my sexuality.*
>
> *I'm also not a kind of person who talks about who I'm dating. I*
>
> *don't talk about my previous relationships, and my preferences. I*
>
> *just don't bring into the work environment. I know it could be used*
>
> *against me.*

Professor Turner expressed how his experiences at his current institution had made him change his perception about his colleagues. Since he could not truly trust his colleagues, he needed to be able to manage his own journey by himself:

> *Well, I hate to say this, but in the same way it's made me very*
>
> *mistrustful or distrustful of people. I don't want to be bothered.*
>
> *And, it's made me angry. And, it's contributed to my anger....So, I*
>
> *think about these experiences and think how negative they are. And*
>
> *on another level, it saddens me. Deeply saddens me. And*
>
> *disappoints me. And, I'm tired of having to deal with this*
>
> *negativeness... thinking myself as an outsider. I'm an outsider. I'm*

not in a group of people who's making a big splash. I'm making

my own big splash.

A story from Professor Melvin Kelly, a Black associate professor, also described how he, as a gay male faculty member of color, was being questioned overtly about his abilities and credentials by one colleague in front of other colleagues at his current institution:

I chair the curriculum committee, and there was a proposal for an

international program. So, I checked the accrediting organization,

Standards for International Programs, and there were some

questions about the interpretation, so I called the accrediting

agency and spoke to them directly, and they sent a letter clarifying

exactly what we needed to do. So, we prepared the proposal, the

committee did, and we circulated it to the faculty. And some of the

faculty members said that it was inconsistent with the accrediting

agency's standards. And, I said, "No. I read the standards." And

they said "No, you misinterpreted them." I said, "I don't think

so." And, I called the agency and this is what they told me, and

they said, "No, that's not what they told you." I've never been in

that situation before. I've been in practice for, you know, 13 years,

where someone questioned my ability to read a rule or where I had

been given direct information from someone else about what the

rule means and how it should be interpreted. And, then people

would, you know, question my ability to understand what been

> *communicated to me. That was another situation. That's what we*
>
> *call, you know, **decision-making while black**.*

Positional bullying also manifested itself in one of the stories from Professor Jesse Ingram, an African American university professor and the Interim Vice Provost, where heterosexism appeared at a staff meeting:

> *I remember when I first started this administrative job, again I'm a*
>
> *vice provost now. And, I have a weekly meeting with the provost*
>
> *and two other vice provosts. And, I'm the only person of color, in*
>
> *that four-person group, only gay person in that four-person*
>
> *group... And I remember sitting there in the first few meetings, for*
>
> *the first three or four weeks, and this one talked about his wife, or*
>
> *this one talked about her husband or what not... So, my discomfort*
>
> *wasn't based on race in and of itself, it was based on orientation.*
>
> *It is a heterosexist assumption that you know, everyone else is*
>
> *heterosexual, everyone, according to traditional life, and the*
>
> *conversation and dialogue revolves around that belief…. So,*
>
> *you're often silenced…. I remember thinking or feeling kind of, you*
>
> *know, uncomfortable because I mean if I were a straight married*
>
> *person, clearly I would be contributing and participating in those*
>
> *conversations.*

Professor David Green, an African American assistant professor, also talked about the power dynamics among faculty members in the program committee meetings where his opinion was totally dismissed by his colleagues:

In one of the program committee meetings in Africana Studies, we

were trying to decide on who to hire for the one of the positions in

Africana Studies. I thought that, I was trying to encourage my

faculty fellows… to consider an Africana philosopher…. But I felt

that they disregarded it.

And then, two weeks ago….we [the same people, the

program committee] had a meeting with the new director. I again

raised the question because he was talking about what hires he

could make, and query two lines that he could use to hire people.

And, I used the opportunity to bring up my question about what he

thinks about Africana philosophy as a position for potential hire.

He jumped all over it. He was so enthusiastic. He said

"Absolutely! That would be absolutely essential to the program."

And I was sitting there thinking I wonder what my other colleagues

were thinking now after they had said when I raised the question.

Because I raised it and they really politely but dismissive way

because I am Black or I am Black and gay, and I am marginalized

double, twice over. I don't know but it was very striking because

they could not tell him no… but they could tell me.

Academic scholars are supposed to be highly educated in ethical behavior.

However, not everyone has the same ethics on professionalism. Positional bullying often

appears in one-on-one situations where a colleague utilizes his or her power to bully a

gay male faculty of color in a department in higher education. One incident of positional

bullying was described in a story from Professor Oscar Martin, a Black associate

professor, who had negative exchanges with his teaching colleague that detrimentally

impacted Professor Martin's perception of his colleague's academic ethics:

> *Well, I had a very negative experience about two years ago…. So, I*
>
> *gave a final to the pediatric students in my portion of the class.*
>
> *And, they get a grade for it. Well, the students, the pediatric*
>
> *students, they didn't like my exam. They thought my questions were*
>
> *not appropriate. Instead of coming to me, they complained to the*
>
> *other faculty member who was teaching a pediatric course. Now,*
>
> *this woman at that time she is a clinical professor. So, instead of*
>
> *her coming to me, she took my exam and she took apart herself to*
>
> *review my questions. She threw out four of my questions, she re-*
>
> *graded my exam and then sent me the students' new grades to let*
>
> *me know what she did. I at that point became enraged….I went to*
>
> *her office and…I told her, "How dare you do this. This is not*
>
> *acceptable." ….. Then I walked away. This became such a big deal*
>
> *because evidently she became startled and she felt that I was*
>
> *threatening her. They called campus security. The associate dean*
>
> *of Academic Affairs by the time I got back to my office… was at my*
>
> *office door and telling me that I can't yell at another professor….*
>
> *"You have been disruptive and you need to leave the building."*
>
> *This became a very big deal…. They didn't even come and ask me*
>
> *what happened. Because once they all figured out what happened*

and that this professor was wrong, this had to go to the university

ombudsman…. Eventually, she apologized to me…. And, ever since

then, I am very careful about her as well because I don't trust her.

Positional bullying also appeared when gay male faculty members of color in this study tried to collaborate with their colleagues and instead race and sexual orientation became significant factors. Professor Pat Freeman, an Asian assistant professor, described how he was trapped by a stereotyping of Asians and was framed as a typical Asian scholar by his colleagues:

I think as an Asian person in the academic world. I think that there

is a certain assumption that you would be quantitative person, so

you will be the analyst. So, I think that that's also assumed work

ethics that comes with being Asian.

In the field that I'm in, Public Health, I think that's very

interdisciplinary so every project is involved more than two or

three people in general.... I think sometimes as an Asian and as a

junior faculty, there is an assumption that you will automatically

do your part in the project.... So, I think a lot of the times, I feel

like… I would be asked to be a collaborator.... Because I am seen

as the analyst and I am seen as the collaborator, but not seen as

the principal investigator.... So, I will kind of play on everybody's

projects that will be a part of everyone's projects because I'm hard

worker, you know, I'm an analyst and know what I'm doing, and

which is not a bad thing, you know. It is not a bad thing. But,

>*sometimes it can go a little overboard. You kind of have to fight*
>
>*this reverse stereotype, I think.*

Along with Professor Freeman's experience of being racially stereotyped, Professor Shane Edwards, an African American associate professor and associate dean, talked about how a group of people with the same identity as his did not really embrace him as a member of their group. Professor Edwards said that White gay male professors were unsupportive, and they seemed to be trying to make him fail. He provided an example where White gay male faculty members were not supportive about his scholarship:

>*When it comes to grant dollars, I mean I feel like I had the most*
>
>*resistance from other gay folks. I feel the least supported by White*
>
>*gay men in an academic environment. I feel like the least support I*
>
>*get is because they are pretty devious. We happened to cover a lot*
>
>*of common ground in terms of research. I have a few examples*
>
>*where they (White gay male tenured full professors) cited me in*
>
>*their literature, and then turned around and done something that's*
>
>*clearly not to my advantage. I can also think of an example where I*
>
>*got excluded from a grant by another White gay male researcher*
>
>*who had every opportunity to support my scholarship, but did not.*

Professor Edward Turner, an African American associate professor, also talked about how White gay male professors were not inclusive:

>*I have not found too many of White gay male professors to be*
>
>*really kind of people who are open and who don't have racial*

> *prejudices. I see so many of them don't have to think about racial*
>
> *aspect. They are already privileged because they are White*
>
> *people.... I think the other thing has been hurtful for me is being*
>
> *excluded from the White gay professor population. I've been*
>
> *excluded from them because they don't want to include race. They*
>
> *still have racial attitudes, negative racial attitudes. When they do*
>
> *want to be with you or if they date you, and your relationship*
>
> *becomes sexual, they only deal with you through their sexual*
>
> *fantasy. They see you as a sexualized person.*

Professor Howard Phillips, an African American assistant professor, talked about how race could be a factor when putting someone down covertly. He provided an example where he had become racially invisible to one of his White female colleagues at his current institution:

> *I had this experience as a faculty member. It's about the invisible.*
>
> *It's about being invisible to White people that I'm not used to….*
>
> *It's not normal that when I am in the room people don't know I'm*
>
> *there. As the new faculty member here at this current institution in*
>
> *Northeast, I negotiated to have a decrease teaching load… to*
>
> *three, but what that meant was that they gave me other*
>
> *responsibilities which included me being a field liaison for*
>
> *graduate students…. So, I was assigned to be a field liaison for six*
>
> *students who were in the field.*

I went to a meeting, the very first meeting in the fall…

where all the field liaisons were there…. And, I am the only male

field liaison, and the only African American man. And, I was asked

to introduce myself as new faculty and … as a new field liaison…. I

probably talked for about 10 minutes introducing myself. About a

week later, I am going to a meeting here in the building, and the

field director came up to me in front of my colleagues and she said,

"We really need to schedule meeting so I can talk to you about

your responsibilities in liaison since you missed our meeting."

And, I squinted my eyes and sort of looked at her, and I'm like with

the scowl, and I'm like, "The meeting that I attended where you

know, I said two people over from you and I spoke for ten minutes

introducing myself." And, she goes, "Oh, my God. I'm so sorry."

Because she walked behind into the room of my colleagues, the

entire room was silent. A couple of people actually left because it

was so uncomfortable. She kept apologizing to me.

Despite her apology, she repeated this behavior with Professor Phillips on

another occasion:

And, there was another meeting that…I attended. She actually

pointed me out in a back of the room, and introduced me again,

and told me and told all the people…. I should give you a little

more information about this second meeting. It was a meeting of

all the field instructors, so all the supervisors from these different

organizations came to campus. And, there were breakout sessions.

I was the faculty member that all of the field instructors

supervising students who were community org, or policy and

advocacy. They were supposed to come back to my office and they

did. So, she introduced me, and she told them that I will be the

person they will be speaking with.

> *And somehow she forgot I was there, so I was walking to*
>
> *her office for another meeting about something else, and she goes,*
>
> *"You know, I want to first go over this with you that you missed*
>
> *that meeting the other day." And, she said, "You know you had*
>
> *another meeting." So not only the second time did she not see me*
>
> *again, I became invisible again, she made up reasons for why I*
>
> *wasn't there.*

The participants of this study described their experiences of *Positional Bullying* in higher education in this section. Seventeen of nineteen gay male faculty members of color in this study reported that their experiences like those above were common in their academic careers. Sexual orientation and race had impacted how they navigated through their academic journeys and how they had to negotiate their identities when they interacted with people who not only had higher institutional positions but also were White and/or heterosexual.

Counter-Positional Bullying

The second category under the first main theme, Managing Anti-Reciprocal Relations with Power Holders*,* was *Counter-Positional Bullying.* The category emerged

out of the research data where the participants talked about how race and/or sexual orientation had negatively impacted interactions between themselves as gay male faculty members of color and their own students in higher education. In a traditional educational setting, teachers have instructional authority in class. In such environments, teachers are respected and highly regarded. In such cases, teachers should be at a higher status than their students. In this study, however, gay male faculty members of color told different stories. They described how their students often utilized positional power to disrespect, discount, mob, or bully their professors in class and on campus. This is *Counter-Positional Bullying* in effect because the participants, gay male faculty members of color with perceived institutional power, experienced negative interactions that reversed the power dynamics with their students in subordinate or less powerful positions *Counter-Positional Bullying* was manifested in three ways: 1) *Bigotry and stereotypes: Students' attitudes towards gay male faculty members of color*; 2) *Questioning both authority and credentials because of race and sexual orientation*; and 3) *Student evaluations*. The following discussion will address the first subcategory of *Counter-Positional Bullying*.

Bigotry and Stereotypes: Students' Attitudes towards Gay Male Faculty Members of Color

The first subcategory, *Bigotry and stereotypes: Students' attitudes towards gay male faculty members of color,* appeared in the most of the participants' experiences as gay male faculty members of color in higher education. Seventeen out of the nineteen participants talked about their teaching experiences and interactions with their students in class in higher education. They expressed how they often felt that their students had been hostile or disrespectful to them as gay male faculty members of color, and that their

students had actually often created hostile classroom environments. All of the participants who talked about this subcategory mentioned that their race and sexual orientation had directly or indirectly contributed to classroom dynamics. Some of them had experienced face-to-face confrontations regarding their race and/or sexual orientation. One example of this subcategory appeared in the story from Professor Chris Wright, a Native American associate professor, who directly experienced his students' negative attitudes toward his ethnoracial identity:

> *In my academic career, I had more issues with being a person of*
> *color than being gay. So, as a gay male faculty of color, I've never*
> *really had an experience based on my sexuality because you know*
> *that's (race) the first thing they see about me. If they're going to*
> *discriminate against me on being a person of color, they won't*
> *even get to the point of recognizing the fact that I'm gay. They*
> *won't even get that far. So, you know, I've had more experience in*
> *my life being a person of color, and the gay issue, you know, really*
> *you know, a mute point in all of this.*

Professor Wright spoke of an incident regarding his experience with students who possessed strong racial prejudice and who acted as bigots in class making race a major factor, which is a clear example of *Counter-Positional Bullying*. Although Professor Wright identified himself as a Native American gay male faculty with a Latino racial background, his students at a workshop for school teachers at an institution in the West assumed that he was from Mexico:

I've had more discrimination as a person of color than a gay man

in my career....You know, I've been told to go back to Mexico by a

group of teachers I was doing some workshops for in a

predominately Hispanic suburb of Los Angeles in the late 80s or

early 90s. They were all White teachers and you know, I've told

how offended they were that they had Mexican teaching them, and

told to go back to Mexico where I belonged.

In addition to racial confrontations, gay male faculty members of color in this study expressed how difficult it was for them to deal with students' bigoted attitudes toward sexual orientation. An example of bigotry appeared in the story from Professor Fredric Smith, an African American assistant professor. He provided one incident where he was confronted with students' stereotypes and bigoted ideas on sexual orientation, including heterosexism and homophobia:

I think one of the minor negative experiences as a professor is this.

I was talking with some group of first year students, it was my first

time talking with them or addressing them. And when I started

speaking, some of the guys started laughing in the back. I think

they were laughing because my speech and mannerism happened

to be very openly gay. You know, I guess more stereotypical for

them. And, then, it went on for a while and then after a while

another colleague got up and asked them if they would just be

quiet. She was sitting in the back of the room. And, so that was the

most minor thing for me, but I'm sure was related to my sexuality.

Gay male faculty members of color in this study had many experiences of teaching diversity or multiculturalism to their predominately White student populations in higher education over their careers. In their teaching, they often had experienced racism, homophobia, and heterosexism. Professor Edward Turner, an African American associate professor, described one incident regarding racial dynamics in his multicultural studies class on children's literature. Most students in the class were White, and their attitude toward him as their professor appeared to discount what he was trying to teach in the *counter-positional* form:

> *One of the experiences was that students were saying that the content was not relevant. That was very shocking for me to hear. Shocking to me professionally as well because I worked with children whose parents were one parent was one race and one parent was the other. I know those parents, very deeply concerned about their children and children's welfare. And, I understood what their concerns were.*
>
> *I had students to say to me because I teach children's literature class and we will be talking about multicultural literature. I had students to say things to me such as "I don't need to know about those books. I'm never going to teach that kind of child." Yeah, they said that to me. Most often that's what I get from them. "I'm not going to teach in the situation where is going to be any minority children, so I don't need those books." And, I always say to them, "You need these books. Much more you think*

> *you need them when you're not teaching this kind of child, when*
>
> *you're not teaching a minority child." So, that's the predominant*
>
> *attitude.*

In addition to that experience, Professor Turner experienced similar situations repeatedly in his career where his students would not overcome their own bigoted belief systems and racial prejudices:

> *Also, I have had students said to me, "I will not use this book*
>
> *because it shows an interracial family, and I don't believe an*
>
> *interracial marriage."... You see. When students present that kind*
>
> *of situation, I hesitate to recommend them for a license. They're*
>
> *not ready. They're not going to be effective. They think it's just by*
>
> *going to the suburbs and hiding out, then everything is going to be*
>
> *perfect.*

Professor Turner reflected this negative experience with his students' bigoted comments, and continued to talk about how racial dynamics had impacted his classroom environment and his interactions with his students in class:

> *Those comments from students about the books were very negative*
>
> *and very harmful to me. They think that racism only impacts a*
>
> *person of color. They're not even aware that racism impacts them.*

Professor Gilbert Rivera, an Asian Pacific Islander professor, had a similar experience in his teaching at his current institution where was confronted with White students' bigoted ideas and stereotypes when educating them so they could understand non-Western materials:

As a faculty member in my current institution in Northeast, I'm

teaching students there mostly White. The proportion of students of

color here as I mentioned this probably you know 10-15% of our

campus. That's reflected in a classroom. I think being a professor

there, I have to help educate a lot of my students to see the

intellectual issues and literature we're reading through eyes that

are non-Western. And, I think there's a bias in curriculum towards

Western education. So, for instance, in last year, we finally

diversify our history core. And, there were non-European courses

added to the history core, which was good. Just last year. Fall

actually....I laughed about that. But I was also frustrated by it.

In classrooms, gay male faculty members of color in this study expressed that

they had continuously experienced student disrespect. It was succinctly evidenced in one

of the stories told by Professor Fredric Smith, an African American assistant professor,

about a time when students' disruptive behaviors appeared to disrespect him

professionally in his class at his current institution:

I think as a faculty member, I'm not sure if it's attributable to race

or the factor that classes I teach are not practical dental courses.

There is a level of disrespect in those classes. We're in a large

hall. You get two or three groups of people whispering or talking,

it's very loud. Especially, you got 100 students here trying to

manage in there. And so, I think they don't respect my teaching.

They're talking while I am lecturing, and they're doing other

things. Going in and out of class. And, I think it's in general to

about the African American faculty, the other two that we have

here. They experience the same thing in their classes. They don't

have the level of respect.

Professor Smith described how he felt the value of teaching erode over time because of

his students' disrespectful and uncivil conduct. He felt that his teaching had been

denigrated and discounted by his students. He expressed that such student behaviors

came from the very particular student body and culture in his teaching field where race,

gender, and religion were huge factors. He provided some examples of students'

disrespectful and destructive behaviors that he had been experiencing in his teaching:

In general, they are not coming to class on time, and coming very

late into the course. What happened once last year was this. When

we were teaching, students just kept going in and out, in and out,

in and out. It looked like it's been something that had been

orchestrated because it was just so many moving about, it was just

very strange. It was over the semester.

Professor Smith's students did not value or appreciate diversity at all. To them, diversity

was just something extra and that made teaching diversity challenging for Professor

Smith. He described one incident where he had invited a group of actors as guest

speakers to his class to act out certain situations regarding diversity for his students:

And, the students were so mean toward that crew. Students were

asking them questions, but they were not asking them as actors in a

role. They were asking them about their personal experiences and

they were so attacking in their approach that I really lost my crew

at the end of the class…. So, we were having this class and the

actors were in tears when they left because they had never been so

personally attacked in a situation. And, you know, I kind of warned

them ahead of the time what culture was like in dentistry. And, I

think some of them thought I was exaggerating, so they

experienced it.

In addition to having experienced racial stereotypes and bigotry from their students in their own classrooms in higher education, gay male faculty members of color in this study also talked about how their sexual orientation specifically influenced their students' behavior in class. It was clearly evident in a story from Professor Oscar Martin, a Black associate professor. He described how students' bigoted beliefs had influenced his own teaching as a gay male faculty member of color:

It was my third year here at the current institution. They admitted

a student to our family nurse practitioner program, who came to us

from Utah, blond hair, blue eyes, woman. She was a Mormon. And,

she came to our graduate program. And, I was teaching a class

called Families Theory. One of the topics I was talking about was

family constellations. What I mean by that is the various types of

families that people form. You know, your traditional heterosexual

mother father dyad with their child. And then I was talking about

blended families, foster families, and I talked about gay families.

She sent this email complaining that I was talking about an

offensive material in class. Then she wrote a paper for me in my

class. And, I couldn't grade it because she didn't really do the

assignment. What she did was she used this paper to proselytize

her own view on what she thought was right which is of course the

heterosexual norm family. And, I gave it to my colleague just like,

"I can't grade this. I need you to read this for me." He read it and

he was like "Oh, my God. Who is this student?" I'm like "a

student in my class!"

Professor Martin continued to describe how the female Mormon student had utilized

hostility to bully others and how she had used *Counter-Positional Bullying* as a way to

navigate through her own academic journey by behaving aggressively towards her

professors and colleague students in the department:

This got worse because she took it upon herself. There was another

faculty member that he gave a lecture in one of her other courses.

This student started sending emails to all of the students talking

about traditional family values and how we need to be doing this,

and we're teaching offensive material in class. This got so out of

hand. She attacked a fellow student who she thought to be gay. She

attacked a faculty member in her writing who she thought to be a

lesbian. I don't think she realized that I was gay. But, she just

started sending these emails… to students, she started sending

them to the faculty. Then, she started sending them to outside the

school. It got so ugly. And, the thing was that we didn't feel that

she was safe to be placed in her clinical placement because to be

trained as a nurse practitioner, you have to be placed with another

nurse practitioner in a clinical setting to train. We didn't think that

we should expose patients to her. So, we brought a case against

her to the Academic Dean who didn't do anything about it. And,

the faculty was enraged. We had to get the university lawyers

involved. It became a big mess. So, eventually, this is the part that

I could not believe, they crafted a program for her. They actually

managed to let this girl graduate, Master's degree in Nursing from

the university. I tell you that the year that she walked that stage,

myself and half the other faculty refused and would not go to

graduation. We were protesting against her and the decision from

the university. I was very clear with my dean. I was like, "Hell no.

I'm not coming. I will not sit on the stage while you' all give that

bigot a graduate degree." You know, it became clear that the

whole thing was that, "Oh, well, you know she had the freedom of

speech." Not the freedom of hate speech! So, it became a mess.

Unbelievably, they let her graduate.

In their professional careers, gay male faculty members of color had to manage the

intersection of race and sexual orientation. Gay male faculty members of color in this

study reported that it was not uncommon for their students to behave negatively and

disrespectfully towards gay male faculty members of color because on their race and/or

sexual orientation. *Counter-Positional Bullying* appeared in most of the participants'

stories in higher education where students' bigoted and stereotypical ideas about race and sexual orientation were clearly factors used to denigrate gay male faculty of color. As gay male faculty members of color, they had to manage their academic journey carefully in ways that White and/or heterosexual faculty members never would.

Questioning Both Authority and Credentials Because of Race and Sexual Orientation

The second of the three subcategories under *Counter-Positional Bullying* is *Questioning both authority and credentials because of race and sexual orientation.* This subcategory presents how students utilized their power to question the authorities and credentials of the gay male faculty members of color in this study, challenging them about whether they had the qualifications to be professors in higher education. There were many ways for students to discount or question the authority and credentials of gay male faculty members of color. While all of the nineteen participants in this study expressed that they had experienced their students engaging in some sort of misconduct or disrespect because of race and/or sexual orientation, seventeen out of the nineteen participants talked about specific incidents where students had perceived that gay male faculty members of color did not meet their criteria of an ideal professor in higher education. It appeared succinctly in the story from Professor Shane Edwards, an African American associate professor and associate dean. Having observed how few Black professors like him there had been in higher education from his own academic experience, Professor Edwards understood that some students would not be accustomed to Black professors. However, he also understood that the lack of experience with faculty members of color could create bigoted ideas or stereotypes of minority professors in

higher education. He described two situations where his students were not pleased about skills assessments:

> *There was one Black female student in my research class. She was struggling, really poor conceptualization skills, not a strong writer. We had a very tensed experience and I actually gave her an Incomplete grade. And when we did that, she was like, "Nobody has ever told me anything about that, so you are saying I can't write and I've never been critiqued like that before."*

Professor Edwards had other experiences of being disregarded by his White students, something that happened repeatedly in his academic career:

> *More than a couple of times, White students said to me when I graded their term papers. "Are you telling me I can't write? Nobody said and told me that before." And, to me, that's a push-back to me as a Black man. That's their way of saying, "How dare you critique my writing?" And, I have heard that a lot, but I have heard that enough to know it when I hear it. And, it always sounds the same. You can see it. I critique the awkwardness of a sentence, the grammatical structure, the run on sentences, the inability to conceptualize the theory, things like that. And you give back their papers and they come up to you and say, "What do you mean?" "What do you mean what do you mean? It's right there in writing. It's an awkwardly structured sentence. Use footnote for a citation format." Whatever I put down there, I have to defend what I put*

down there. To me, those really become the racial push-back from

students.

Professor Nathan Jones, a Black fulltime professor was one of the professors whose academic experiences were mostly positive. However, he had one incident when he was teaching an undergraduate course where a student did not really agree with the final grade:

I'm sure students have been rude. But, that's very, it's rare. It's

extremely rare. I have encountered situations where students

thought that the grade they got, the grade they earned, was not the

right grade, and they petitioned and went to my dean and went

above that. So, we were going back and forth. They were just

angry with me. They talked to me directly when they tried to

change their grade, but the person didn't deserve any of it. So I

didn't change the grade. And, of course, they went to the dean, and

the last time, the grade remained as is. This was an undergraduate

level. Male student... I know that he did not do the work. I was

comfortable with the grade they earned. I mean you noticed that I

said that the grade they earned. They earned the grade. Students

have the notion that "Oh, you just give this grade.", but "You

earned this grade." You showed them where quality of the work

was not there, the research wasn't done properly, the writing,

grammar and things like that, so I showed them. But they still

wanted an inquiry, so go ahead. The dean was always on my side.

Because he looked at the evidence, he looked at the work, and the

quality of the work wasn't there. It was actually a Black male

student.

Professor Melvin Kelly, a Black associate professor, also had experienced being questioned by a student as to whether he was knowledgeable about the content that he was teaching. From his experiences, such a thing was not uncommon for him; the same sort of negativities from his students appeared over and over in his academic career. He described one incident where a student publicly discounted his authority as a professor and challenged his knowledge about what he was teaching via emails:

You know, there are a lot of other things happened in my career,

but they are basically the same sort of things where either students

are permitted to be disrespectful. Here is an example. Well, I was

teaching one class, an introductory class, the first year class. We

were talking about jurisprudential theory. So, one of the theories

we were talking about was the law of economics. So, I was

pointing out some of the analytical problems with the standard

neoclassical theory. So, after the class, one of the students wrote

an email to the class saying that he needed to correct some of the

things that I had said about economic theory because I was wrong.

<laugh> So, he made this long list of things that I had said were

wrong. So, I responded to the email and pointed out why I was

taking those positions and positions that he was taking might be

consistent with what he learned in Microeconomics 101. When you

study of schools of economics, you have other perspectives and see

things differently. So the students were upset by that because I said

that I was saying that, that's what they said that I knew more than

they did. That was a problem. So, that kind of things…. Generally,

I had good experiences with most students, decent relationships

with students. So, that was the only situation that I really have in

the classroom was a real problem. Some individual students, you

know, they may make an effort to undermine you in terms of asking

questions that they think you don't have the answers to or things

like that but, if they were really well prepared then they really

can't do that. You do understand the material much more.

When students who are White and/or heterosexual perceived that their gay male

professors of color knew more contents or materials than the students themselves did,

they seemed to automatically start questioning how a minority could attain such

knowledge, like they did with Professor Kelly, gay male faculty members of color who

commonly had his own knowledge questioned and challenged by students as their

professor.

Professor Edward Turner, an African American associate professor, talked about a

situation where race was a factor to how his students interacted with him before other

professors:

I can see how they respond to their White teachers, especially

when White teachers look like them. Women who are, you know,

dressed up and fully made up, and you know, talk a little bit about

their husbands or about their children. If that professor's life

parallels their life or in any way seems like the kind of life that they

would like to have, they find those professors, very easy to get

along with, they find those professors knowledgeable, and find

enough good things to say about them. Me on the other hand, I'm

so different from them. My style is so different…. I am at the point

now where they're probably young enough to be my

granddaughter if I was going to have a grandchild. This is what I

said to you to them. "You don't need me to tell you that you're

pretty. That's why you have mothers and fathers, and girlfriends

and boyfriends, and aunts and uncles, grandparents. You don't

need your college professors to tell you you're cute. Here to teach

you. Because I have this knowledge and I want you to have it."

So, I kind of back away from that when I feel that's really

getting negative about me. And, I would put a smiley face on their

papers. They love that. It makes me unhappy that I have to resort

to that or I have to do that. Because they are so needy emotionally

that they need a smiley face. Why can't they just be happy that they

got an A? But, they are not. So, what I began to realize is that I am

not teaching young adults, I am teaching adolescents.

Being questioned about their authority and credentials was not uncommon to gay
male faculty members of color in this study. Professor Wesley Vasquez, a Latino

assistant professor, described how his race and ethnicity, which he called ethnorace, hindered his professional status from his students:

> *I think, there have been times where students have reacted in surprise when they know that I have a doctor, doctorate. <laugh> Because I always go by my first name. So, you know, there's been a couple of times when they realized I am Dr. so and so. Then they go, "Oh, you're doctor." And I am really truly think that that is related to my ethnorace. And, there's also more specifically, you know, there's not been one time when they weren't surprised that I was Puerto Rican. They always think that I'm Spanish. <LAUGH> I'm not White. <Laugh> Very funny that you know, I say, you know, then they happened, you know, enough time for me to consider of the theme, you know, where I sit and they ask me curious, right? They're curious, they don't quite know the sound of Puerto Rican who grow up in Puerto Rico knows how to speak English. They don't know that accents. And, they are very confused because you know we live in a cosmopolitan city in Northeast, and they have an idea that how poor Puerto Ricans sound. And, then, you know, they asked me, and I told them I grew up in Puerto Rico, then "I thought you're from Spain." I'm like, "WHAT?" So, I think, you know, that's an example, you know where students clearly don't expect that I have a doctorate or they don't expect*

> *that I'm a Puerto Rican because that hardly doesn't go, Puerto*
>
> *Rican apparently doesn't have a doctorate or something <laugh>.*

Also, Professor Keith Olson, a Middle Eastern associate professor, had an interesting exchange with one of his student at his current institution. Although he perceived it as an inconvenience, he thought that his authority as a professor was diminished by the student because of his ethnicity:

> *I had a student emailed me and asked me, this is at this institution,*
>
> *and he emailed me and said, "Some of us have been discussing*
>
> *what your religion might be." And he listed a bunch of possible*
>
> *answers. And, I just thought that was kind of funny but also I felt a*
>
> *little weird at the same time. Talking about my religion was also*
>
> *questioning my ethnic background among themselves. If I were red*
>
> *hair and my last name were O'Neil, they wouldn't ask.*

Professor Howard Phillips, an African American assistant professor, also talked about how he was treated in a disrespectful way. He perceived that while students were trying to be very friendly, the line between who was the professor and who were the students had become blurred:

> *At the current institution, you know, undergrad students are mostly*
>
> *all women. And, even at a graduate level, it's still overwhelming*
>
> *women. And, I have two women who are obvious, in one of my*
>
> *classes, who obviously spend a lot of time with gay people. One of*
>
> *them has told me that she was attracted to women. And then the*
>
> *other one told me that her father in law is gay. They treat me as if I*

am a girl friend. And, I had to have a conversation with them. One

of them actually called me girl friend in class on the first day. And,

other students know that and you know of course talked me and

sent me emails about you know inappropriate dialogue and them

not respecting boundaries, you know. And, I'm like, did she just

call me girl friend? <laugh> Like, I could not believe this. Again,

we're teaching graduate student, and so tend to be older, but they

just take liberties with me because you know partly I think I'm

young and dude. Younger for them. Or young for the faculty. I had

to take students aside and it changed the interaction and you know

I mean they're still very very open outside the classroom and very

fun people, but I needed to, boundaries in the classroom.

Gay male faculty members of color in this study discussed how they had experienced disrespectful conduct from their students, which White and/or heterosexual professors do not have to experience in their careers. The participants talked about their experiences of being questioned about their institutional authority and professional credentials by students. Students in contemporary higher education seemed to have many ways to dismiss or discount gay male faculty members of color because of their race and sexual orientation.

Student Evaluations

The third subcategory under *Counter-Positional Bullying* that emerged was *Student Evaluations.* In the lives of faculty members in higher education, in general, student evaluations often are important components for their promotions and institutional

reviews. Students in higher education are given some opportunities to provide input on their professors either directly to the professor, to the department head and to the entire university in teacher evaluations. At such times, gay male faculty members of color could be evaluated unfairly when their students focus on race and sexual orientation. So, *Counter-Positional Bullying* may flourish in circumstances where students are able to evaluate their professors. For instance, students could be cruel when they do not like their professors for no reasons other than difference in race and/or sexual orientation. Professor David Green, an African American assistant professor, described his negative experience with a White female student who brought formal misconduct charges against him because she felt his teaching style was not appropriate:

> *I was teaching a first year seminar on writing and even putting you*
>
> *own subject matter for the course. You had to make sure that*
>
> *students write a certain number of papers. And, my class was on*
>
> *subject position, and I wanted to look at or major subject positions*
>
> *that were gender, race, class, and sexuality. And in the class, it*
>
> *was at the precious institution in Northeast, so predominately*
>
> *White students and again a few students of color in it…. And, one*
>
> *of the students, a White woman, she was a very difficult student in*
>
> *the class and tried to dominate the classroom. And, I had to*
>
> *challenge to not let her do that. And then, eventually, before the*
>
> *semester ended, she brought me formal charges. The charges were*
>
> *that I discounted White students' perspectives and in favor of*
>
> *privileging the viewpoints of students of color and maybe two*

students of color in the class out of 16. And, I did not at all

privilege those students…. I did not call on her every time she

raised her hand and called on other people…. But, I did not ignore

her because she actually contributed what she could…. And, so she

brought me the charges. And, at that point, the dean, he called me

in his office and told me that she had done this and I told him what

situation was. And he said, "Well so far it hasn't proceeded any

further action yet. We have to evaluate whether it is going to be a

valid charges or not. So far it is not progressing any further than

where it is. But, we will keep you informed." And, he told me that

"We are confident that it should be okay."

To Professor Green, the White female student was difficult to deal with. Before she had

brought charges against him, he had another incident with her where she tried to bully

him:

So, before she brought me my charges, the same student had been

in my office. She got a low grade on one of her papers…. Well first

thing, she told me that, she tried to tell me how to mark up her

paper. She did not like how I wrote my comments on the paper. So,

she tried to tell me how best way for her would be for me to write

my comments. And, my door was… it wasn't closed. It was pulled.

And, when she told me that, I was pretty shocked. So, I decided to

just take that moment to tell her what dynamics were between us. I

was her professor and she was a student, and her role was not to

tell me how to evaluate your paper or to make comments on it. She

was pretty appalled, she was shocked, actually... Maybe they let

her do it. I have no idea. But I was not about letting her do it. And,

my voice was very firm. I did not raise it. But, I was very firm, and

I completely went into an authority mode. And, I told her that in no

uncertain terms would it be acceptable for her to tell me about her

paper. She promptly broke down into tears and created a scene in

my office and started yelling at me. She brought in the charges

after that.

Professor Green continued to talk about how the White female student intended to

intimidate him, and he described how his more personal approach with students changed

after the incident:

Sometime after that, though this led up to it. In that meeting, she

told me that her mother was the professor at some Southern

university taught women's history. And, I guess she told me that

because she, I guess she felt that because her mother was a

professor that she was just as smart and capable as her mother. I

have no idea. This had no relevance at all. Probably told her as

such, as much. So, subsequence of that, I have never, whenever I

hold office hours, I used to hold office hours at a café. I have never

held office hours at my office again at the institution just to avoid a

means where students could.. I felt vulnerable there because I was

in a private office. She could say one thing and I could say

> *something else, no one would know. So, I decided that I needed to*
>
> *hold them in public. And, so I did after that.*

The participants of this study expressed how they felt that students counter-positionally undermined and bullied them by giving them low evaluation scores. Fourteen out of nineteen participants in this study reported they often had received negative and hostile comments from their students in the semester evaluations not based on their teaching but on the bigoted ideas and stereotypes of students on race and/or sexual orientation. The story from Professor Leonard Hayes, a Latino university professor, evidenced how his race and sexual orientation had become negative factors on student evaluations:

> *Most of the time, I'm the only Latino, most of the time I'm the only*
>
> *gay person. If I'm in a Latino group, I'm the only one gay person*
>
> *in the Latino group. And, I'm in a gay group, then, I'm the only*
>
> *Latino in the gay group. And, if I'm in a general group, I'm the*
>
> *only person who spoke gay and Latino. Students used to, in student*
>
> *evaluations to make racist and sexist comments all the time. Oh,*
>
> *things like, "You should pray to God. He saved your soul." Or*
>
> *"You just an immigrant and you don't know anything about this*
>
> *country." Something like that. Well, unfortunately, there is nothing*
>
> *for me to do about it, really. Every year, there is a new group of*
>
> *students, and you know, you don't know who they are. There's 100*
>
> *students in a class. I talked to the dean and chair about it, but they*
>
> *did not do much. "Oh, Gee. That's terrible." "Are you OK?"*

> *"How do you feel?" They did not try to resolve the problematic*
>
> *situation for me.*

Professor Wesley Vasquez, a Latino assistant professor, also talked about student evaluations where his sexual orientation was a factor used in degrading him publicly as a professor:

> *It's not uncommon in my student evaluations to see the word,*
>
> *fagot. That word has come up many times for students have taken*
>
> *the opportunities to say, "He is too much of a fagot." Something*
>
> *like that. I don't think it happens to straight people. They [student*
>
> *evaluations and students] make me angry, but I don't feel hurt by*
>
> *them anymore because I have a very little respect for student*
>
> *evaluations.*

Gay male faculty members of color also reported that their evaluations from students were often laden with racist remarks or racial stereotypes. Professor Oscar Martin, a Black associate professor, described an experience where he had received student evaluations from predominantly White female students:

> *So, when they encountered me as a professor, they're so used to*
>
> *these negative thoughts about who they think of young of color are*
>
> *that they think I can fit them. And I frighten them. They are*
>
> *uncomfortable because a lot of time they just never encountered*
>
> *somebody like me, a Black male professor. So, they need to deal*
>
> *with their own issues of ageism, sexism, and racism. And it's one*
>
> *thing that you know you have to deal with it, and there is another*

thing to have somebody in front of you on a daily basis that makes

you have to deal with it. So, you know, I would get teaching

comments back like you know, "Dr, Martin is brilliant and well

versed in his subject. But he comes with this cocky and elegant.

And, he is intimidating." Which remind you, if you realize, it has

nothing to do with my teaching. If the teaching evaluation is

actually supposed to be about teaching, then why are you so

concerned about who you perceive me to be.

Although his experience as an assistant professor had been very positive at his current predominantly White institution, Professor Ryan Nelson, an African American assistant processor, talked about how he had been judged by his students in their evaluations of his teaching:

I will say, there's always feelings of "how will my students judge

me?" because I'm a Black man in a very White institution and very

straight institution. I mean quite frankly I bring a lot of differences

to the table when I'm teaching. So I will admit that there's always

that sort of initial feeling of "OK. How will this group judge me?"

Because you know, obviously they can see I'm a Black man. But

they don't see initially that I'm a gay man. So, I'm always

negotiating how and when to sort of approach issues to sexual

orientation.

Professor Nelson continued to talk about his anxiety over whether his students would evaluate him in terms of his teaching instead of his race or sexual orientation. Professor

Nelson's analysis is not uncommon among the participants in this study. As gay male

faculty members of color, they had additional baggage to deal with during student

evaluations, with elements popping up that were unfair to them as gay male faculty

members of color. They received student evaluations that were not about their teaching

but about their students' bigoted and stereotypical ideas on race and/or sexual orientation.

Such subjective assessments really should not be included in evaluations, but gay male

professors of color in this study reported having to jump over those extra stereotypical

hurdles to be accepted by their students as real professors. Such extra efforts may not be

required in White and/or heterosexual professors' academic journeys.

Unintentional Conspirative Positional Bullying

It is important to note the types of bullying previously discussed, Positional

Bullying and Counter-Positional Bullying, are effective and successful because they are

supported by an invisible system of privilege that empowers White, male, heterosexual

identities. So that any actions performed by Whites and/or heterosexuals against gay male

faculty members of color are not necessarily scrutinized or questioned. Both kinds of

bullying influenced the participants of this study greatly in their academic careers as gay

male faculty members of color. However, those two types of bullying can seemingly

appear to be individual acts of bullying. However, for gay male faculty members of color,

both forms of bullying did occur together as an almost merging of invisible conspirative

forces. This conflated the impact of how the bullying transpired. Gay male faculty

members of color in this study reported that they often encountered situations where

students allied with others, such as a dean or chair of the department (or with someone

who had more positional power) to undermine and denigrate the gay male faculty

members of color. In other words, the system was evoked to empower the actions of anyone who was performing acts against the gay male faculty members of color. And so the system became an invisible force and the third force to act against the gay male faculty members of color.

Gay male faculty members of color also often encountered situations where the dean or chair utilized students' biased comments or evaluations containing complaints about nonprofessional issues involving race, gender, sexual orientation and other stereotypical matters from students to denigrate the faculty member. So, gay male faculty members of color often experienced both *Positional Bullying* and *Counter-Positional Bullying* simultaneously. This section will address this phenomenon called *Unintentional Conspirative Positional Bullying*.

Unintentional Conspirative Positional Bullying was seen in most of the participants' data. Fifteen of the nineteen participants talked about how power holders, such as White and/or heterosexual administrators, colleagues, and students, who, without colluding, performed acts that collectively undermined gay male faculty members of color and intentionally assured the continuation of the status quo. A good example of unintentional conspirative positional bullying appeared in the story told by Professor Anthony Young, a Black tenured university professor:

> *From my experiences in academia, most things… have been more*
> *subtle than overt. It's a way of the approach the world. It is*
> *people's non verbal cues. That, usually non-verbal cues of other*
> *administrators, faculty members and students. Like, they look at*
> *you and they determine if you get feminine or something. They look*

at the way you act, your movements, you know. Or they may say

things. Also, they listen to your tone of voice and you speak, and

they will try to mock what you're saying. They're using your tone

of voice. Like if you say something to them, they mock the way you

speak but you do not really catch it. But others know they were

mocking you. That has happened to me many times. You know, it's

just a virtually insensitive. So, I mean, non-verbal cues are their

ways to humiliate you. I really think some of them have to do with

racism. And some of them have to do with sexism.

In addition to the subtle form of bullying he experienced from administrators and students, Professor Young also experienced bullying more overtly. He described how his White female dean, White female administrators and his students all joined forces in trying to undermine him:

Sometimes something is not that subtle. I had been reported to our

dean. More than one time. A number of times. And, usually, have

to do with academic excellence. My colleagues do not buy the roles

as they suppose to buy the roles. And, students are supposed to

have certain objectives that are met before they send on to the next

semester. A clinical or medical objective is an example.

Last time I worked, I had 10 clinical students. Half of them

did not meet the medication objectives to go on and yet still they

went on. They were already behind the day I took them as students,

and I told them they were behind. The school, they wanted to

blame me for being behind…. You know, they are not passing

medication that they are supposed to be passing. It happened while

I was trying taking care of my partner who was ill. Then, I had to

write a letter to them and explaining to them (White female

administrators) why all these students change to this level.

Because I was always at our meetings and was taking care of my

partner was ill, I ended up leaving work for a while.

Following the incident, Professor Young experienced a brief form of blackmail from a

White female administrator and his own students:

You know, if they wrote letters to accusing me of a number of

things in the letter. Like, as if I did something wrong. They,

administrators or students, if they write a letter, and accuse you,

they do not put their signature or their names on the letters. So, I

didn't know who they were, but it came from the university or

letters did not have any stamps. So, if they're going to say

something that is completely anonymous. And they don't have

courage of the conviction to put their names in the letters. And the

union says, this is not valid. It means nothing. But yet it still

negatively affected me. Also, one day, this dean (White female)

called me into the office, because she's seen a letter from a student

where the student talked about me and my behaviors, but nothing

on the letter was true. I tried to explain what was going on, but she

already trusted the letter. I knew that the dean tried to threaten me

using the letter. I mean administrators, faculty colleagues, and

students have more admonished against someone like me who's

gay and an African American, and a man in nursing. When

something goes wrong, then students report something to

administrators or faculty colleagues, or administrators or faculty

colleagues report complains about me to the higher ups.

Through interactions with his chair and his student, Professor David Green, an African American assistant professor, experienced unintentional conspirative positional bullying where his credibility as a professor was diminished by his chair and his student based on his race:

This is also related to being a gay male faculty of color. I was

doing an independent study for an African American student on

African American literature…. She was a good student. But, the

student wanted to try to get into the honors project. And, I didn't

think that that student was strong enough to do the honors project.

And, I told my chair that. The student went to my chair (a White

female African American Literature professor), and she tried to get

my chair to get me to do it. And, I had a very difficult meeting with

my chair over this scenario because I am a scholar of African

American literature, and I felt that I should be able to make the

assessment of her. I should go ahead with the honors project with

the student or not. Not the chair, not the student. I should be able

to have that determination. And, I felt that the chair was trying to

not enough in a heavy-handed way, but in a kind of gentle way, but

in a gentle way that was encouraging me to do it. And, I was

adamant and mentioned that she was not strong enough to do the

honors project. I thought I enjoyed the independent study with her

and that was fine. But, the honors project, it required something

more than the student had. And, when the chair, she eventually

said, "Okay. You made that call." So, she decided to do the honors

project with her. I felt disrespected, actually. And, my judgment

wasn't valued there by both the chair and the student. I was kind of

ignored.

Professor Green reflected his experience of being controlled by both his White female chair and his student, expressing that he felt he had been ignored and discounted in the professional assessments from both sides:

Within the academy, you know, people are very smart. People have

Ph.D.s. That does not mean that they understand racial dynamics

or sexual dynamics. They can be just as racially unaware and

sexually naïve or bigoted as anybody else….People here are very

well meaning….They are naïveté. Their unawareness is still an

impediment to me because they do not fully grasp the significance

of what means for me to be here…. My colleague, who is chair of

the department right now. She teaches African American

Literature. But frankly, I think she is a bit naïve and a bit

unknowledgeable about what means for me to be here. For

instance, [the White female chair] did not seem to understand the

gravity of the situation by the independent study…. I had a

conversation with her about that when the student went above my

head. And, I said to the chair, "I am an African American

professor, and she is taking an independent study on African

American literature. And it's the professor who teaches African

American literature says that it is not probably a good idea to turn

this into an honor's project. And, the student goes over your head

to a White female professor to try to get you to change your mind.

That's disrespecting the professor you are working with." And,

apparently the chair herself needed me to tell her that. But it did

not do any good. She went ahead and did the independent study

anyway with the student. So, student's needs were above my needs.

And I am a faculty member here. I did not feel validated when my

judgment was dismissed.

   Unintentional Conspirative Positional Bullying also appeared in one of the stories from Professor Oscar Martin, a Black associate professor. He talked about how his students and his dean conspired to attack his professional credentials based on his race, gender and age:

In general, there's a couple of incidents where students have had

issues with me and instead of coming to me as their professor, they

would go to the Associate Dean of Academic Affairs or to the

director of the program. Here's an example. I was teaching an

advanced course on physical assessment. And, a student didn't feel

that she could come talk to me because she talked to her advisor,

"Well, I can't go talk to Dr. Martin. He is intimidating." Here is a

general perception. I feel I'm a very fair professor. But, I'm also a

very confident person. And, I think people mistake my confidence

for elegant. And, again, most of the students in nursing are, of

course, also White women. Well, they are not used dealing with

professors who are not old White women, which I am also a

nursing professor. So, a lot of students I encounter have never had

a male nursing professor, a professor of color, they have not had a

young nursing professor, and I am all three.

In addition to the experience where he had to deal with students' perceptions of his racial

status in academia above, Professor Martin shared another incidents where he had to deal

with the White female Academic Dean to discuss his students' evaluations of him:

I told the Academic Dean this once, too. She called me to her office

because she was like, "Oscar, these comments are concerning."

And then she read these comments to me, like "Dr Martin is

always very well prepared for class and he obviously knows his

subject matter. However, he comes across as condescending and

cocky." I said to the Academic Dean, "You don't have a problem

there." She said, "Well, this comment is concerning." I said, "No,

it's not." And, I said, "Because as the Academic Dean, your job is

to make sure that I'm teaching these students what they need to be

taught. The first line of the comment says, 'Dr. Martin always

prepared and well vested in his subject matter.' Your concern

stops there. The rest of that is their perception of who they think I

am. I will not be intimidated by you or them. If you get some

teaching evaluations up and here, talking about how horrible

teacher I am, then you have an issue with me. Until you do, do not

ever call me to your office to talk about something like this again."

Well, she was talking about only half of the statement. She was

concentrating on a point talking about how I was intimidating.

They [students] also told you that I was a good teacher. And their

perception of me being intimidating is their perception of who they

think I am.

Experiences of Professor Young, Professor Green, and Professor Martin were not uncommon among the gay male faculty members of color in this study. When they interacted with others in academia, such as deans, colleagues, and students, they were often caught in a trap where they were attacked from both sides by administrators and students. They had to face a predicament where there was no way to escape the situation. Having had such negative experiences in interactions with administrators, chairs, and students, gay male faculty members of color felt they were being continuously attacked, questioned, and disregarded in higher education because of their race and sexual orientation.

This subsection addressed *Unintentional Conspirative Positional Bullying* that had been experienced by the gay male faculty members of color in higher education.

Based on their life stories as gay male faculty members of color in higher education,

Figure 4.3 was developed to summarize the participants' experiences of *Unintentional*

Conspirative Positional Bullying in academia.

Positional Bullying

Political and Hostile Nature in Higher Education

Tenure Promotions

Interactions with Power Holders

Counter-Positional Bullying

Bigoted Attitude and Stereotypes

Questioning Authority and Credentials

Student Evaluations

Gay Male Faculty Members of Color in Higher Education

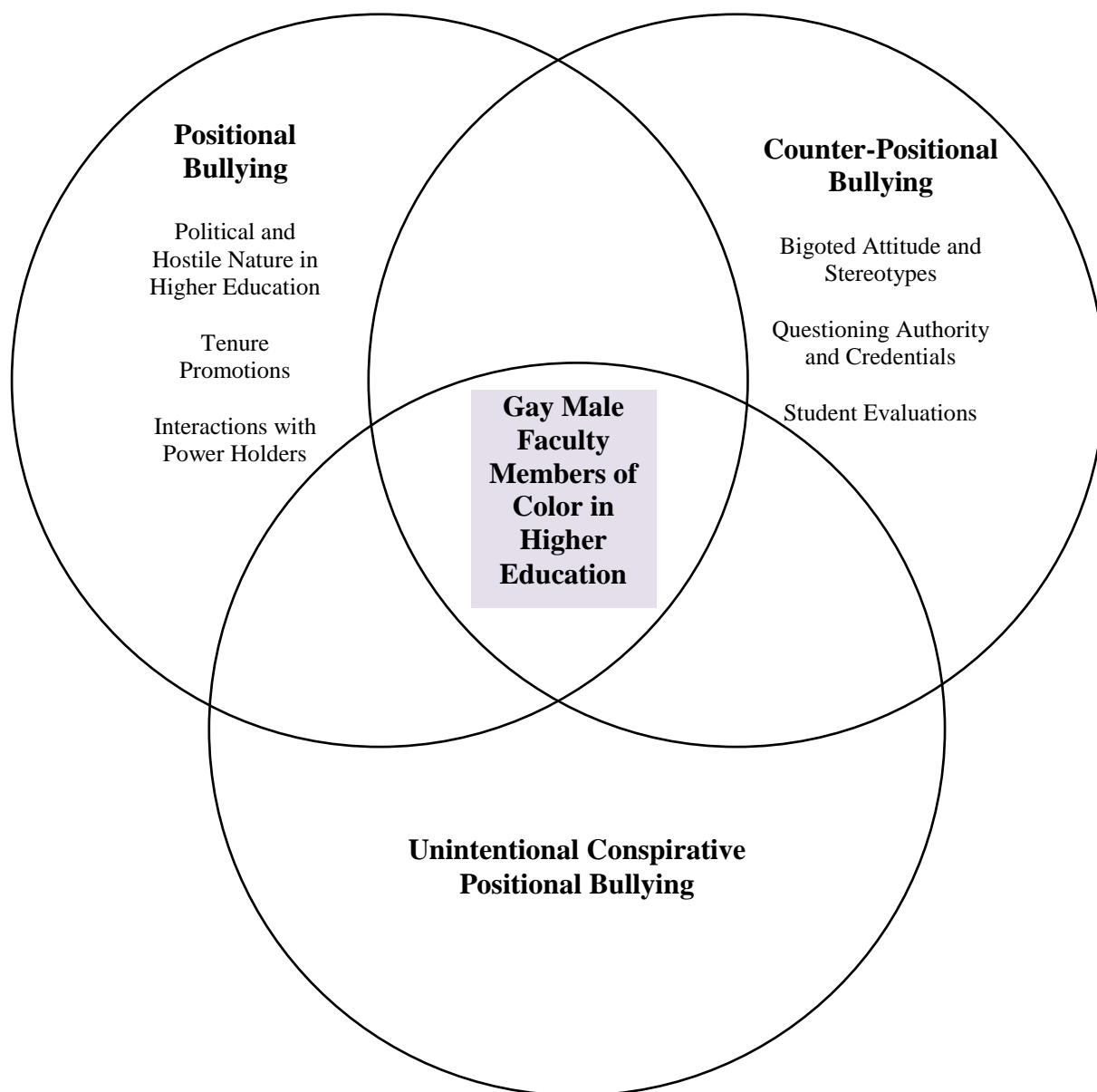**Unintentional Conspirative Positional Bullying**

Figure 4.1. Gay Male Faculty Members of Color in Higher Education

Chapter Summary

The purpose of this study was to understand how adult bullying influences the lives of gay male faculty members of color in higher education. This chapter discussed the first theme, *Managing Anti-Reciprocal Relations with Power Holders*. This study found that the phenomenon of bullying is promulgated by many people whether or not they are bullies, victims, and bystanders. The first theme of this study addressed three types of bullying that were experienced by gay male faculty members of color: 1) *Positional Bullying* that happened from the top down in relationships between institutions and administrators and gay male faculty members of color; 2) *Counter-Positional Bullying* that happened in a bottom-up fashion between students and gay male faculty members of color where students in higher education bullied gay male faculty members of color leveraging the faculty members' race and/or sexual orientation; and 3) *Unintentional Conspirative Positional Bullying* that happened in situations where gay male faculty members of color were bullied from both sides by administrators, colleagues, and students as a combination and intersection of *Positional Bullying* and *Counter-Positional Bullying.* Those three kinds of bullying continually manifested themselves in the narratives of participants and influenced the participants greatly in how they reacted to situations of bullying (See Figure 4.1).

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS PART TWO: THEMES TWO AND THREE

The purpose of this study was to understand how adult bullying influences the lives of gay male faculty of color in higher education. This study particularly focused on the exploration and examination of gay male faculty of color's negative experiences and experiences of being victims of adult bullying in higher education related to the intersection of racism and homophobia. The research questions for this study were as follows:

1. How is bullying manifested in the lives of gay male faculty members of color?

2. In what ways does bullying affect gay male faculty members of color's academic lives?

3. How do gay male faculty members of color cope with bullying in higher education?

This second findings chapter is organized into three major sections. The opening section presents the second theme of the analysis, *Developing a Career Plan Informed by the Restrictions of Homophobia and Racism*, which represents how gay male faculty members of color have made their career decisions in academia while either experiencing negative reaction to their race and sexuality or while witnessing bullying, mobbing, or uncivil behaviors. This theme also represents how the gay male faculty of color negotiated their identities when they started building their academic career as graduate students or assistant professors.

The second section of this chapter introduces the third theme, *Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization*, which addresses how the gay male faculty members of color have or have not been coping with their negative experiences. These themes emerged from commonalities in the research data. Table 5.1 presents these two themes and associated categories in shortened form. The last section of this chapter concludes with an overall summary of the research findings.

Table 5.1
Identified Themes in Participants' Life Stories: Themes Two and Three

Theme Two: Developing a Career Plan Informed by the Restrictions of Homophobia and Racism

    a. Gay Men of Color's Experiences

        i. Gay Men of Color as Victims of Bullying in Higher Education
        ii. Gay Men of Color as Bystanders to Bullying in Higher Education

    b. Mentorship and Guidance

Theme Three: Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization

    a. Coping Process with Racist Homophobic Bullying
    b. Survival Strategies against Racist Homophobic Bullying

Theme Two: Developing a Career Plan Informed by Restrictions of Homophobia and

Racism

To review, the analysis of the data revealed three main themes: 1) *Managing Anti-Reciprocal Relations with Power Holders*; 2) *Developing a Career Plan Informed by the Restrictions of Homophobia and Racism*; and 3) *Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and*

Revitalization. The previous chapter addressed the first main theme, which presented how adult bullying was manifested in the participants' academic lives as gay male faculty members of color in higher education. This chapter will focus on the second main theme, *Developing a Career Plan Informed by the Restrictions of Homophobia and Racism,* and the third main theme, *Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization*.

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The Experiences of Gay Men of Color

</div>

The section will address the second theme, *Developing a Career Plan Informed by the Restrictions of Homophobia and Racism,* which represents how gay male faculty members of color made their decisions to pursue their academic careers. In their long academic careers, the participants expressed that they had almost continuously been victims and/or bystanders of bullying in higher education. From these experiences as victims and/or bystanders of bullying, they had to learn how to manage their academic journeys and constantly had to negotiate their own identities as gay men of color. This theme was manifest in two ways: 1) The Experiences of Gay Men of Color; and 2) Mentorship and Guidance.

The first category of the second theme is *The Experiences of Gay Men of Color.* This category presents how the gay male faculty members of color participating in this study utilized their own unique experiences to make career decisions. The majority of the gay male faculty members of color in this study talked not only about their experiences of being gay male faculty members of color but also about their experiences of having been students in higher education in terms of having experienced racism and homophobia. They reported that their career process had been influenced by how, as students, positionality had affected them in their academic lives in higher education. They used

what they had learned from their own student academic experiences to determine what kind of careers they would pursue and what they would need to do to get their ideal jobs.

When the participants of this study talked about their career processes, they mentioned how their race and sexual orientation influenced their career decisions. The participants also talked about their negative experiences and about their experiences of being bullied in higher education as students due to their race and sexual orientation. Their career decisions seemed to be driven partly by their own experiences of being victims and bystanders of bullying in higher education. In this first category, *The Experiences of Gay Men of Color,* two subcategories emerged: a) Gay Men of Color as Victims of Bullying in Higher Education; and b) Gay Men of Color as Bystanders to Bullying in Higher Education.

Gay Men of Color as Victims of Bullying in Higher Education

The first subcategory that emerged in The Experiences of Gay Men of Color was *Gay Men of Color as Victims of Bullying in Higher Education.* This subcategory presents how the gay male faculty members of color were exposed to bullying in terms of racism and homophobia prior to having become faculty members in higher education. Although their experiences were negative, their experiences actually informed them on how to better develop their own academic career plans.

All of the nineteen participants vividly talked about how, in their career paths, positionality had impacted their lives on campus and their job searching processes. They reported that their own experiences were helpful when they were making decisions about what they wanted to do and where they wanted to go for potential careers. The participants reported that their experiences in higher education as students or postdoctoral

fellows greatly influenced their career decisions prior to becoming faculty members in higher education. The following subsections will address how their experiences of racism and homophobia had impacted their career paths.

Higher education: Undergraduate and graduate experiences. Higher education, including both undergraduate and graduate levels, is a place where intellectualism is fostered. Having a higher educational degree, usually a graduate degree, is required for faculty in postsecondary education because degrees symbolize one's credibility and determine one's academic rights in terms of what one can or cannot do and how high one can or cannot go in academia. If one wants to be a successful academician, he or she has to go through the experience of being a graduate student. So, gay male faculty members of color in this study, all nineteen of whom had completed either master's degrees or doctorate degrees, naturally had to go through the experience of being students in higher education at both undergraduate and graduate levels to get to where they were in their careers at the times of their interviews.

When the participants of this study described such experiences in undergraduate and graduate school in higher education, they often described negative experiences or experiences of being victims of bullying because of their race, sexual orientation or identity as gay male students of color. Seventeen of the nineteen participants talked specifically about their experiences of having been treated unfairly or bullied by their professors or colleagues when they were students in higher education.

Professor Anthony Young, a Black tenured university professor, story is representative of how bias functioned in the early educational experiences of gay male faculty of color. He described how his experiences continued to be negative since first

entering his field. He talked about his graduate school experience of being marginalized

because of his race, gender, and sexual orientation:

> *Let me tell you. I will get to answer that -- of you're trying how I*
>
> *was being treated. They [White female administrators and*
>
> *professors] were prejudiced towards men, especially men of color*
>
> *in nursing, especially gay men in nursing.*
>
> *I was accepted to the graduate program [in nursing]. I*
>
> *succeeded all the requirements, but I had no idea that there was a*
>
> *writing course, and I had to pass the examination. [All of the*
>
> *students in the program were] supposed to be taking it. I took the*
>
> *writing examination, and failed it. And so, they were going to put*
>
> *me behind by a full year and our graduate nursing courses. And*
>
> *there was a writing class that was offered, you know, for those who*
>
> *apparently failed this writing test. I didn't have a problem with*
>
> *taking that course. I found a course and everything.*

As a graduate student who had just started his graduate studies, Professor Young thought

he needed to obey the rule by taking the writing course. However, he had to deal with

unfair treatment from some White female administrators. He found out that one of his

White female colleagues who was in the writing class had already been allowed to start

graduate nursing classes:

> *When I signed up for that course, they said you cannot take*
>
> *academic graduate nursing courses until you have completed this*
>
> *course. When I went to get to the course, there was another*

nursing student, a White female, who was in the same graduate

program that I was in, who was taking the same course that I was

taking, which means she also failed this test.

The environment of his graduate school grew challenging for Professor Young when he

pursued equality and fair treatment from many of the White female administrators,

professors, and colleagues. Being treated unfairly by these White women was a typical

experience for him in his field. He described how lonely he was and how he did not have

anyone in his program to support him. He needed someone who might understand what

he had been experiencing on campus. He finally sought out a Black male professor on

campus and decided to get a help from him regarding the mistreatment from the White

female administrators:

I had to go to one of the people on campus. I went to a Black man,

African American man who had a doctorate at the university to

intervene to help me. So, we had a meeting. And, he asked them,

"Look. You have another student that you had allowed to continue

on this program that also failed this test." They had to say, yes.

They did. Make a long story short, I was allowed to take the

[nursing] courses. Why should they have been done that to me in

the first place?

I graduated from the graduate school with my MSN. I was

the only one out of every single student in that program that was

published in a peer-referee journal. But, my point is that they

would try to keep me a year behind because I couldn't write. But,

yet, I went to the peer process to be published in a peer journal.

So, I could write.

Similarly, Professor Oscar Martin, a Black associate professor, talked about his experience of being a nursing student and described how positionality had impacted the interaction between him and a nurse at the hospital:

As an undergraduate nursing student, there were only two men in

my nursing class, myself and a Latino male. So, I mean even the

two men were also both ethnic minorities. And, we were doing

clinical in the hospital. And, the nurse that I would have to report

to was very, very sexist. Well, I went to her and I said, "You know,

the patient has not voided in the last 12 hours, and this is

problematic." And, she kind of dismissed me. She said, "Oh, well,

she is not peeing because you know she does not want to pee

around you because you know you are a man." And, I'm looking at

the nurse and I didn't realize that my nursing professor was

standing behind me because I couldn't see her. And, I said this to

the nurse, "You know what? How about you take a moment and

think about medical reason why this post-op patient may not have

been able to void in 12 hours besides the fact that I happened to

have a dick." And, my nursing professor was like, "Oh, my God.

Oscar, you can't say that." Then, I turned around and I said, "Oh,

hell I can." I said, "It is a post-op patient and you and I both know

that if the patient has been exposed anesthesia, she could be

> *having a eugenic bladder disorder or something else related to*
>
> *anesthesia, that's not, having her to void.*

Professor Brian Lee, an Asian adjunct professor and administrator, shared his experience of having been a law student in the early 1990s where he experienced homophobia and racism in law school:

> *It was at [name of the law school] in the Northeast. And, it was*
>
> *back in the early 90s. So, [it was] sometime between 91 and 93. I*
>
> *mean, two examples that occurred to me, I am sure there were*
>
> *more, but ones that pop up to mind involved, one is as a law*
>
> *student. When I was working at a part of gay and lesbian student*
>
> *group trying to publicize speaker events, like people were coming*
>
> *in, judges to talk about being openly gay judges. There were either*
>
> *graffiti or the flyers were torn down. "Fag" was written on the*
>
> *graffiti. So, that's one example of clearly somebody or someone*
>
> *was not happy about conversation about openly gay judges. It was*
>
> *just the way law school was.*

Most of the gay male faculty members of color (seventeen of the nineteen) in this study reported that they had encountered racist and homophobic classroom situations when they were students. Professor Melvin Kelly, a Black associate professor, talked about his negative experiences in the law school where he had to deal with his professors' racist remarks and attitudes:

> *You know, when I was in law school, there were a lot of situations*
>
> *that would raise racial issues in terms of the ways that professors*

were dealing with either materials or the things they would said

about people in class. I once had a professor who referred to

Native Americans as naked savages and how our English

ancestors came over and subdued the naked savages. And, so,

there were a couple of Native Americans in the classroom, so

Black students wrote a letter to the professor saying that you're

entitled to your belief, [but it] would not be appropriate to use that

kind of language to students [in class]. Of course, there are Native

American students, too. So then he wrote a letter back saying that

they were naked savages that they didn't write Gulliver's Travels,

didn't do all these other things that Europeans had done so. He

was perfectly you know justified in using that language in class.

Seventeen of the nineteen gay male faculty members of color in this study also described how difficult it was for them to have a good relationship with their professors. They reported that they had to be careful in dealing with race and/or sexual orientation as students in class in higher education. Sometimes, graduate school environments were not open to gay male students of color because those environments were predominately White and/or heterosexual. In other words, racism, homophobia, and heterosexism influenced in their experiences in graduate schools. An example appeared in the interview with Professor David Green, an African American assistant professor. He reported how graduate school was somehow challenging for him because of his identities and where he believed his professors and classmates seemed to be racist and

homophobic. As a student, he felt that he was in an unsafe learning environment, and he struggled to survive there for the first two years:

> *Well, I would not be comfortable using my voice [in class]…. So, in a couple of years grad school, my struggle was trying to speak, trying to insert my voice and have the issues that matter to me addressed in a substantive way. It was very painful because risk was, because in graduate school, you know, the stress is placed on how well you articulate, how smart you come across as, that all often. The indicator how smart you are how well you use the language. If you do not use the language well, you just have to have ideas, and you can be Black, too, you can come off as being why you are here. You cannot speak the language. Trying to critique us or critique the text. You do not even understand what you are reading. You cannot even speak…. So, the challenge for me was to overcome my fear of those types of comments or thoughts from other students so I could develop my voice. So, I often had to risk coming across as unintellectual or as too interested in social rather than theoretical. In order to have my issues or my criticisms or my engagement with the text, experience or explore, because no one would explore in a way I thought it needed to be. So, everyday in seminar over the course for two years, those seminar courses were very, very painful experience.*

Being Black, being a person of color in particular in a

White dominated place that is the body matters for me more

because being gay for me people can conceal that the way that you

cannot conceal your different body color or tint you cannot

conceal it…. So, in graduate school, I had to figure out how to get

around my own anxieties and challenge other people's

perspectives. And often I had to deal with race and sexuality, even

you know, often having had interacted together. And, so grad

school was very challenging.

Professor Shane Edwards, an African American associate professor and associate dean, talked about an experience where positionality impacted his interactions with his professor and colleagues:

When I was in the doctoral program, I remember one incident

where the very interesting thing. I was in one of our research

courses, and we had a take home and I was sharing information

with one of my colleagues and he wrote one of the answers and I

wrote one of the answers for each other, so we wouldn't have to do

the all the answers. And, I gave him back his portion of the

assignment and he gave me mine, and we all turned it in. It was

very funny. The question that I answered for him, he got a full

credit for and the same question I answered for myself, I got half

credit. So, it was very interesting to think how I got half credit for

the answer I wrote for both of us and you got a credit. It was about

race. You know, the other guy was a White guy. And, the instructor

had a preferential treatment for that person.

Seventeen gay male faculty members of color in this study had experienced their professors' abuse of authority, or their positional power, when in higher education as students. Professor Jesse Ingram, an African American university professor and interim vice provost, spoke of one of his negative experiences as a student with a professor in the South in the late 1980s:

The one that comes to my mind is actually when I was in graduate

school…. The English department in 1988. I was taking one of my

final courses, which was a graduate seminar. And, I wanted to do

some research on what we called it, Black American Literature

back then. I think it had to do with the treatment of slave narratives

impact on later Black literature…. And, I remember going to my

professor who was a very old White professor. And, he looked at

me and he said, "I don't know how much information you are

going to find about that topic because I don't believe much has

been done about the N_ _ _ _." And, I'm standing like, it is 1986

and this man just uses N_ _ _ _. I just couldn't believe it. And so, it

was in that moment where I began to reflect on the two years that I

had been at [the university]…. But what I did do was, I went and I

did a bibliographical survey found a lot of information of the

particular topic. And, then went back to him and pulled out the

bibliography, and he said "Oh, my. Well, you did find quite a bit of

information. Well, would you mind typing up this bibliography and

sharing with me? I can use that my own future work." And, of

course, I kept promising him I would, but I felt, "Oh, hell no. I'm

not going to give him my work, this whole project" And, I never

gave it to him.

Gay male faculty members of color in this study also reported that institutional issues, like a lack of faculty of color, gay faculty, or gay faculty of color on campus, greatly affected their experiences, making them feel like outsiders or and allowing them to be treated differently in higher education. Professor Gilbert Rivera, an Asian Pacific Islander adjunct professor and administrator, talked about his experiences:

In higher education, I was often treated differently. I think in my

graduate program. The program was writing and literature in

English. I was one of among probably 50 or 60 students, and I was

myself frustrated that my graduate program was so... it had so few

students of color. And, also I felt the director of my graduate

program, it affected me in terms of they thought of my advice, they

were aware of the problem. While I was there, very little was done.

So, they only hired I think only one more person of color. It was a

good thing. But in terms of like establishing a scholarship for

students of color or bringing it up as a panel session, they didn't

do a lot of that in my graduate program.

Gay male faculty members of color in this study also reported that White and/or heterosexual professors in their graduate studies courses had frequently manifested their

racist and/or heterosexist assumptions in class. In this study, the gay men of color who experienced such places felt that their professors did not see them in the same way as they saw the rest of their students. In other words, the gay male students of color were outsiders (White heterosexual scholars). Since they were perceived as outsiders in the White heterosexist academia, they were practically ignored by the White and/or heterosexual professors. The professors even frequently confused students of color from an inability to make individual distinctions. While all of the gay male faculty members of color offered examples of this phenomenon, one example of that appeared in a story from Professor Brian Lee, an Asian adjunct professor and administrator if offered as a representative:

> *White professors, both male and female, got always confused about the Asian American male students. You become [a] blur. Like even though you don't look quite the same as others, they just unable to get it. Sometimes it was hilarious how you know they would call different people, like Mr. Wong, Mrs. Chin, and Mr. Lao. It's like everyone looks the same to them.*
>
> *I would definitely say that there could be different classroom dynamics as a student of color. I guess again that I'm talking about five Asian guys in the class over 100. That's kind of sad that the White professor both males and females, old White professor, because it could be age or vision, could not figure out who we were, but they could easily figure out the White students. So again, we defined it kind of problematic that you know you have*

seventy plus, 30 plus White male students that you knew who they

were, why can't they figure out the [five] Asians... I know for the

fact that some of the African American male students were kind of

sad....As a dynamic that, you know, you can create visibility or the

same, there's opposite some sort of a, take away from when a

professor cannot figure out who the different students of color are,

male students particular.

Professor Howard Phillips provided one example where the White professor could not remember the names and faces of his students of color throughout the semester:

I'm Howard, and the other African American was Craig. I am

about 5'11 or 6 feet. Craig is like 6'4. So how is it that you confuse

us? We don't even look alike. He kept calling me Craig and he kept

calling him Howard. Annoying, like we didn't look alike, but it was

just a sort of racialized notion of everyone you know all of you are

similar looking.

The Asian women, they were very annoyed because

Samona who is Korean, she is like 5'7. And, Maria who is Chinese

and like 5'2. You know, one day when he called me Craig, and

there was a silence in the classroom because I refused to respond.

Finally, Craig started laughing and nervously said, "Howard, you

gotta better respond to him." And, I said, "I'm not gonna respond

to him because he called me Craig." There was nervous laughter,

but at that point Maria who I mentioned her as Chinese, she got up

and walked out of the room. It really sort of stunted everyone and

so the professor just sort of gave us a break. When I went to her,

she said, "We gotta do something about this. This is ridiculous that

he keeps doing this. We sit in this class for three hours every week

and he doesn't know you're Howard and he is Craig." And so we

actually crafted a letter to our dean of student about that

experience, and she actually took that letter to the general faculty

meeting and brought it up, like she put it on the dock on the table

as a discussion item.

How gay male faculty members of color perceived their experiences as students in higher education differed only slightly even though they came from widely different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there were three foreign born professors in this study, Professor Wesley Vasquez, Professor, Leonard Hayes, and Professor Pat Freeman. Professor Hayes came to the United States when he was very small. Professor Vasquez and Professor Freeman came to the United States when they were adolescents. While all of the three talked about their experiences in higher education, two of them talked about their ethnic backgrounds and cultural differences more frequently than any of the other nineteen participants in this study. Professor Wesley Vasquez, a Latino assistant professor, put it succinctly:

When I was at 18, when I went to study for collage…. As an

undergraduate, I was at a total disorientation because I did not

know the things I know now... My cultural compass did not work

over there, and I didn't know that the compass didn't work. So,

often times I was wrong. You know, like something wrong with me,

and I don't get it... I was being gay... Definitely, being a person of

color was a huge thing. Well, for example, [the city] was a very

segregated city... And, there was no room for anything other than

black and White. So, you navigated that space without, that space

there was no space for you. I mean like I remember once in a

social psych class, and they were doing this exercise about group

dynamics, right? Intergroup dynamics. And, this professor was a

very enlightened woman, a very wealthy woman. So, she divided

the room between the Black people over here and White people

over there. And, there were three Latinos in the room. And, she did

not know what to do with us. She goes, "Why don't you sit over

there?" She left us out of the exercise. And I steered the

amusement. <laugh> I didn't take it personally, because the truth

is that in that arrangement, I don't exist in that space, you know?

As a gay man of color, Professor Leonard Hayes, a tenured Latino university professor, had experienced a long career in higher education. He described how his own experiences had shaped his own career path in academia:

Bullying happened in different ways and in different times…. Often

times, things happen in a much more subtle way. Bullying happens

to everybody…. Everybody who is gay or woman or black or

immigrant or Asian or Native American. Everyone who is not a

straight White man has that experience... So, I walked in to the

room and people had stopped talking. Yes, that has happened to

me. Faculty members and students both.

I went to college. And, you know, in 1970, remember Stone

Wall happened in 1969, right? So, 1970 was like basically during

Stone Wall. So, things were back then very different. There were no

gay people around me…. And, so it was invisible. So, that was not

very nice. I went to Law school in the 1980s. As a student, I was

the only openly gay student in the law school. And, there were no

openly gay faculty members…. Some people tried to do the typical

homophobic thing, some students and faculty members…. People

were trying to take away your self-confidence, your self-esteem,

your ability to concentrate and succeed. People were trying to use

who you were against you. Basically fellow students. Mainly White

American people…. They insulted me, called me names, attacked

me all of that…Verbally.

And then the year 2000s, [the university name in the

South], now 40 years has gone by since the Stone Wall. And,

there's another different environment. So, there is less bullying,

there is less harassment, there is less the 1950s stuff. But, yes. You

have students who use the anonymity of the student evaluations to

through at you. What does the institution do about it? Nothing.

This is not unique. Repeat, unless you're a straight White man, this

> *happens.... It's much more subtle, much more sophisticated, and so*
>
> *what you can describe is an environment in which certain things*
>
> *happen.*

The experiences of Professor Hayes were not uncommon to the other participants' experiences in higher education. The gay male faculty members of color in this study repeatedly experienced either verbal or physical, direct or indirect, or subtle or overt homophobia and/or racism in their academic careers. Like some of the participants already mentioned from their own experiences, bullying or mobbing regarding racism and homophobia continued to occur in their lives at every point in higher education.

Experiences of post-doc and beyond. After having completed their doctoral studies, some of the participants in this study had opportunities to pursue professional training. Three of the nineteen participants had postdoctoral trainings after receiving their doctoral degrees. Although the number of persons who had gone through postdoctoral training was relatively small in this study, all of the three who had expressed experiences of frustration during the in-between status of a graduate student and a faculty member. One of those who took postdoctoral training was Professor Ryan Nelson, an African American assistant professor:

> *I can say honestly the doors have been open for me. As a post doc,*
>
> *there were certain things that I could not vote, you know, I wasn't*
>
> *a full faculty member, so I couldn't participate in certain votes….*
>
> *That was based on my rank. That's been the only negative aspect. I*
>
> *kind of felt like in-between state, I wasn't a student, I wasn't quite*
>
> *faculty. Difficult position to be in.*

Positionality also affected the experiences of the other two, Professor Pat Freeman and Professor Howard Phillips, during their postdoctoral training. Professor Freeman, an Asian assistant professor, also talked about how challenging it was for him as a postdoctoral fellow where he experienced a contradiction between his own professional goals and the objectives of the host institution and funding sponsor.

> *So, when I came out from my postdoc, I didn't really want to go*
>
> *back in industry and decided I really wanted to go into academia.*
>
> *That actually was a turning point, because it was sponsored by a*
>
> *private industry, they really round on a fact that I would chose an*
>
> *academic position.... In this case, this example, it's [the name of*
>
> *the company] and so you know they had this partnership with [the*
>
> *name of the host university], so they want obviously people who go*
>
> *into [the company]. So, anyway, that was up till the battle.*
>
> *At that time, I really was not interested in private. And I*
>
> *think it's also the context of pharmaceutical industry... because of*
>
> *the pharmaceutical industry I didn't want to go in there. So,*
>
> *anyway, I was really discouraged and pretty much by the end of*
>
> *the fellowship, I really did had no relationship with any of my*
>
> *mentors there anymore because none of them really agreed with*
>
> *my choice of going to academics, which is where I am right now. It*
>
> *was just a over period of 5-6 meetings that everyone comes, you*
>
> *know, the directors and associate directors talking to me saying*
>
> *that I really should go to the industry.*

It wasn't disclosed to me, like it wasn't clear to me when I

got in. You know, I am supposed to go to industry versus

academics. So, it was something that behind. I mean something

was there, but they just decided to impose these rules, or they

never communicated these rules to me. So, it's kind of really odd.

It was a really odd position.... That's the motivation by [the

company] was that because they funded and wanted benefit back.

Professor Howard Phillips, an African American assistant professor, described how positionality influenced his postdoctoral training in addition to his status as a postdoctoral fellow:

I was in [the previous institution in the Midwest] as a postdoc. I

went back to the Midwestern state for a postdoc last two

years....We as postdocs, the research that we conducted was

community based participatory research, so CPPR. And that

paradigm or approach involves the collaborative effort with

community based organizations or just community centered

research, which community sets the priority. So, working with

faculty members, I mean there is understanding that everyone is on

the same page research. And, we had a faculty member who

wanted to conduct research that involves taking bios of blood from

African Americans in a certain community in [the Midwestern

state]. And, this was completely shut down by our community

partners.... Later on he was overheard talking to another faculty

member, "Can we just do it anyway?"

It was not ethical.... This wasn't a legal issue for him. Here

I was a faculty member at [the university in the Midwest], and

there was this African American collective.... That was a negative

experience with faculty members and me being color experiencing

this in a room with community members of color.

While Professors Freeman, Nelson, and Phillips went through postdoctoral training prior to becoming faculty members in higher education, others in this study became faculty members right after having received their terminal degrees. All of the participants talked about their career paths in the interviews and how they followed a typical job search process in academia. They reported how job search committee members determined final candidates for positions in secret ways. For the most part, the gay male professors of color participating in this study were not chosen as final candidates at least at one institution, and none of them knew why they were not chosen. The screening process itself might have allowed different search committees to manifest racism and/or homophobia passively and indirectly. Although many institutions had stated their institutions were affirmative action employers who would not discriminate against any candidates because of their sex, gender, race, disability, or national origins, they could have possibly eliminated the application files from People of Color and/or gay people if some racist or homophobic person in the search committee wanted. While all nineteen participants talked about how they got the positions they were holding at the time of the interviews, some of them related painful experiences they had gone through

during their job search where they perceived that their race and sexual orientation had

worked against them. Professor Melvin Kelly, a Black associate professor, talked about

one of his job interviews where his sexual orientation became an issue for his hiring:

> *I have interviewed with other institutions that had been told that*
>
> *people were concerned about my sexual orientation. But, that only*
>
> *happened once, that was at a historically Black institution, you*
>
> *know, tended to be more conservative than other institutions....This*
>
> *was two years ago. I didn't experience that in an interview. But,*
>
> *later, when they made an offer, they made an offer without tenure.*
>
> *But, tenured here, so initially the school is going to make an offer*
>
> *with tenure. So, one of the faculty members said that she thought*
>
> *the part of the problem may have been sexual orientation because*
>
> *some of the other faculty said that on my CV indicated that I was*
>
> *the faculty advisor for the gay student organization. And, so one of*
>
> *them asked, "Well, don't you think he is too liberal for us?" And,*
>
> *so, no one said anything specific about sexual orientation, but they*
>
> *paid their attention to the fact that I was a faculty advisor for the*
>
> *gay student organization, and then they made the comment, "Oh,*
>
> *is he too liberal for us?" So, I think that, you know, that certainly*
>
> *was going on in some people's mind.... there are a lot of things on*
>
> *my resume. I was on the executive committee of [the name of the*
>
> *national organization of gay and lesbian task force]. So, there're a*
>
> *lot of things on my resume that lead someone to conclude that I'm*

> *gay. And, I've written articles, an article I guess, about sexual*
>
> *orientation in law in which believe I stated I'm a gay person,*
>
> *things like that. It's not something people have to guess about it.*
>
> *I'm pretty clear about it.*

Gay male faculty members of color must deal with their identities when they go out into the job market. Similar to Professor Kelly, Professor Keith Olsen, a Middle Eastern associate professor, talked about his job interviews where he experienced homophobia, heterosexism, and racism:

> *During the interview, I thought that their comments were*
>
> *inappropriate... I think every gay person has experienced that*
>
> *somebody says "It's a great place for family." <laugh> Just like,*
>
> *Okay. Forget it, why bother. You can't ask about it. But people say*
>
> *they can't ask but they can say things. I think people say that it's a*
>
> *way of coding of their expectations about the job. The most, bug*
>
> *me the most about is that a well-known university in San Antonio*
>
> *Texas. And, the interviewer said, "You seem very sophisticated.*
>
> *Could you move to San Antonio?" First of all, I grew up in a firm*
>
> *in Pennsylvania by the way. <laugh> I just thought that was a*
>
> *code for you seem ethnic and gay. You seem different from the rest*
>
> *of us.... I've always thought very negatively about that.... That is*
>
> *where you see homophobia and you know ethnic stereotyping and*
>
> *ethnic guessing because they tend to want people who are look like*
>
> *themselves. If they're doing sort of affirmative action part hire,*

then they want somebody who like really stands out like this is our

token. I think gay people in particular there is no affirmative

action for them, so they're coming and going.

Likewise, Professor Howard Phillips, an African American assistant professor, had experiences where the search committee members asked questions that they should not have been asking in the job interview. He vividly described how these job interviews turned out to be hostile and how the search committee members and interviewers used their power abusively:

When I went to an interview with them (an institution in the West),

they, the first time, I interviewed with them at a conference in

Miami. I interviewed with them and there were three people in the

room. There was African American gay man and then two White

women. So, we were going to the interview, and all the sudden one

of them looked at me and she goes, "Do you have a partner?" You

know that is illegal. And so the guy jumped in and said "You can't

ask him that." And, she said, "No, but I think it's very interesting. I

need to ask him if he had a partner." He was saying to her, "It's

illegal, you can't ask him that." She goes, "Well, why not?"

They've been like that for the next 10 minutes, why she can't ask

me this question. So, finally I said, "You know, I want the record to

show that I willingly and voluntarily answered this question for

her. I want you to know on the record that she asked me this

question in a formal interview that I chose to answer the

question." And I said "Well, I don't have a partner."

I could not believe this was happening to me. I mean why

would she take sort of, why would she sort of have that amount of,

I don't know what the word is, in a formal, I don't what the word is

about, being able to couch me as a person of color and gay man in

a middle of an interview to then think aloud like, "Do you have a

partner?" It was a level of comfort that should not have been

there. And the lack of professionalism.

Professor Phillips continued to talk about a job interview where he had to meet with

different people from the same department:

Although it was annoying, I was still very interested in the position

at [the institution in the West]. So they came to New York for a

conference, and the chair (an African American gay man) of the

search committee said, "Well, there are a couple of faculty

members that heard about you and they are interested in meeting

you since you are in New York." And, I said, "No problem." So, I

go in, and there are two people. There is an older White man and

there is a Latina who is already a tenured faculty member. And,

he's saying, "I can see the connection between public health and

social work.... I can see you teaching this, and I can see you

teaching that." And the entire time, she is literally rolling her eyes

and not looking at me. So, he says, "I have a session." And she

says, "OK. I will just finish talking with Howard."

> *And, as soon as he walked out the door, she finally looked*
> *at me and she goes, "I cannot believe that they would bring you in*
> *to teach health courses. I have been there for 10 years and I've*
> *been interested in teaching Latino health courses, and they're*
> *going to bring you in?"*

> *So, you know, again, I had this very sort of odd moments*
> *with people.... The woman was livid. Also, I think it was*
> *institutional because she was Latina who had been there although*
> *she received tenure, she still was in control of course development.*
> *But they were willing to create these courses for me coming in, and*
> *not only that, I was like gay, young gay man, young gay black man.*
> *You know, she was an older Latina.*

Experiences like those told of by Professors Phillips, Kelly, and Olson were not uncommon among the participants. The gay male faculty members of color in this study reported that they constantly had to deal with racism, heterosexism, and homophobia in their academic careers, and although those experiences were negative to them, they had been able to learn from their experiences anyhow and understood more clearly how they could manage their academic careers to avoid encountering such negativities in the future. These negative incidents as described above, however, would become reiterated later in the participants' academic journeys.

Gay Men of Color as Bystanders to Bullying in Higher Education

The second subcategory that emerged in the category, Experiences of Gay Men of Color, was *Gay Men of Color as Bystanders to Bullying in Higher Education.* This subcategory presents how gay male faculty members of color in this study not only experienced bullying but also witnessed bullying. These experiences of having to witness bullying informed the participants of this study about what they should and should not do when facing similar situations, and how they could best manage their own academic career journeys. This subcategory was seen in all of the nineteen participants' data. All of them witnessed bullying to various extents in higher education. Professor Edward Turner, an African American associate professor, witnessed an incident of bullying as an undergraduate student:

> *In my career, when I was an undergraduate student, there was a*
>
> *situation where a young man who lived in a dorm on another wing*
>
> *in a dorm, and he was in the business education major, was*
>
> *excluded from going to student teaching because he was feminine.*
>
> *He was a very feminine young man, and he was very smart, and he*
>
> *was called into the office and told that he would not be receiving a*
>
> *placement for student teaching, and that he had to leave*
>
> *campus...And that shook him up...and he was shaking by it. I*
>
> *always felt so sorry for him. To this day, I really feel sorry for him.*
>
> *And, he left and went to a beautician school, and became a*
>
> *beautician....So, when I think of bullying, I read that question,*
>
> *when I saw bullying, I immediately thought of Ivan. That's the*

> *ultimate in bullying, see, using institution's power to just dismiss*
>
> *you because of your sexual orientation.*

Professor Shane Edwards, an African American associate professor and associate dean, talked about his experience of seeing other People of Color treated unfairly when they went up for their tenure promotions at his previous institution:

> *I have been in three different institutions and two institutions that I*
>
> *went up for promotion and one of the three institutions I went up*
>
> *for tenure. The first institution where I went up for promotion, it*
>
> *was not successful, and that was the one where I said seven years*
>
> *ago [that] it hadn't tenured anybody Black. And I saw that there*
>
> *was one Black person in front of me on the tenure line, and the*
>
> *same thing happened to that person. They didn't give her, that*
>
> *person, the promotion, and that person later got the promotion but*
>
> *ultimately did not get tenure. And, I kind of saw that as an*
>
> *indication of how they were going to respond to me. So, it was at*
>
> *that point I started looking for employment outside of that*
>
> *environment. I made a decision, and I left that school, and came to*
>
> *the school where I am now.*

Professor Fredrick Smith, an African American assistant professor witnessed an incident of bullying at his current institution where one of his colleagues was treated so negatively by the department that Professor Smith's colleague made a decision to leave academia for good:

> *I had a friend who started at the very same time I started being a*
>
> *professor here. He was from China. And, we were very close*
>
> *friends and he was gay, very openly about it. And then, when the*
>
> *time came for us both to go up for tenure, I hadn't seen or heard*
>
> *from him for a while, like a month or two. I was really concerned*
>
> *and emailed him and asked him where he was. He told me he left*
>
> *the university, he was in San Francisco because of the treatment he*
>
> *received in his department. And, I thought that is, you know he left*
>
> *and didn't even want to bother going through the tenure process.*
>
> *He left education altogether. He works in a corporate environment*
>
> *with computers now. And I thought he was such an energetic*
>
> *person with very just well traveled and very well read, and I*
>
> *thought he brought a lot to the university. But, since he had*
>
> *experienced such bad treatments in his department, he left. He*
>
> *said, almost all the assistant professors in their department leave*
>
> *because it's so hard to get tenure there. I think it's more difficult*
>
> *for People of Color because administrators are predominantly*
>
> *White.*

Professor Smith reflected on his colleague's experience at his current institution, and

talked about how the institution did not do anything to keep his colleague from leaving,

pointing out that if the institution truly had wanted diversity, it should have been more

active in sustaining minority faculty:

I just think that his experience being so negative because he is such

a positive outgoing person. I am just so sad to hear that his sprit

has broken about higher education and teaching and what he was

doing. I thought, you know, here is a good situation where's a

young man who was probably about 20, he told me he was 30.

And, very smart and the university didn't try to do anything to help

keep this guy. And, the university is always spawning off about

diversity. They want it, how much they appreciate it. Then, when

people come, they don't embrace them. And, then, they leave with

negative experiences. And, generally people who have negative

experiences would go out and tell other people about their

negative experiences in [the institution's name] that prevents other

People of Color from coming in. So, for that thing I was saying

was about bullying is that just they don't, the administration does

not do anything to help you.

Professor Smith then went on to describe the political nature of his department at his
current institution:

It's the door-to-door policy. It was actually that our former dean

who had asked me about gay people, he was the one told me about

the door-to-door. Because that's how they gain political strength

and get people sway to vote the way they want them to. I guess

what they do is they canvass different people who they think are

sympathetic to their cause, and then they would go from door to

door asking them for their support on pushing some policy through

or trying to keep a certain group out of involvement in the

administration here. So, they would do this but it's funny they

never came to my door in the entire time I've been here.

Professor Chris Wright, a Native American associate professor, reported that he heard about how his colleague at a different institution was bullied:

I have heard of other places where my colleagues haven't felt like

they could be out or haven't felt like they could, you know, bring

their partner to a university function or to a Christmas party or

you know have the types of conversation….When I see or hear

about things happening to my colleague in another university,

obviously that angers me. You know, that doesn't make me

happy.... I think that makes me just angry that what my colleagues

are experiencing.... you know, where colleagues haven't felt like

they could be out in their departments or they could not take their

partners where they were denied domestic partner benefits through

their work or something like that.

Professor Pat Freeman, an Asian assistant professor, talked about how his colleagues had felt they could not be out about their sexual orientation in their field:

I have several friends who are in other areas like surgery, by far it

is the more conservative. That is within medicine. They cannot

come out. They are totally behind, you know, totally behind, in

their closets, and they definitely cannot come out at all. At least,

they feel pressure not to come out at all.

And, I think it's really through hearsay, I mean it's more, I

don't recall a specific incident, but when he was in training and he

was surrounded by surgeons, you know, I think when people make

either a sexist remark or a homophobic remark in their field by

their mentors, while they are either in surgery or they are in the

classroom, that he can't respond to it. You know, so you can't call

out on someone, when someone makes an assumption or someone

makes a bad joke, you know, either it's a racial joke or a LGBT

related joke. He will not be, he cannot be, he doesn't feel

comfortable in person to stand up against it. So, I think that as a

result he stays in the closet, so he doesn't come out, he doesn't

even bring it up at all. I think through time it makes harder and

harder for him to even want to come out.

All of the participants in this study reported that they had either witnessed or heard of other people's incidents of bullying. Like Professor Nelson's experience, the gay male faculty members of color learned from their colleagues' bullying experiences so that they could avoid any actions that might have caused negative effects in their own careers and used what they learned to develop safer career plans for their own futures. A couple of the participants talked about how they had not really experienced extreme negativities in academia, but all of the nineteen participants in this study had witnessed situations of

bullying in higher education, had planned ways to pursue their careers in academia without running into such problems.

Mentorship and Guidance

This section will address the second category under the second main theme, *Mentorship and Guidance*. This category emerged out of research data where the all of the nineteen participants talked about how their career decisions were influenced by mentors to a significant degree. The levels of involvement with their mentors varied, and they talked about current and former, and formal and informal mentors.

Professor Nathan Jones, a Black fulltime professor, talked briefly about how he did not have formal mentors in his academic career, but instead had different people helping him or guiding him in different contexts along the way:

> *I don't have any mentor, per se, formal mentor. There's somebody that I work with or you know, kind of pull me along….I am sure something I might have encountered something and they always helped me. [In my career,] there is nothing major, there has never been a major barrier, a major hurdle that I have encountered, experienced. I can say, this is my race, this is my sexuality, this preventing me from moving up and from doing things. No, I mean I have been able to achieve whatever I want to achieve. And, again, you know, maybe, again, the arena that I work in and people who work with are very helpful.*

In Professor Jones experience, mentors were important people for gay male faculty of color to have for survival in higher education. Because White supremacy and

heterosexism have been deeply embedded in higher education, people who are non-White and non-heterosexual have challenging times and need support. Professor Oscar Martin, a Black associate professor, shared a story about how his colleagues and mentors in the institution where he completed his graduate studies made his experience there positive and helped him in his career progression:

> *It was actually not bad in my graduate studies because I entered*
>
> *with a cohort of 11 classmates. Six of us were ethnic minorities, so*
>
> *actually more than half. So, although I was the only men of color,*
>
> *there were other women of color and one Native American woman*
>
> *as well. And, my mentor at [the institution] was an African*
>
> *American woman who was very well known in the area of*
>
> *HIV/AIDS research and she was so helpful to me. So, [the*
>
> *institution] was not bat experience at all for me.*

Similarly, Professor Jesse Ingram, an African American university professor and interim vice provost, talked about his experience of having mentors during his graduate studies. He pointed out how it was helpful for him to have people who were supportive:

> *Well, you know, it's funny because luckily I had the other students*
>
> *in my program became good friends. And, they were very*
>
> *supportive and very encouraging. We just formed you know our*
>
> *own little network among students, it was great. They were just,*
>
> *they welcomed me and the doctoral students in a class before mine*
>
> *who were you know a year ahead of me, two women in particular,*
>
> *just simply took me like I was one of their own. And, you know, my*

little mentor that they will, which was nice. I mean I've really been

fit for that.

Professor Pat Freeman, an Asian assistant professor, talked about how peer-mentoring had helped him survive in his graduate studies and better enabled him to make a good decision for his academic career:

So I think I got into grad school thinking that I would do more

along the line with HIV/AIDS in Public Health. Thinking that

HIV/AIDS would be much more just in general also very open to

sexual orientation and race issue, but it turned out that the person

who was in the expertise in that area just really wasn't, just wasn't

really. I gained through a word of mouth from students, previous

students, students who were ahead of me, so they experienced this

person. They didn't really like him, so I was kind of really advised

in that sense, of from peer to peer, not choose him as an advisor.

So, in fact, it was because of that kind of peer advice from my

peers who were ahead of me in class in school knew this person, so

I actually had to change my topic just so that I can choose another

advisor on my committee. So, I ended up in the route of, going

toward the route of geriatrics gerontology.... So, I think in fact,

actually it wasn't just me, me and another person in my same year,

both went into grad school thinking we would do HIV/AIDS work

and both ended up leaving, not leaving, but we both ended up

choosing another focus because of this person.

In addition to his peer-mentoring experience, Professor Freeman also talked about his experiences of having a professor as his academic mentor:

> *I mean definitely I think it I had a different mentor, because I think in my department, there were a few that were, I don't know if it's outright homophobic, but I think you could tell that they were just more conservatives. I just kind of feared and stayed myself away from them. I had mentors that I knew was exemplary mentors that really would not factor in my sexual orientation or my race matter into it.*

For Professor Freeman, mentors were very important and had greatly helped him with his career decisions:

> *I think for the most part... it's really just choosing right mentors, choosing the field that I thought was more positive, or more open-minded.... A lot of them, mentors, I'm still in connection with. One of them is still on my, he is actually a collaborator on one of my projects. And another person I work is on the committee board with me.... So for the most part, I think I have been very, very lucky. Take a little of luck.*
>
>   *At least people in my doctoral cohort, I think a lot of problems they ran into were they chose people in the field that has the biggest name. And they stuck with that. And, the biggest names aren't always the best people, best mentors. So, they kind of were being bullied by them. And, I think for me I chose people, my*

mentors and both my mentors at school and mentors at work that

are in general more friendly people <laugh> So, I kind of avoid a

lot of conflicts that could have happened. For the most part, you

know, nothing major bad happened.

I seek them. When I needed a recommendation, or any

advice on how to write a paper or write a grant, I shoot them an

email ask then or if I have certain advices with I'm not sure how to

move forward with this idea, there's still that kind of mentoring.... I

think my field, because it's very multidisciplinary so that you can

choose multiple people and ask for help.

The gay male faculty members of color in this study talked about shared

experiences they had with professors who were non-White and/or non-heterosexual. One

such experience appeared in a story from Professor Howard Phillips, an African

American assistant professor, who described how one of his faculty members at the

institution where he was working on his doctoral degree tried to give him advice on an

academic career move:

You know, there're so many unknowns and you could only do as

much research as possibly you can. And, then there're definitely

things you find out once you're there that you wish you had known.

<laugh> And, I would say when I was in [the institution in the

Northeast], I started applying for MSW programs and one of the

faculty members, she was the only faculty of color at my

department, and she was from China. Only to the side one day, she

was like "Coming to my office" and I said "Okay." She said to me,

"I know you had tough time here." Again, I was only one African

American in the program, in the building. And, she said, "You

know, I heard that you got into [the institution in the Midwest],"

Her doctor was from [that institution], "I really think you like [the

city where the institution is located at]. It's much more open and

liberal than here." And, she was terrified to tell me this that I am

open. Very concerned about telling me this some other places you

know much more open. <laugh> I've always been out, so you

know, I sort of had to deal with the consequences, I had not been in

that many, but like "Well, I'm just gonna be me regardless."

Professor Phillips talked about one particular meeting with his mentor where his mentor

seemed to have understood Professor Phillips's experiences as a minority in terms of race

and sexual orientation while a postdoctoral fellow at an institution in the Midwest:

I had a mentor, a faculty mentor in [the institution in the Midwest]

who is also African American. And, [when I had a negative

experience,] I would go to him and say, "Did we have similar

experiences?" And, I would say, "You can't imagine a number of

times people look at me and do double take like who you are on

this follow, and why you are here." And he said, "Howard, I

thought you had those experiences. I want you to understand that I

knew that you had these experiences when you accepted the

position," and he said "we never had a Black gay man to come

through [the name of his postdoctoral fellowship] as a post doc.

And, I knew that there would be some resistance and I knew that

you would have those experiences of people looking at you as you

didn't belong or treat you that way."

Like Professor Freeman, Professor Phillips's academic relationship with his mentor did

not end when he completed his postdoctoral training. In fact, he continued to keep in

close touch with his mentor and spoke of current work he was undertaking with his

mentor while reflecting on some negative experiences at the Midwestern institution:

My faculty mentor of my postdoc in [the institution name in the

Midwest] who kept saying, "Well you know at least really apply

for the job in social work here" because the School of Social Work

had a quite few positions were open. One of them was specific to

health care. So, I have a health care and social welfare

background, and he said that would be perfect.

You know, I just said, "I can't stay here because of my

experience." And, he said, "You're gonna have to find a way to

deal with that experience to not have this experience taint the way

you look at the entire institution." But I still can't do it. I still look

at [the institution in the Midwest] based on my experience in my

postdoc. Again, I had great experiences with social work students.

You know, but last two years of being there just completely

changed the way I view [the institution].... I don't know what it is

between being a student and being a postdoc. I guess we're much

more aware of politics. You know, that changes the way people

view the institution none of us who have a long relationship with it.

Having mentors seemed to be important in the early careers of the gay male

faculty members of color in this study. Professor Melvin Kelly, a Black associate

professor, talked about an experience in his early career where he gained important career

information from his mentor regarding that no one had taught him before:

Well, in the first institution [in the Southwest], there were two

senior Black faculty members. And, one of them was very active

and mentoring, you know, junior faculty, giving us information

about how the organization work and was expecting of us in terms

of production, research, and how to deal with issues that arise in a

classroom, things like that. And, also, I went to, there were People

of Color scholarship. So, I went to some of those conferences, and

met other people who help service mentor. So, yeah, I have had

good mentoring from People of Color colleagues.

From his experience of having a mentorship in his early career, Professor Kelly could

relate to how important it had been for him, something he now tries hard to provide for

other scholars:

I do not have any mentors now. At this point, you know, I'm one of

the senior faculty members, so there isn't really anybody who

could mentor me, but there are still people in other schools who I

talk to issues like that. But, nobody here. Now, I have mentees. You

know, I make myself available to visit their classes, I read their

papers and give them feedback on their papers. That's sort of

things. I gave them feedback on different ways of handling

classroom situations, different teaching methodologies, and I put

them in touch with others in academy who are working in their

areas. I've got a couple of people on the conference panels things

like that.

Like any workplace, academia can sometimes be very political in terms of the relationships among faculty members. The participants in this study reported that it was important for them to understand how positional and political power dynamics were operating among faculty in the institution. As a young academician, Professor Wesley Vasquez, a Latino assistant professor, did not initially know about the politics at his institution, but he luckily found a mentor who brought him up to date on the situation. Professor Vasquez felt that having a mentor was helpful in his academic journey as an assistant professor:

I have met people who have been, you know, informally very

helpful in teaching me politics of the institution….Like who you

should talk to, who you shouldn't talk to, who's like you know

being trusted, who's not being trusted, that kind of information, so

there's been one party, actually who has been very, very, very,

generous...Her, in her, sharing information. I mean she took upon

herself a very informal manner to mentor me...she is a White

lesbian....[She is]like really giving you a real, good understanding

of what real politics of the institution are. Very, very important

because then you know you can avoid putting your foot in your

mouth. I think also very close and personal attention to crafting of

my tenure portfolio. She was very, very, very, involved in creation

of that portfolio. And also socially, you know, we do share time

socially out of that.

In addition, Professor Vasquez also talked about how his mentor had helped him both

professionally and personally:

Did you find someone that you can exchange a knowing glance

with? That's very, very helpful, you know, especially those places

you know you have to perform this other person that knowing

glance is an incredible source of support, founded and remind you

all the time you know, you're doing this for your own benefits.

Sometimes that knowing glance, you might have moments, and

when you go what the f_ _ _ am I doing this? You know? I'm

losing myself in this process and what for? You forget what for

what because you wanna get a tenure permanent f_ _ _ing job.

<laugh> you know, and like in 2008, that's a good thing to have,

you know?

While many of the participants in this study had academic mentors to help them in

their academic careers, Professor Edward Turner, an African American associate

professor, did not have a mentor at his current institution. On one hand, he wanted to find

someone who could mentor him about an upcoming opportunity for promotion. On the

other hand, he had witnessed incidents of bullying and nasty exchanges among faculty

members at his institution and was not sure if he could find a mentor even if he tried:

> *Still to this day, I have to, you know I'm going to be asking some*
>
> *people this summer and fall for some mentoring because I want to*
>
> *apply for full professor. But these people guard these academic*
>
> *positions like they're gold. You know, it's unbelievable.*

Although he did not yet find anyone to be a mentor at his current institution, Professor

Turner spoke of a past mentor who was sort of his life-coach and how that mentor had

provided him with a lot of advice outside the institution:

> *I do have a group of friends that I do talk with them. I do talk with*
>
> *them, and they have been helpful. One now who is, he is really, I*
>
> *really in some way consider him a mentor outside the academic*
>
> *arena. He keeps saying to me, "Now, Edward, when it's time to*
>
> *retire, I want you to retire. You need to retire. Even though you*
>
> *think you can keep going, you need to come out of there. You've*
>
> *done enough. Come away from there." I understand what he's*
>
> *saying and what he is, He is saying not only that he is saying*
>
> *"Don't use up your reserve, have something left over for yourself*
>
> *at the end of your career." So that you can enjoy the rest of your*
>
> *life. I think his is right. And, in fact, he is absolutely right.*

The participants in this study talked about how mentors helped their academic

careers, with most of them (seventeen of the nineteen participants) reporting that they

could not have survived without them and most expressing how just finding a mentor

influenced their careers positively as gay male faculty members of color in higher

education. However, not everyone was fortunate enough to have found the right kind of

mentor or any at all in their academic lives. Two participants of this study who had

consistently experienced bullying reported that there was a lack of strong mentorship in

their academic careers. Professor Fredrick Smith, an African American assistant

professor, talked about his experience of being an academician lacking a mentor in his

academic career, something which greatly impacted his professorship and tenure

promotion at his current institution:

> *In academia, I've never had a true mentor. I mean I didn't care*
>
> *what race they were, they were just really going to be a mentor.*
>
> *And, I didn't really find one until about three months ago and with*
>
> *a professor here, not in my department, not even in my college.*
>
> *But, he is trying to help me through the not getting a tenure*
>
> *process. And, so, he's been very helpful. He's one. But, people in*
>
> *my own college, they don't talk about it to me. They never said,*
>
> *we're sorry, or anything. My chair, you know, was saying that*
>
> *basically, unfair, the whole situation, the whole voting, very unfair.*
>
> *That's all they've done.*
>
> *I wish my experience was more positive. I would just say*
>
> *that it has been a very lonely experience. And, lack of mentorship.*
>
> *And, so I think those are key issues in helping a person become*
>
> *successful or the tenure process. And, so there were. You know,*
>
> *right now, I'm feeling more unhappy about the whole situation in*

some respect. And then in some respect, I'm very relieved. I'm

relieved because I don't have to be in this college with this group

of people with their mentality. [They are] Humanely conservative.

They really don't [want diversity]. And, it's just sort of something

they say they want to make the university happy, but truly the way

they act and have treated people here has been very conservative,

it's been very conservative, White male mentality.

Professor David Green, an African American assistant professor, also pointed out a lack of mentorship. He expressed that the lack of mentorship had been very detrimental to his workload as an assistant professor in his current institution and wondered how his services and voluntary works that carry virtually no academic weight would affect his tenure review:

It has to do, I mean, with that they increased demands of my time.

And, this college has not figured a way to really compensate you

for that, to reward you. Because I am a Black man, a man of color,

and I am a gay man. There are student organizations that deal

with race and sexuality. And, all of these organizations contacted

me, asking me to do things with them. I gave three talks on campus

last year. That's a lot. And, I turned down one.... I just could not

do it. Because it gets interfere with my own work that I need to get

done. It interferes with my personal life that I am trying to have,

and interferes with my teaching because I have to prepare for my

classes, I have committee meetings to attend....I was so exhausted.

I went to my chair at the end of the last semester, and told her, that

I was just worn out. It was the most amazing experience, I have

never been that tired as a professor.... I am absolutely worn out.

And, I think it's contributing to my work, I mean just not having

energy. Very frustrating. I wish some formal way. There is no

formal mentoring here. There is no way to keep... You are on your

own in a way that any junior faculty sometimes you would and

should be on your own because you need to be saved from yourself

sometime. It is really important for you to get tenure... but they are

not going to help you job security. So, that's worn me out.

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Theme Summary 2

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The second main theme of this study was *Developing a Career Plan Informed by the Restrictions of Homophobia and Racism.* Two categories emerged from the theme: The Experiences of Gay Men of Color; and Mentorship and Guidance. An analysis of the data found the phenomena of bullying appeared to be continuous in the academic careers of the gay male faculty members of color participating in this study. All of the participants reported experiences of being bullied either when they were students, when they were postdoctoral fellows, or when they were looking for faculty positions. In addition, all of the participants in this study reported that they had also heard of or witnessed their colleagues being bullied by others in higher education. Such experiences allowed them to examine how homophobia, heterosexism, and racism intertwined with and operated off each other in academia, and some of the participants tried to avoid ever

having to face such negative experiences again in their careers. These negative experiences helped gay men of color make better choices in their own career decisions.

Also, all of the nineteen participants mentioned some involvement of mentors in their academic careers in higher education during the times when they were students and/or faculty. Their mentors greatly influenced them in how they managed their own careers to face discrimination toward race and/or sexual orientation in academia as professors. Sometimes, their mentors provided unsanctioned or internal knowledge that only insiders knew, which proved extremely helpful in advancing to higher career positions in higher education.

Theme Three: Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization

This section will focus on the third main theme of this study, *Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization.* This theme represents how the gay male faculty members of color in this study have been coping with and recovered from their experiences of bullying based on racism, homophobia, and heterosexism in higher education. The participants expressed that being victims of bullying had been negative and traumatic experiences to them. However, while they were having such experiences, they somehow had to develop their own mechanisms and strategies to enable them to recover from the negative and traumatic experiences and survive in academia. In their long academic careers, the participants talked about various ways to challenge bullying and cope with their experiences of being bullied in higher education. This theme was manifested in two ways: 1) *The Coping Process with Racist Homophobic Bullying*; and 2) *Survival Strategies against Racist Homophobic Bullying*. The following subsections will address these two categories.

The Coping Process with Racist Homophobic Bullying

This category presents how the gay male faculty members of color had coped or had been trying to cope with experiences of being bullied. Sixteen of the nineteen gay male faculty members of color in this study reported that they had to develop some types of coping mechanism by themselves to process their own negative experiences in higher education. Some of them were successful in coping with their negative experiences, but others were still in the process or not yet able to even begin coping with their traumatic experiences.

Sixteen of the nineteen participants who were successful or still in the process described various ways of coping. For example, Professor Anthony Young, a Black tenured university professor, provided several strategies of coping. One of them was to exit from the toxic or hostile workplace. He felt that there was no way for him to cope with the negative experiences at his current institution. His option was to get out from the hostile environment, which was his coping mechanism:

> *I am also looking at other nursing programs. I just have had it with*
>
> *that particular type of program. I am just gonna move on. I won't*
>
> *be teaching at the same school. I will probably either retire or*
>
> *something because I can't stand it any longer.*
>
> *My environment now is very hostile. You could not pick a*
>
> *better word. That's the best word... that's the best word you could*
>
> *pick. And, it is hostile. I am currently trying to work on getting out*
>
> *of the particular environment. I've been there for a long time, and*

> *I need to get out. I've been teaching here since 1985. I should've*
>
> *left a long time ago.*

Because he had been working within a hostile work environment for a long time, Professor Young was able to describe a negative coping mechanism of utilizing drugs to cope with his negative experiences, although he now understood the full impact of drug use:

> *One of the unfortunate situations to cope with this type of stuff, in*
>
> *addition to everything else that happens to an African American*
>
> *man or this African American man in this society. For a long time,*
>
> *I chose to use drugs. That's why I have interest in nurses who are*
>
> *recovering from drug abuse because I am one of those nurses.*
>
> *There's another one, another way which people cope. It's not a*
>
> *positive means of coping, but it is a means that people use to cope.*

In addition, Professor Young utilized a support group to coping with his negative experiences. He mentioned that his friends, families, and professionals had been helping him:

> *For those negative strategies for coping, I tried to put those aside*
>
> *by attending at, you know, the being recovering attending*
>
> *meetings, doing my, you know, use the friends, families, and*
>
> *therapy to help me with this. So, if I'm doing anything I am*
>
> *working on overcoming, as if and currently, hopefully, I will be*
>
> *apply, I am applying for[a different position], and I hope I will be*
>
> *leaving that department for the fall semester.*

Professor Oscar Martin, a Black associate professor, talked about his way of coping with the negative experience where he had to deal with one of his White female colleagues who had altered his final exams, a process that involved legal action at his current institution:

> *In terms of coping, I don't think I initially coped well at all. But, I*
> *did seek some counseling. I had some very supportive friends, and*
> *I have a partner who is also in academic and he was very*
> *supportive. I did go to the EAP, the Employee Assistance Program.*
> *When they wanted to bring in an ombudsman, they helped myself*
> *in that process. And, I didn't run away from the situation because*
> *that would not fix it. So, I was willing to talk to the ombudsman*
> *and I was even willing to talk with this faculty member. So, I*
> *participated in the solution. And in that for me was coping.*

Like Professor Young and Professor Martin, the other gay male faculty members of color in this study also reported that they had their support groups. Professor Vasquez, a Latino assistant professor, spoke of his reliance on peer support as his coping process:

> *I do like to talk about in therapy, I tell my partner about it, and you*
> *know, we laugh and we make jokes about it. There're some*
> *colleagues who might share the stories how stupid the whole f_ _ _*
> *ing process is.*

Overall, speaking with other people about their negative experiences was helpful for the gay male faculty members of color in this study in coping with their negative experiences. Professor Gilbert Rivera, an Asian Pacific Islander adjunct professor and

administrator, also said that he had talked with other people about his negative

experiences:

> *I think I just shared with other colleagues [about the negative*
>
> *experiences], both People of Color and White people. They kind of*
>
> *helped me. And I don't think I was trouble by it.*

Professor Howard Phillips, an African American assistant professor, also

described how helpful his support groups had been for him:

> *I have a great family support, I have great friends, You know,*
>
> *when it's been the situation where I've been a student and I had a*
>
> *negative experience, I either, I had other students that allude*
>
> *around me or I've gone to their support. We tended to have similar*
>
> *complains. You know, students of color and you know gay and*
>
> *lesbian students, sometimes you know they're both, we tented to*
>
> *have similar experiences, most of us have gone to academia. We*
>
> *had similar experiences and so we're able to talk.*
>
> *I have a great support system and have a lot of friends. My*
>
> *parents are very supportive. I talk to my mom almost daily. My*
>
> *best friends have been my friends since high school. We all went to*
>
> *[the school name] together, and we are still friends. So there is a*
>
> *group of about five of us that are the sort of closest, but we have an*
>
> *extended group of friends. You know, up in the 30 or 40, we all*
>
> *went to college together. We all went to [the college name]*
>
> *together, this big group of gay Black men. I know, never, people*

are amazed that actually happened. You know. In college. Some of

us made it to high school but then, a summer program, and then

we went to the college. In [the college name] there was a big

group of at least 30 to 40 out Black gay men and we're still

friends.

While most of the participants (thirteen of the sixteen participants who described their coping mechanisms) found helpful coping mechanisms and others (three of the sixteen participants) like Professor Young, turned to unhelpful coping mechanisms like using drugs and consuming a lot of alcohol beverages, in their academic journeys. Although those thirteen participants had found their appropriate coping mechanisms, they were in a continuous coping process with their negative experiences. Professor Fredrick Smith, an African American assistant professor, talked about how he has continued to cope with negative experiences at his current institution in a spiritual manner:

I pray a lot. <laughing> I pray a lot. That helps. And, I have a

good friend.... She is in academia, but in a totally different area.

She is in Music and it's been good to talk to her. But, coming into

this college everyday is difficult to cope only because no one is

reaching out, not even my own supervisor. After being denied my

tenure, it's like you made feel like you've been ostracized and you

are not a part of a general loop any more. So, and partly is

because I do sort of separate myself from some things, like I no

longer go to faculty meetings. And because I don't feel a part of

this college and feel a valued member anymore, I sort of pull back

> *on many of the things I was working on. Like, I held a lot of*
>
> *national offices in the dental community, and I resigned from all of*
>
> *those groups... I won't see them anymore, and so I decided you*
>
> *know the best thing is to just resign because I will probably not go*
>
> *to another dental school. And, so, it's not just fair to keep on and I*
>
> *no longer associate with the dental school.*

By reflecting his recent experience of being denied tenure, his most negative experience in academia, Professor Smith described how he had since focused on reducing his stress at his current institution:

> *When I think about the situation of being denied my tenure, I think*
>
> *it's the most, it feels humiliating. And, it's like you have been*
>
> *publicly sentenced, dislike that is, says you're not good enough to*
>
> *belong in academia. So, I try to cope with that also by exercising,*
>
> *you know? Lately I'm doing weights. I'm doing that and running*
>
> *and other things. So, that really does release a lot of stress.*

Professor Leonard Hayes, a Latino tenured university professor, talked about how he had developed his coping mechanism. During his career in higher education, he had experienced racism and homophobia a lot. He had also witnessed how one group of similarly identifying people would pit themselves against other groups of people. He had felt that he did not belong with any group, and from that point, he had to create his own way of coping with his negative experiences in academia. He talked about his community as his coping mechanism:

Well, the gay community is very racist. So, you know, gay people in

this country tend to think of gay identity as a White thing. So, you

know, as a gay person of color that the gay community is not my

first community. At the same time, Latino culture like other

cultures, extremely homophobic, and perhaps even more so than

others. And, so, you know, I stay away from Latino groups also

because they're very homophobic. And, so, I really look for my

sense of community with other people who are also in some ways

outcast from their communities. So, for instance, Black women

have the same problem I just described even though they may be

straight. They go to a Black group, and the Black group base

patriarchal and focused on male voices and male interests and

male priorities and male practices. So, that feels alien. Then, they

go to a women's group, and then, of course, that's all White. A

bunch of soccer moms are talking about soccer mom-type things.

And, you know, that doesn't fit either. So then, what do they do?

They look for people like me even though I'm not look like them.

We're the same in the sense that we're trying to find a place where

an integrated sense of self can actually happen.... My coping

strategy is to be part of that community.

Sometimes, coping mechanisms of the participants were more personal. For

example, Professor Melvin Kelly, a Black associate professor, said how he wrote about

his experience of coping with negative experiences:

I think that it's very important that this kind of information

[experiences of racism and homophobia] should be documented

and there has been a tradition among these Black law faculty

members when they encounter these situations to write, you know,

articles about them.

Professor Terry Davis, an African American associate professor, talked about using many different kinds of coping processes, including his current coping mechanism of reflecting on his experiences and writing about them:

I have been doing my own research, and I have been doing

autoethnography and I have also talked a lot to my colleagues, and

trying to understand the profound impact of that experience of

being rejected and being attacked, professionally attacked and my

professional credibility falls in a question. And, it's really

profound impacts on my emotionally and professionally.

I found out that, in some ways, I enable to see the

institution or the people in the institution, I enable see them to

maintain their racist and or homophobic views. Because when I

was asked to chair a committee on diversity or a class on diversity,

or help people who were minorities, and every time I said yes, that

helped to reinforce the identity of myself as being different. So that

I started to really take on the identity hefted on to me. So, I think

just....I didn't realize that I was participating in my own

marginalization....So, that was really insightful for me to

understand the extent to which my own actions reinforce the ideas

and concepts of others.

>*It's painful. Painful... possibly having to revisit. It's also*
>
>*enjoyable and enlightening a lot about myself. And, other people,*
>
>*it's helped me to encounter that was the narrative that was put out*
>
>*at the previous institution and it was about why am I not being a*
>
>*good teacher, why am I not being a good researcher, why am I not*
>
>*being better or the other. And, that was false but I at some level*
>
>*internalized that. So, some of this work and the fact that work has*
>
>*been recognized and valued and has been published in top*
>
>*journals, it's helping me heal and helping me to affirm this counter*
>
>*narrative... So, that fact is that I am a good teacher, and I was a*
>
>*good teacher at the previous institution, but faculty and committee*
>
>*viewed me that I was not a good teacher.*

Professor Edward Turner, an African American associate professor, talked about

his challenges in higher education as a gay male faculty of color. He expressed pain over

he had been hurt personally and professionally, almost daily, over a long period of time.

He referred his experiences in higher education to a famous saying, "Sticks and stones

can break my bones, but words can never hurt me."

>*I often wonder how it is I can still get up in the mornings and come*
>
>*to campus when arrows, sticks, and stones are almost a part of my*
>
>*daily life. Being over looked, being questioned, "Why are you*
>
>*doing this? Why you are being on this committee and that*

committee and this committee and that committee?" So, you know,

I am tired of being questioned. I know if I were White, no one

would be saying that to me. Questioning me because I'm a person

of color. And another words, saying to me "How did you get

chosen for that? I don't understand such a, you know, why were

you chosen?" As if to say, you know, "You couldn't possibly be

that good." You see, that's the implication that's what they're

implying. "You can't possibly be that good. So what is it about

you?" That's what I mean when I said that I'm almost daily,

nearly daily, experiencing, you know, the sticks and stones.

     The slights. The exclusions. Because if you take all those

things seriously, they hurt like being hit by stick. They hurt like

being humored with stones. Hurt like being impelled with, by

error. That's what I mean by sticks and stones if you talk all that. If

you internalize all of that, you could walk around being wounded. I

feel that I could be attacked at any moment. And, that's the attacks,

I know, will not always be overt. No one is gonna come up and hit

me. No one is gonna come up and slap me. But they will quite

possibly omit me, exclude me.

Having such negative experiences almost daily in his career in higher education

negatively impacted his professional and personal life. Professor Turner related that his

favorite gospel song, *My soul looks back and wonders how I got over***,** had helped him

through some of his negative experiences in higher education:

That song has a lot of meaning for me. When I look at my life and

look at all the things I've been through, I do wonder how I got

over. I do wonder how I got this far. And, it wasn't because I'm

such a good person. There's a spiritual side to it. I just feel this is

a gift to me from God. I feel this ability to teach was a gift to me.

Long time to figure that out. I was shaving in a mirror one day

when I got this epiphany and I began to weep and I have to walk

out the room because I felt I was finally realizing what my purpose

was. And, I was 45 years old when I, no was 47, I think. 48 maybe.

Close to 50 when I had that experience. And, I said to myself,

"Daah. You're just now figuring it out?"

Professor Turner reported that he had not been able to cope with those negative

experiences because they injured him so much, like he said, "Arrows, sticks, and stones

are often a part of my daily life in academia." However, over the years of his career, he

had developed his own way of coping with those experiences by creating his own space

where he could be himself:

How did I cope with the situation? I don't …I think it has to do

with how I have envisioned what I want in my life. I come home to

a place that moderately appointed but there's, I've tried to fill my

town house with things that are beautiful, and that bring me some

meaning, that bring about present pleasant memories that remind

me of a core person that I am. And, give me hope, give me faith,

and at the same time give me peace. I'm sitting right now in my

bed room, which is on the second floor of my town house. I have a

beautiful bedroom and ensemble of linens. There are one, two,

three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten pillows on this bed.

And, above them, three years ago, my mother clothed some pieces

for me, and when she gave them to me, and I told her I would have

them framed and I had them framed and now they are above my

bed. And they blend in the colors that, there's colors yellow and

light beige, green, yellow flowers with green paddles, clothed into

these clothes. And, the bedroom linens are beige and green. I'm

describing all this to tell you that these things that I have in my

apartment even though they're modest, bring me beauty, bring me

peace. They keep me connected, these pieces obviously connected

to my mother. Also, I have other things around the apartment that

were given to me or I purchased that I have some connection with.

Have I not acted on that and lived in a sterol environment, I have

nothing giving something back to me. But all of this decoration and

decorating that I've done just gives back to me. It reminds me,

helps me to know who I am. Helps me to know that I am a worthy

human being.

Professor Turner continued to describe how important his family possessions had been

for him: gifts and photos which kept his connection with his family members and

contributed to the development of his spiritual self:

In my whole years, I have pieces of silver that are spoons that my

grandmother gave me.... And, above that, or behind of it, I have

pictures of my family.... I'm trying to stay connected. Do you see

what I'm talking about? Spiritualness about what I put on my walls

and what I have here in my house. So, when I come in here at

night, I know by having these things here on a wall and having

these objects on shelves, my beautiful collection of books, full

collection of covet blue glass that my partner gave me. I know that

I'm loved.... My spiritual-self is important. It's very important and

helps me withstand all of that. It doesn't mean that I don't get

upset or I don't feel sad or I don't feel angry. I do. But, sooner or

later, it's these things that sustain me.... When you are surrounded

by that, love, you remember that. You don't remember the snotty

remarks that students made because they wanna get even with

you.... What I am really saying is that I don't need, I no longer

need their validation that I am a good person. That's how I cope

with it.

Sixteen of the nineteen gay male faculty members of color in this study reported that they had created their own ways of coping with their experiences of being bullied in higher education. Some of them were able to recover from the negative experiences, but others were still struggling to cope with their experiences that negatively and traumatically affected by them. In this study, the participants utilized various ways to cope with their negative experiences or their experiences of being bullied such as getting

help from family members, partners, and friends; receiving professional help; reflecting on and writing about their experiences; and developing spiritually. The next sub-section will address how the gay male faculty members of color have been surviving in higher education and what strategies they had developed over time to challenge bullies or avoid negative experiences to survive in academia.

<center>*Survival Strategies against Racist Homophobic Bullying*</center>

From the stories related by the participants of this study, gay male faculty members of color have experienced being victims of racism, homophobia, heterosexism, and other kinds of "isms" in higher education. Since gay male faculty members of color had such experiences in higher education, they perceived higher education as dominated by a White heterosexual supremacy. The gay male faculty members of color in this study reported that their negative experiences were influenced by positionality in higher education; this included their experiences as victims or bystanders of bullying in higher education. Once they experienced such negative situations, they often felt that whichever work environment they were in had become toxic and hostile to them. On one hand, some of the participants were very fortunate and were able to develop their own ways to cope with their negative experiences and experiences of being bullied in higher education as described in the previous section. On the other hand, others were not successfully able to cope with their negative experiences. Although the participants had negative experiences and experiences of bullying in higher education, they still pushed hard to survive in such negative workplaces by developing their own ways to avoid or deal with those experiences.

The second category under the third main theme of Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization emerged as *Survival Strategies against Racist Homophobic Bullying*. This category appeared in the research data where the participants talked about how they have been able to avoid experiencing adult bullying or negative situations based on racism and homophobia while sustaining their positions as gay male faculty members of color in higher education. Seventeen of the nineteen participants in this study talked about their strategies for combating bullying or avoiding negative experiences in higher education.

Survival strategies against racist homophobic bullying were seen in all of the participant data. One such story was related by Professor Nathan Jones, a Black fulltime professor. After having experienced his own student questioning his professional assessment of that student's final grade, he developed the following teaching approach as a gay male faculty member of color:

> *This is how I look at my teaching and my approach to my career.*
> *When I sit in the classroom, I am a very supportive and*
> *accommodating individual. But at the same time, when I step in the*
> *classroom, every student knows who is in charge of the classroom.*
> *That's where a lot of professors lose it. When they step in the*
> *classroom and you don't let people know that you are in charge.*
> *You are the individual that is instructed to teach this course. And,*
> *you know, they won't compromise with that... We are going to*
> *argue, to talk, we are going to talk about the subject, we are going*
> *to go back and forth. And I want them to challenge me, and I*

encourage them to challenge me academically. I encourage that.

At the same time, in terms of setting the structure, so they can have

a class running efficiently and well.

Professor Brian Lee, an Asian adjunct professor and administrator, talked about a strategy he used to manage his academic career in higher education as a gay male faculty member of color:

I guess the main thing is just …thinking of the audience and people

whenever possible…. This is how I am going to go forward in

terms of conversation and issue that I have to cover. And, I

probably again, most conscious when I do any sort of work as a

faculty person. I try and make it clear my background, so again

you know, that what I'm dealing with my students, for example.

Like, a guest lecturer in [the institution in Northeast], you know, I

definitely make have an intro that's led make it clear what my

background is.

Professor Chris Wright, a Native American associate professor, also described how his approach of revealing who he was to his class helped his teaching:

As a faculty member, you know, you can tell the students at the

beginning of the class [who you are]. Once they know you are a

gay person, you can tell that you know they stop guessing…. And,

once I quickly you know show them to see what we'll do in class,

my work, my research, all that, they know who I am. And again, I

think we're a day and time where you know students I have, faculty

member, and now that I am older, you know, more accepted. I

mean students you know today, a lot of students today you know

especially here in [the name of his current institution]. They just

don't care. I mean they don't care how people are different. You

know, we're a very diverse campus. And, so, you know, as a faculty

member, this is only place I've taught, more spent my career you

know they really don't you know I've never really run into

situation where students were racist towards me or any other

person in class.

Another strategy that Professor Wright described in the interview was to ignore or not to

respond to instigators in negative situations:

I often times don't respond. I mean I feel like it's their issue. And,

you know, it would be, they've done nothing personally to offend

me because you know I think, for my perspective, you know, I'm so

much farther developed in terms of my thinking around diversity

that just doesn't bother me. And, so, you know, what I try to do is

just, you know, live by example because I'm a person of color

because I'm a gay person of color to be able to illustrate through

my teaching, research, and service that, you know, this makes no

difference. I mean makes no difference that if you are you know

wanting to judge me based on those that, you know, that's an

incorrect platform upon which to do because you know I got a very

strong teaching record, I got a strong service record. I got a

national reputation for what I do. And, I got a very strong research

record. So, I am not one to, you know, those situations to argue

with individual. I mean, I think we're better off you know living by

example because those mindsets aren't gonna get change

instantly….The best thing I can do is to challenge their belief-

systems which typically tend to be that people who are diverse are

as good as other people. And, the best thing I can do is to do my

work to show that I'm just as good and often times better.

Professor Keith Olson, a Middle Eastern associate professor, talked about one of

his experiences at his current institution where everyone in his department knew he was

gay even though he had been trying to hide his sexual orientation. He called it a "*glass*

closet." His strategy was one of mature personal acceptance and comfortableness with

himself:

I grew up. <laugh> What I mean is I was very nervous my first two

years here, and at some point stopped being nervous about it. The

same faculty member who said just keep doing what you are doing

a few years later said, "Everybody knows that you are gay." But,

it's not a problem in this way, and that is people understood it.

They just didn't verbalize it. And, it's like a glass closet. You are in

a closet and everybody knows you are there. <laugh> By the time I

came up for tenure, I had a book published more than enough time

and I just felt that there was nothing I could do and I'm not going

to be embarrassed about it. And. Ethnically, I mean once people

understood what I was, then questions diminished.

Similarly, Professor Ryan Nelson, an African American assistant professor, also talked about his strategy of coming out to other people in how it had become just another part of his career as a gay male faculty member of color, although he had felt anxious doing it many times. For him, coming out was not a one-time process, it had occurred many times in his academic career:

So far, they've (students) been very positive. But, still feeling of,

Okay. Because you know it's a constant coming out process, you

don't just come out one time. Every time you meet a new group of

students, you have to negotiate that process once again. But again,

that's sort of, to me, that's just how life is. I don't consider it

positive or negative. Even though I get anxious, that's just a way it

is. So, that's how I look at it.

Professor Melvin Kelly, a Black associate professor, talked about how his strategy against bullying was to try to ignore or not pay much attention to the incidents. For him, negative incidents including bullying happened very frequently, so all he could do was not think about those incidents to focus on his real responsibilities and obligations in academia:

I'm sure a lot of other things happened but at some point you just

tried to ignore stuff because it just get to be a little bit too

bothersome to keep thinking of these things, rehashing them and

that kind of thing. So, you know, when then it's an issue that

involves your responsibilities or processes, and then I raise it and I

get clarified it and I get it addressed. But, it's just social kinds of

things, I really don't pay a lot of attention with that.

Professor Kelly also moved strategically in his long career by learning when it would be

an appropriate time to address his concerns to others and confront conflicts head on with

others in academia in to diminish or prevent potentially negative experiences:

I think if there are issues that I believe are significant, then I

address them. If there is a situation involving some sort of

discrimination or some sort of inappropriate conduct based on

race towards me, then that's something I address. And, I may do

that either by writing a memo to the dean or by writing something

to the faculty and whatever. But if it's something that that's just

what I would perceive as an issue with respect to a particular

individual who I have concluded is just trying to exercise White

privilege or trying to be or is not in touch with racism, then I often

just ignore that. Because I don't really feel like it's my job to save

these people as long as they're not doing anything that negatively

impacts me, then I don't really pay a lot of attention to it. There

are situations where they do thing that may impact students of

color, and then I do feel the obligation to do whatever is necessary

to make a few response to have that deal with it appropriately. But

other than those situations, I just don't pay a lot of attention to it.

Professor Kelly's other strategy was to use his internal anger about mistreatment to help

students who had experienced racism on campus. Being an advocate or protector was

important to his academic life and he found it necessary and appropriate. He described

one situation where he had offered to help one of his students of color after she had

experienced racism from another faculty member in the institution where Professor Kelly

was teaching previously:

> *Well, you know, there was, one of the students told me, this was at*
>
> *[the previous institution], that she walked into class, she was going*
>
> *to sit in the front row, and the professor told, "No. You go sit in*
>
> *the back." So, this was a student who said "No, I'm not going to*
>
> *sit in the back", and sat in the front row. You know, she told me*
>
> *about that. I asked her if she felt that there was anything else that I*
>
> *should do about. She said no. She felt that she had it under control.*
>
> *So, there have been those kinds of situations where students told*
>
> *me about things that have happened, but usually they have been*
>
> *things that the students were able to deal with on their own.*

In addition to describing how he helped his students, Professor Kelly described how

racism was embedded on campus at the institutional level. He reported that he often

times, as a gay faculty member of color, had to intervene in the institutional processes

where White domination and/or heterosexism were embedded and privileged White

heterosexual people over others in higher education policies:

> *There have been situations, for example. There have been efforts to*
>
> *change the way we look at admissions files. Already, you can't*

take race into consideration in the university admission. But you

can take other things like life experience, stuff like that. So, the

question becomes, well, what life experiences or what sort of

situations become significant in making the admissions decision?

So, one of the faculty members here said, "Well, if you have a

southern accent, or if your mother died when you were a child,

that's as significant a negative impact as being a member of a

racial minority." And, so I said, "You know, we have people like

Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, who have southern accents and it

didn't really seem to bother them." So, it became sort of necessary

to address that on an institutional basis so people weren't making

admissions decisions on whether or not White people have

southern accents and treating that as being some form of

disadvantage. So those kinds of things that what comes to mind

with respect to the necessity to sort of speak up to make sure that

students of color are not disadvantaged by the way some White

people would look at the admissions process, for example.

Professor Anthony Young, a Black tenured university professor, talked about his experience of having received help from his union:

What I've done was seek support through my union…. I had

support, and I still have support from them. I have had support,

you know, I have seen those who don't get any support, I can see

why they really may end up in a worse place…Also, I talked to

> *other members who have worked with currently or who were*
>
> *working in the past. Not many of them are working currently, but I*
>
> *still have a contact with those who used to be working. You know,*
>
> *the dynamic of this place had been incredibly hostile. So, I use my*
>
> *union as support since the institution does not help me at all.*

Professor Terry Davis, an African American associate professor, spoke of his strategies against bullying in higher education. From his experiences, networking had been helpful in his career because it built up a support group that he and his colleagues could rely on when they encountered bullying in higher education:

> *What I would like to add is that my level of advocacy extends*
>
> *beyond. What I have learned is that it needs to extend beyond the*
>
> *particular institution, colleagues, and students across the country.*
>
> *I have found support and resources from colleagues who are*
>
> *across the country. I continue to advocate for people at different*
>
> *institutions or be supportive. By doing part of it is, you know,*
>
> *trying to refer them as their jobs or write letters of support, and*
>
> *connect them. Creating network of people who can know one*
>
> *another also support one another.*

Similarly, Professor Howard Phillips, an African American assistant professor, talked about his supporters. One of his colleagues who had similar experiences of being at a White heterosexual elitist institution became helpful in reminding him that other People of Color had also been experiencing racism or other negative situations in higher education:

I have colleagues here that I can talk to. I met another faculty of

color over [the meeting in the Northeast]. And, I met her there. It

was like a hip hop summit on misogyny in hip hop in the fall that I

went. And she and I clicked instantly, in part of it was she had a

family in South Carolina. And, her cousins went to [the college in

the South Carolina].... I have heard she had similar experiences

although she is not gay. She has similar experiences of being a

female of color on faculty. So, you know, we decided, we told each

other that we are gonna let each other know that we weren't crazy.

<laugh> She said "I'm gonna send you an email every now and

then and say, we are not crazy." Because you know sometimes

these things happen and I just, I will have a moment of looking

around like, am I crazy? Did that just happened? Did that means

what I think it means? And, so she said "We have to understand

that we are dealing with people who are racist and homophobic

and elitist and ageist and classist and you know we just have to

remind each other that we are not crazy that we are having these

experiences. So, yea, we just, so I sent her an email that "You're

not crazy." And she sent me one back and said "We're not crazy."

<laugh>

Professor Edward Turner, an African American associate professor, also talked about his strategies against bullying in higher education. In his academic life, he found

out that making connection with other people as a group had been helpful in higher

education:

> *You're not the only one experienced it. And, that makes all*
>
> *differences. I think what we need to learn and what we need to*
>
> *know is that we are not alone.*

Professor Turner continued reflecting on his own thoughts about a hypothetical review

process using the strategies he had learned to fight against bullying in higher education:

> *One way I'm playing it is just simply call their hands. Okay, I've*
>
> *done all these wonderful things. I made the college, help give the*
>
> *college name because of the publicity that I get every time I'm*
>
> *doing something. And, let's see, are you willing to give me a full*
>
> *professor, fine. If not, you know what I'm going to do? I'm not*
>
> *going to get an attorney. I'm not going to even contest it. I'm not*
>
> *going to file grievance. I'm just going to keep doing wonderful*
>
> *things, and if anyone asks me, "Why aren't you a full?" I'm just*
>
> *going to tell them the truth, "I've been denied. They don't think*
>
> *what I'm doing is," I'm gonna say, "Apparently what I'm doing is*
>
> *not worthy becoming a full professor here." And, I'll just simply*
>
> *embarrass them. I mean it sounds vindictive and sounds vicious.*
>
> *But, I'm doing for a purpose because I want the world to know*
>
> *simply expose them for the bigots that they are. And, that's why I*
>
> *used the word bigots because it's intolerance and it is an attitude,*

> *intolerance that's eroded and a very fixed intolerant or immovable*
>
> *principal.*

While Professor Turner had been experiencing bullying and bigotry, he also understood that bullying and bigotry could just as easily come from him; he could become a bully or bigot by copying or assimilating what other bullies and bigots had done to him. Professor Turner warned that it might be an institutional phenomenon that hostile behaviors of one person could be mimicked by other faculty members within the same institution. One of his strategies to fight against bullying in higher education was not to become a bully or bigot himself:

> *As part of what I'm trying to do when I'm on the national*
>
> *committees, you have to be careful that you don't become a bigot*
>
> *in your own defense in your own pursued of justice, you have to*
>
> *make sure you're careful that you don't intrude on the other*
>
> *people. Harm someone and some way, you see? So, anybody, is not*
>
> *just a White person who can be a bigot, it's anybody. Bigot over*
>
> *anything.*

Professor Wesley Vasquez, a Latino assistant professor, talked about his strategy of focusing on his personal contributions and infusing energy into his work in order for him to challenge negativity in academia, a strategy similar to that of Professor Turner as previously described:

> *I try and figure out a space of comfort, you know, I do think that*
>
> *you know I do want the program that you know the department that*
>
> *I work in to be better, I want to be better. And, I decided, you*

know, this is where I will focus my energy. You know. I don't want

to focus my energies in any other committee work. I wanna focus

my energy here. You know. I really wanna make this, I want this to

be the best department in the school of social sciences. That's what

I do. I just, you know, I guess maybe a way of dealing with, but you

know. You look for a place to focus your energy on, so that it

doesn't get lost in rehashing, you know, these grudges that you

might have, you know? Because it is waste of time to keep

rehashing, I mean you can come up like, you know baste

someone's head with a bat. So since I cannot do that, so, you

know, I just put my energy somewhere....I don't need my

colleagues to love me. I don't my students to love me. I don't. You

know? To me it is clear that you know I need to pay the rent. You

know, work is work.

Professor Vasquez was also aware that he needed to be political as a gay male faculty
member of color in higher education. It had been helpful for him to monitor his own
moves to not make any enemies at his workplace:

Even though I work hard at, I conceal myself, it quickly became

very apparently I could not be myself in that space. I have to say,

people still don't know me in that space, you know. I was sitting,

like I said, you know, last night I was sitting at this dinner with

these people [two of my colleagues], you know, really, I was

having a dinner because I like them but because it's politically

wise for me. You need to have alliances in these institutions. But be

careful, I'm always careful because these alliances are, you know,

I guess, I go there and I have that dinner because I don't collect

enemies. But, I don't think that I'm making friends when I go of

those dinners. You know, I'm just making sure that we're not

enemies....I think you have to monitor yourself. I think you have to

figure out, you know, which are the codes, which social

interactions take place. I mean you need to figure that out. You

have to learn them. You know, I think if you're lucky you find

someone who demonstrates integrity. That's someone to, that's a

relationship to nurture and that happy you found.

Professor David Green, an African American assistant professor, talked about

how his ways of dealing with difficult situations had changed over time in his career:

I got my degree in 2003. So, I haven't been doing this for that long

even though I am older. And, what's uncomfortable is that in a

past whenever I have been in the situation where someone pissed

me off because either they were homophobic or they were racist or

they were both at some issues with them. I had no problem sort of

telling them, "Shove it." And, "You have no power over my life."

If I needed to leave the job, I would leave the job.... I was a very

confident person in terms of race and gender, my race and

sexuality.... I could be very confident, my identity. But, problem,

the thing is in academia when I decided to go back to school to

finish my education, it changed how I could do those types of

things because one (1), I got a lot of student loan that I am paying

back, two (2), I have a partner who has been together for almost

12 years. We're trying to have a real life.... What makes me

uncomfortable is I don't want to, but I am afraid of having to,

one(1), I can't push people out anymore, or I can't leave my job as

quickly as I could have been in the past, I can't let my frustrations

be so known because I could lose my job.... And, I have to figure

out how to be an institutional member of this college or any other

job I have.... So the fact that this dean makes me uncomfortable, I

am afraid I am going to cuss her out. Or if I don't cuss her out, I

feel like I should cuss her out, that means that I am going to let her

win over me. It makes me feel as if I am in a position of weakness,

not a position of strength. I am letting her whoever else, and I let

her do it. Let her do it, just so I can have a secure paycheck, and

be a part of institution. This is sort of the central part for me. I

don't know how to stand up for myself or how I can stand up for

myself, and still keep my life filled.

Professor Green later talked about how he was surviving in a hostile work environment in

higher education. He spoke about his strategy against bullying in higher education as

nothing more than avoiding the person he saw as a bully, the new White female dean.

However, he talked about how his anger and frustration were increasing after reflecting

on his negative experiences with the dean:

I try to avoid her [the new dean], frankly....We haven't had any

private conversation with her or I have seen her at a couple of

functions and they were just very brief. I will eventually have to

deal with her. But, right now, I am afraid that because I let this

animosity and frustration with her built up, and…I am going to let

that show more. I am not sure how effective that is going to be for

my career to let it show. I want her to know that I am not going to

be intimidated. I want her to know that.

Professor Jesse Ingram, an African American university professor and interim vice provost, talked about he created his own professional and personal spaces that had been helpful for him in dealing with racism, homophobia, and heterosexism in his career in higher education:

Well, certainly the entire time I was teaching, I would never

divulge anything in the classroom because to me that [sharing

information about my sexual orientation] wasn't necessary to talk

about. I mean again, I would share with former students, once we

became friends after the fact. But, I would never speak to that in

the classroom. When the time I became a professor, I was more

comfortable in my own skin. I'm not speaking it had nothing to do

with hiding my orientation. It was more to do with separating

personal life from professional life.... I've always been protected of

my personal space.... I really maintain those boundaries, it wasn't

a matter of trying to hide. I just like that separation.

Professor Shane Edwards, an African American associate professor and associate dean, talked about his strategies, which he utilized in his graduate school and in his current position at his institution:

> *My strategy is not to get caught up in your pathology. You (his colleague) said that at house it [my sexual orientation] wasn't really that big of a deal. You invited me to lunch. It wasn't a question I initiated. So guess what, I'm going to leave it right there. He never touched it again.... And, we had, we finished having lunch. And, that was it.*
>
> *I have an administrative duty now. I'm an associate dean, so I get pulled into conversations about other faculty's scholarship that I had in the past. So, that's definitely part of my evolution and certainly now why people wouldn't offend me because I'm in administration. I'm an associate dean and I notice people respond to me differently. Because of that position, because of that someday they may need something and at very least they perceived I have some degree of power within the academic environment.*
>
> *I don't confuse or think I'm a better person because of that. I think it has to do with the title of the position. It's probably less about me and more about them that they are more afraid that I could do something to harm them. It's different than respecting me.... I feel like if I am given this opportunity to be in this administrative position to do something, I have to do things that*

help to bring some support to my faculty and I mean that's not

about me. That's about them, and I have to put me off the table at

least put me in a position understanding, "Okay. How much of this

is me and how much of that is them?" That's the forth sort of my

thinking, and don't let it encroach in some negative ways.

Theme Summary 3

The third main theme of this study was *Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization*. Two categories emerged from the theme: *The Coping Process with Racist Homophobic Bullying*; and *Survival Strategies against Racist Homophobic Bullying*. An analysis of the data found the participants had developed their own coping mechanisms to recover from their experiences of being bullied and their related negative experiences, and that each had created their own strategies to fight against bullying in higher education or try to avoid having negative experiences.

Sixteen of the nineteen participants described experiences of coping whether or not they had successfully recovered from their negative experiences. Their coping mechanisms varied from individual to individual including exiting from the hostile environment, fostering their own spirituality, documenting their negative experiences, and getting third party intervention for themselves from therapists, family members, and friends.

Also, seventeen of the nineteen participants reported how they had developed their own ways of fighting against bullying in higher education or ways of avoiding negative experiences. They further described various ways that they dealt with or minimized potential bullying episodes in higher education, again ranging from individual

behavioral changes to some kind of third party intervention to help them in their

academic careers in higher education.

Chapter Summary

The purpose of this study was to understand how adult bullying influences the

lives of gay male faculty members of color in higher education. This chapter discussed

the findings that were identified from the analysis of the participant interview data. This

chapter particularly focused on presenting the second and the third main themes:

Developing a Career Plan Informed by the Restrictions of Homophobia and Racism; and

Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization. These themes were represented as

an outline form in Table 5.1.

The second major theme in the findings of this study was *Developing a Career*

Plan Informed by the Restrictions of Homophobia and Racism. This theme represented

how the nineteen gay male faculty members of color in this study had advanced their

careers in academia while they were experiencing some sort of racism, homophobia, and

heterosexism in higher education. This theme reviewed two ways that the participants

had developed their career paths, through: a) *The Experiences of Gay Men of Color*; and

b) *Mentorship and Guidance*. The participants talked about how their life experiences

had helped them develop their own career included their negative experiences of being

victims and bystanders of bullying in higher education. In other words, their early

exposures of bullying had provided them with helpful understandings of how

positionality operated in higher education, so they could take into account those

experiences for their careers and job searching. Also, the participants reported that their

mentors had helped them develop their careers in academia in terms of where they should

go and what they should do to avoid having negative experiences as gay male faculty members of color.

The third major theme of this study was *Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization.* This theme represented how the participants had been surviving in hostile environments in higher education. This theme manifested itself in two ways: a) *The Coping Process with Racist Homophobic Bullying*; and b) *Survival Strategies against Racist Homophobic Bullying*. Whether or not they had successfully coped with their experiences of being bullied and their negative experiences of racism and homophobia in higher education the participants talked about their various ways of successfully or continuously attempting to cope with negative experiences and provided individualized survival strategies for navigating their careers in academia as gay male faculty members of color.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to understand how adult bullying influences the lives of gay male faculty members of color in higher education. This study focused on the exploration and examination of gay male faculty members of color's negative experiences that implied adult bullying in higher education related to the intersection of racism and homophobia. This study addressed the following research questions:

1. How is bullying manifested in the lives of gay male faculty members of color?

2. In what ways does bullying affect gay male faculty members of color's academic lives?

3. How do gay male faculty members of color cope with bullying in higher education?

In this chapter, the findings are situated in relation to both the adult education literature and the literature on bullying in schools and workplaces to conclude this study on adult bullying in higher education in terms of racism and homophobia. There are four major sections. First, the conclusions of this study based on the research questions are provided. Second, the implications of these conclusions to adult education theory and practice are stated. Third, this chapter provides recommendations for future research based on the findings of this study. Last, this chapter concludes with a chapter summary.

For this study, a qualitative research design, narrative inquiry, was implemented. There is a lack of narrative studies on gay people of color and a lack of research on gay

people of color in adult and higher education and this study attempts to contribute to in this respect. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) stated, "narrative inquiry is much more than 'look for and hear story.' Narrative inquiry in the field is a form of living, a way of life" (p. 78). Because narrative inquiry focuses on the unique and diverse life experiences of particular populations (Altman, 2008; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Craig & Huber, 2007; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007), it was the best suited methodology for this study, which utilized the narratives of the nineteen gay male faculty members of color in higher education. This study followed their experiences of gay male faculty members of color in academia to understand how adult bullying in higher education operated. The data revealed three themes: 1) *Managing Anti-Reciprocal Relations with Power Holders;* 2) *Developing a Career Plan Informed by the Restrictions of Homophobia and Racism;* and 3) *Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization.* The first theme of this study presented how adult bullying was manifested in the lives of the gay male faculty members of color in higher education. This theme appeared three ways in the participant data: a) Positional Bullying; b) Counter-Positional Bullying; and c) Unintentional Conspirative Positional Bullying. The first type of bullying was a phenomenon of bullying engaged in by a person in a position of power. The second type of bullying was a phenomenon of bullying engaged in by a person in a position of less power but whose positionality empowers them to bully a person disenfranchised by their race, gender, or sexual orientation. The third type of bullying was a phenomenon of bullying engaged in simultaneously and collaboratively by a group of at least two people who are in superior and subordinate positions of power but share a common identity such as White and/or heterosexual that enables them to bully a person whose position of power is between their

own and who is disenfranchised by holding an uncommon race, gender, or sexual orientation to the bullies.

The second theme of this study, *Developing a Career Plan Informed by the Restrictions of Homophobia and Racism,* described two ways to address how the gay male faculty members of color in this study managed their career paths: a) The Experiences of Gay Men of Color; and b) Mentorship and Guidance. In this theme, the participants talked about how their life experiences had greatly helped their careers in higher education. While in higher education as students or postdoctoral fellows, they had been victims of bullying and/or had witnessed bullying at one time or another. Their exposure to bullying had provided them with an understanding of how positionality operated in higher education. Early during their time in higher education, they had found mentors who had often related their own experiences of being academicians and had warned and advised the gay men of color on how they could best pursue their academic careers while preventing further experiences of bullying.

The third theme was *Creating Mechanisms for Recovery and Revitalization.* This theme was manifested in two ways: a) The Coping Process with Racist Homophobic Bullying; and b) Survival Strategies against Racist Homophobic Bullying. The participants described how they had coped or were coping with their experiences of being bullied, what they had learned from their experiences of being bullied, and how they had been strategically managing their careers in higher education.

Conclusions and Discussion

This study focused on the lives of gay male faculty members of color in higher education in terms of their experiences of being bullied. From the findings of the study,

three major conclusions were drawn: 1) The bullying of gay male faculty members of color in academia was prevalent and practiced by White and/or heterosexual males and females while simultaneously being cloaked in civility, subjectively applied rules and policies and enabled by a cooperatively complicit system; 2) Bullying had a negative cumulative impact on gay male faculty members of color necessitating them to live in defense of their psychological well-being and academic careers; 3) The gay male faculty members of color separately and in isolation from other gay male faculty members of color constructed support networks and developed self-help mechanisms as a way to insure their survival in academia. In the following subsections, these conclusions in relation to the research questions are addressed by referring to and making connection with the relevant literature.

Conclusion One

The overall purpose of this study was to understand how adult bullying influences the lives of gay male faculty members of color in higher education. The first research question of this study was: How is bullying manifested in the lives of gay male faculty members of color? The concluding answer was: The bullying of gay male faculty members of color in academia was prevalent and practiced by White and/or heterosexual males and females while simultaneously being cloaked in civility, subjectively applied rules and policies and enabled by a cooperatively complicit system.

The findings showed that gay male faculty members of color in this study had experienced bullying related to racism, homophobia, and heterosexism as victims and/or bystanders in higher education. Their experiences appeared to be of relational, positional, and continual nature; they had experienced bullying when interacting with peers,

professors, and administrators as students in higher education and when interacting with

their own students, colleagues, and deans as faculty members at any level of their

professorships. The gay male faculty members of color's experience of racist

homophobic bullying seemed to be continual in that they had similar experiences

repeatedly in their lifelong careers in academia.

However, while the literature that focuses on race and sexual orientation usually

addresses racism and homophobia separately, race and sexual orientation are tightly fused

and inseparable. When gay male faculty members of color come into classrooms or

meetings in higher education, they always bring their sociocultural identities, such as

race, sexual orientation, and gender, with them. However, conventional studies of

identities, positionality, and bullying have ignored how multiple different sociocultural

identities impact one's interactions and relationships with others.

This study provided a new understanding of adult bullying in American higher

education in terms of racism, homophobia, and heterosexism by having focused on gay

male faculty members of color's experiences of adult bullying. In other words, this study

provided a way to look into the intersection of racist bullying and homophobic bullying

from the concept of positionality. This topic has not been explored much in the United

States or in any other countries at this point in time, although bullying has been explored

in childhood in K-12 schoolings and in adulthood at workplaces or the community at

large (Twale & De Luca, 2008; Westhues, 2006). Of the research on bullying in higher

education, there is virtually none that has been done on particular populations; most

research and publications are on generic bullying where samples were treated as uniform

populations (Fox & Stallworth, 2005). However, experiences of People of Color and

LGBTQ people are different than those of their White, straight colleagues'. People of

Color have to face racism daily and LGBTQ people face homophobia and heterosexism

all the time. Some scholars like Fox and Stallworth (2005) have examined how race or

ethnicity impacts People of Color's experiences in workplace in terms of bullying. Also,

O'Higgins-Norman (2008) focused on homophobic bullying in Irish secondary education.

However, it is rare for scholars to examine race and sexual orientation simultaneously or

racism and homophobia together (McCready & Kumashiro, 2006). Similarly, such

intersectionality is rarely examined in adult and higher education (Misawa, 2009).

Overall, this study turned out to be different from other previous studies about bullying or

positionality, and provided a new path to understanding about how positionality

influences the lives of professors whose racial and sexual identities are considered to be

minority positions in the United States.

In relevant literature on bullying, scholars and researchers described the need for

a relationship between a bully and a victim (or target). For example, in a K-12 school

context, Olweus (1993) described how bullying occurs, stating that "a student is being

bullied or victimized when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative

actions on the part of one or more other students" (p. 9). Garrett (2003) also described

bullying among children by the following way:

> The word "bully" is used to describe many different types of behavior ranging
>
> from teasing or deliberately leaving an individual out of a school gathering or
>
> ignoring them to serious assaults and abuse. Sometimes it is an individual who is
>
> doing the bullying and sometimes it is a group….Bullying can also be defined as
>
> something that someone repeatedly does or says to gain power over or to

dominate another individual. Bullying is where a child or group of children keep

taking advantage of the power they have to hurt or reject someone else. Some of

the ways children bully another child include: calling them names, saying or

writing nasty comments about them, leaving them out of activities or not talking

to them, threatening them, or making them feel uncomfortable or scared, stealing

or damaging their belongings, hitting or kicking them, or making them do things

they don't want to do. (p. 6)

Similarly, in the context of a workplace, Namie and Namie (2000) defined bullying as

"the repeated, malicious, health-endangering mistreatment of one employee (the Target)

by one or more employees (the bully, bullies)" (p. 3). In addition, other scholars defined

workplace bullying as follows:

Bullying at work means harassing, offending, socially excluding someone or

negatively affecting someone's work tasks. In order for the label bullying (or

mobbing) to be applied to a particular activity, interaction or process it has to

occur repeatedly and regularly (e.g. weekly) and over a period of time (e.g. about

six months). Bullying is an escalating process in the course of which the person

confronted ends up in an interior position and becomes the target of systematic

negative social acts. A conflict cannot be called bullying if the incident is an

isolated event or if two parties of approximately equal 'strength' are in conflict.

(Einarsen, Hoel, Zapf, & Cooper, 2003, p. 15)

Definitions of bullying in school and at the workplace like those above and the ones

described in Chapter Two of this dissertation are characterized by four components: a)

negative behaviors; b) intent; c) imbalance of power; and d) persistence. This study on

adult bullying in higher education in terms of racism and homophobia identified these same four components at play in negative experiences of the gay male professors of color. The following subsections will address those four components of bullying by relating the findings of this study to the relevant literature.

Negative Behaviors

All of the nineteen participants in this study talked about negative experiences in academia ranging from minor inconveniences to very negative and traumatic experiences from being gay male faculty members of color. The majority of the participants (sixteen of the nineteen participants) expressed how their experiences of being bullied were the most negative experiences in their entire lives so far. These instances of bullying fit what Olweus (1993) defined as negative actions:

> It is a negative action when someone intentionally inflicts, or attempts to inflict, injury or discomfort upon another….Negative actions can be carried out by words…by threatening, taunting, teasing, and calling names. It is a negative action when somebody hits, pushes, kicks, pinches, or restrains another—by physical contact. It is also possible to carry out negative actions without use of words or physical contact, such as by making faces or dirty gestures, intentionally excluding someone from a group, or refusing to comply with another person's wishes. (p. 9)

Although Olweus's definition of negative actions was developed for a context of childhood schooling, it aptly applies to bullying in adulthood. Field (1996) described a similar concept of bullying in adulthood at the workplace as "a range of behaviors, from a persistent unwillingness to recognize performance, loyalty and achievement, to repeated

critical remarks and humiliating and overtly hostile behavior such as shouting at an employee in front of colleagues" (p. 33).

However, the descriptions and definitions of negative actions and bullying that have been created by scholars and researchers seem to be too generic, or in Fox and Stallworth's (2005) words, general bullying "can occur to anyone without reference to race or ethnicity" (p. 439). The conventional concepts of bullying could be applied too broadly to any person without considering professors of academia who are marginalized, discriminated against, degraded, or devalued by their colleagues in their departments and by their institutions because of their race and sexual orientation. No physical harm to the participants in this study came from their administrators, colleagues, or students on campus, yet the gay male faculty members of color reported that they had experienced nonviolent or subtle forms of bullying where they were purposefully not invited to important meetings, systematically denied their tenure promotions, or were given low teaching scores and sometimes racist and homophobic evaluative comments from their students.

The Intent of Bullying

Scholars and researchers in school bullying and workplace bullying found that the intentions of bullies were important factors in bullying incidents (e.g., Field, 1996; Namie & Namie, 2000; Orpinas & Horne, 2006; Rayner, Hoel, & Cooper, 2002; Smith & Sharp, 1994). Coloroso (2002) described how "the bully means to inflict emotional and/or physical pain, expects the action to hurt, and takes pleasure in witnessing the hurt. This is no accident or mistake, no slip of the tongue, no playful teasing, no misplaced foot, no inadvertent exclusion, no 'Oops, I didn't mean it.'" (pp. 13-14). Other scholars and

researchers in childhood bullying described that the typical intentions of bullies are: to harm their victims so they can gain some benefit; to purposefully exclude their victims to see how they feel bad or depressed; and to feel good or raise their own self-esteem (Harris & Petrie, 2003; Olweus, 1993; Orpinas & Horne, 2006; Smith & Sharp, 1994). Other scholars and researchers of adulthood bullying in the workplace described workplace bullies as jealous or envious people who do not possess the abilities that their victims or targets have, so the bullies have intentions to get rid of the targets or to harm then so bullies can enjoy seeing the victims or targets in pain (Field, 1996; Namie & Namie, 2000; Watson, 2008). Field (1996) stated that some of the factors that impelled a person to bully others were: "stress brought about by an inability to fulfill the responsibilities of one's job" (p. 23); "the hierarchical nature of management, combined with poor people-management skills" (p. 24); "low self-confidence, with opportunity for power over people" (p. 24); "lack of behavioral maturity" (p. 24); and "fear engendered by uncertainty, particularly in times of change" (p. 24).

In this study, the gay male faculty members of color talked about how they perceived bullies' intentions to be more than general form of workplace bullying and more closely related to racism, homophobia, and heterosexism. Because most of the participants (eighteen of the nineteen participants) in this study were employed in the predominantly White institutions, they had to face some degree of race-based discrimination or marginalization as identified in studies by Johnson-Bailey (2001, 2002) and Johnson-Bailey and Cervero (2008) where People of Color in academia always have to deal with separate institutional treatment from their White counterparts in their careers, things like discrimination or marginalization based on race.

Gay male faculty members of color in this study felt that they were outsiders or visitors in those institutions even though some of them were granted their tenures or were able to continue working at their institutions as faculty members. Although they could situate themselves as faculty members in their institutions, they did not really feel that they were on the same level as their colleagues who were White and/or heterosexual. The participants of this study experienced not only what seemed to be general forms of bullying where superiors actively suppressed their subordinates' work abilities, but also seemed to be bullying based on racism, homophobia, and heterosexism; that is, bigoted ideas or perceptions about the participants' identities by the bullies.

Imbalance of Power in Bullying

Scholars and researchers of bullying emphasized that bullying always occurs in a relational nature where one has more power than the other. For example, in childhood bullying in schools, Olweus (1993) stated, "it must be stressed that the term bullying is not (should not be) used when two students of approximately the same strength (physical or psychological) are fighting or quarreling. In order to use the term bullying, there should be an *imbalance in strength* (an asymmetric power relationship)" (p. 10). Further, Smith and Sharp (1994) described bullying as "the systematic abuse of power. There will always be power relationships in social groups, by virtue of strength or size or ability, force of personality, sheer numbers of recognized hierarchy" (p. 2). Also, Rigby (2002) stated how bullying has been researched in school settings by focusing on power imbalance. "Most attention to bullying has focused on the school, and there are good reasons for that. Of all communities, schools contain the greatest imbalances of power and they are attended at a time when people are at their most vulnerable to abuse from

their peers" (p. 73). In other words, most bullying had been research focused on the imbalance of power between children and their peers or teachers in grade school.

Although the concept of power differences between bullies and victims in childhood appears to readily apply to the concept of a power imbalance in adult bullying, scholars and researchers on workplace bullying described that the notion of power imbalance in adult bullying at the workplace is different from the imbalance of power in childhood bullying. Adams (1992) and Namie and Namie (2000) have talked about how organizations are position-based and hierarchical where bullying is often encouraged by the organizations for sustaining and increasing productivity. Furthermore, Needham (2003) pointed out the difference between school bullying and workplace bullying as follows:

> In the schoolyard the Target often tends to be weaker, the 'nerd', sometimes smaller than the bully and often more introverted and withdrawn. Schoolyard bullies gather people on their side and use physical and/or obvious tactics to intimidate. The Target/Workplace Bully relationship within the workplace is different. Physical size does not matter as much although a larger frame will certainly assist Bullies as part of their intimidation techniques. The size advantage most Workplace Bullies enjoy is the size or level of the job than the target and therefore, by default, has a positional power base. (p. 38)

Needham (2003) also provided the three important power bases at work:

1. *Personal power*—this is by far the most influential of the power bases, assuming that the individual has the self-esteem and confidence to use it appropriately. The personal power base is about self-respect and belief in one's own values.

2. *Position power*—this type of power is based on the individual or group's perception of that person's status in the dominant culture in an organization.

3. *Role power*—this power base is one gained through competence in a knowledge and capability area. It is often specialist knowledge that others do not have. (Needham, 2003, pp. 39-40)

Needham (2003) stated that workplace bullying most frequently occurs because of *role power* where incompetent superiors are jealous about subordinates' abilities and special knowledge that they do not have. So, when conventional scholars and researchers at the workplace talked about workplace bullying, they are speaking in terms of organizational roles and the positions to which bullies and victims.

Although the participants in this study described bullying in higher education as positional (faculty members' ranks) and relational (interactions with administrators, colleagues, and students), their narratives revealed that adult bullying in academia is different from conventional workplace bullying. Although Needham (2003) provided more institutional and organizational power bases that are susceptible to being imbalanced by workplace bullying, her key organizational power bases actually missed an important one in bullying. Needham's power bases should include one more power base, *social power* including *sociocultural identities* in order to fully understand adult bullying. This study revealed that the sociocultural positions the participants belonged to were often integral factors in their experiences of being bullied. In other words, positionality greatly influenced the bullying that the participants experienced in higher education.

The participants of this study consistently related their experiences of being

bullied because of their sociocultural identities, race and sexual orientation. They

reported that their sociocultural positions were more influential than their institutional

positions in incidents of bullying. So, the gay male faculty members of color experienced

racist and homophobic bullying in addition to the general form of bullying–double or

triple forms of bullying based on their identities, which relates to Kumashiro's notion

(2001) of how gay people of color are treated in education. Kumashiro (2001) described

how the intersection of race and sexual orientation in education causes gay people of

color to face both racism and homophobia as a double oppression/marginalization

compared to their White and straight counterparts. So, the general form of bullying or

victimization does not fully apply in incidents of racist and homophobic bullying.

In addition, the culture of higher education has its own rules and policies that are

based on White and/or heterosexual populations (Johnson-Bailey, 2002; Misawa, 2009;

Tisdell, 1995). So gay male faculty members of color experienced both racism and

homophobia from their White and/or heterosexual administrators, colleagues, and

students in higher education. To the participants in this study, institutional positions were

not as problematic as sociocultural positions of race and sexual orientation. If bullying in

higher education was solely organizational position based, then the participants of this

study would not have experienced being bullied because of their race and sexual

orientation as faculty members.

Furthermore, the gay male faculty members of color in this study experienced

bullying from administrators, colleagues, and students simultaneously and

conspirationally. For example, the participants reported that their students went to their

deans or chairs to complain about the participants' teaching or grading, and their students

and deans or chairs tried to degrade or discount gay male faculty members of color's

knowledge and authority. In those cases, gay male faculty members of color experienced

bullying (usually one bully and one victim; or a couple of bullies and one victim) and

mobbing (multiple bullies and one victim; or a group of bullies and one victim) at the

same time. This conspirative power collaboration between students and deans could be

called *mob-bullying*. In other words, the participants in this study actually reported that

they had experienced *racist homophobic mob-bullying* in higher education.

Persistence and Duration of Bullying

Scholars of bullying typically emphasize that bullying is characterized by

repeated and continuous negative and hurtful actions and intentions and an imbalance of

power over a certain period of time, but this study found what a few other scholars (e.g.,

Fox & Stallworth, 2005; Randall, 1997, 2001) had reported previously: a onetime

occurrence of bullying. Fox and Stallworth (2005) and Randall (1997, 2001) agreed that a

onetime incident should be included in the definition of bullying. Randall defined adult

bullying as "the aggressive behavior arising from the deliberate intent to cause physical

or psychological distress to others" (1997, p. 4) without the qualification of it being

repetitive.

This study pinpointed two reasons why onetime bullying should be included in

racist homophobic bullying in academia. One reason to include onetime bullying is that

the gay male faculty members of color in this study reported that they had experienced

onetime bullying related racism and homophobia several times at different points in their

academic careers from different people. The people who acted as bullies toward the

participants were different in each situation, but their actions reflected racist and homophobic attitudes that were very similar to what the gay male faculty members of color had previously faced. The agents of bullying might have been different, but the incidents of racism and homophobia as a form of bullying continuously occurred in the participants' lives but in different times and contexts.

Another reason for including onetime incidents of bullying is that the gay male faculty members of color faced two types of culturally normalized bullying: racist bullying and homophobic bullying. It is important to understand that while this study focused on adult bullying that was manifested in the lives of the nineteen gay male faculty members of color in higher education, racism and homophobia are deeply rooted in a larger sociocultural discourse that has been perpetuated by White supremacy (or the way that the White norm has been institutionalized in society) and heterosexism (or the way the society has been based on heterosexual norms). Conventional higher education in the United States has followed these norms. So, when gay male faculty members of color in this study reported that they experienced bullying based on racism it only needed to occur on one occasion from one particular individual due to the cultural basis on White norms (Twale & De Luca, 2008). This study found that racism and homophobia were part of gay male faculty members of color's daily lives. Race and sexual orientation should not be considered separately when populations have multiple minority identities because of the White heterosexual norms and systems in academic culture and society (McCready & Kumashiro, 2006; Misawa, 2007, 2009; Nagel, 2003). Even though the negative experiences of gay male faculty members of color appeared to be a series of individual

incidents, they really are a form of bullying based on racism and homophobia in a White-centric, heterocentric sociocultural system of higher education.

Finally, the manifestation of bullying in the lives of gay male faculty members of color seemed to go beyond the conventional notions and definitions of bullying that were developed by scholars and researchers of bullying for primary school and the workplace, both of which rested on relational and institutional terms. This study also identified relational and institutional aspects, but differed in that the narratives of the nineteen gay male faculty members of color in this study revealed that experiences of bullying that were mainly based on race and sexual orientation, or in other words, positionality. Positionality impacted the lives of the gay male faculty members of color in higher education. Their experiences as victims or bystanders of bullying implied that they experienced discrimination and marginalization both personally and professionally in academia because their race and sexual orientation were not mainstream, so their institutional statuses did not work positively for them.

This section addressed the first conclusion of this study that the bullying of gay male faculty members of color in academia was prevalent and practiced by White and/or heterosexual males and females while simultaneously being cloaked in civility, subjectively applied rules and policies and enabled by a cooperatively complicit system. It was apparent from the narratives that the gay male faculty members of color in this study had to deal with bullying based on both racism and homophobia in higher education. An operational definition of racist homophobic bullying that was developed by the researcher of this study provides a better description and distinction of bullying referring to bullying based on racism and homophobia in higher education:

An incident of bullying involves a victim who is a gay person of color and somehow less powerful in terms of physical, psychological, or sociocultural positions than the bully or who fits the bully's racist homophobic stereotype, and a perpetuated recurrent or singular; unwanted or unwarranted; intimidating, humiliating, offensive, or threatening conduct on the part of the bully that sustains the bully's position of power and destroys the victim's well-being, dignity, and safety or is significant enough to cause the victim physical and/or psychological harm. (Misawa, in press)

Based on that operational definition of racist homophobic bullying, the experiences of the gay male faculty members of color in this study seemed to be that they had to face racist homophobic bullying which they described as being negative, hurtful, traumatic, and continual in their careers. Since gay male faculty of color had to deal with bullying based on racism and homophobia all the time, their racialized experiences and sexualized experiences seem to be fused. In other words, positionality always impacted the lives of gay male faculty members of color in higher education. Because of that, race and sexual orientation should be considered as a whole and a more diverse idea of positional bullying is needed. The researcher of this study described how the intersectionality of different oppressions based on various sociocultural identities currently was treated separately:

The best way to think about this is like a Venn diagram in which you have all these circles that represent sets of oppressions, some deal with race, such as Asian, Black, and Latino, and other sets deal with gay, straight, male, female, and so on. While "diversity" means a union of Asian, Black, and Latino sets, the

problem is that the other sets are not even considered as part of universe to begin

with….people may find certain issues troubling if not threatening in identity-

centric communities that focus monolithically on combating only one universe of

oppressions. (Misawa, 2009, pp. 56-57)

In order to equip academicians with a better understanding of the intersectionality in

positional bullying, a holistic way of thinking is required. However, the holistic approach

is not intended to perpetuate conventional ways of thinking about bullying of minorities

where racial oriented groups sustain heteronormativity or groups based on sexuality

stress White-normativity. So, populations like gay male faculty members of color really

need to challenge those conventional ideas about bullying within their groups to create

more democratic environments where everyone is treated as a first class member. As long

as higher education sustains conventional rules and policies that are White-centered and

heterocentric, gay male faculty members of color will continue to experience racist

homophobic bullying throughout their careers in higher education.

Conclusion Two

The second research question of this study was: In what ways does bullying affect

gay male faculty members of color's academic lives? The concluding answer was that

bullying had a negative cumulative impact on gay male faculty members of color

necessitating them to live in defense of their psychological well-being and academic

careers.

Literature on minority faculty members in higher education shows how they are

treated differently compared with their White colleagues (Adams, 2006; Johnson-Bailey

& Cervero, 2008). In conventional higher education, particularly in elite schools, White

male norms have been ingrained in the school policies and regulations (Twale & De Luca, 2008). In academia, minority faculty members are in danger of being degraded and disrespected and having their authority or credentials questioned their credentials of being faculty members. In this study, gay male faculty members of color expressed that they had been repeatedly questioned about their credibility or authority in higher education. It appeared in at least two ways: a) Gay male faculty members of color were questioned about the validity of their credentials by their colleagues; and b) Gay male faculty members of color were questioned about the validity of their credentials by their students. For example, the gay male faculty members of color were usually not asked to be leaders among faculty members. Instead, gay male faculty members of color were asked to be followers when they worked together on research projects or committee works. Also, they were questioned about their professional assessments or grading by their own students. Some students even tried to silence gay male faculty members of color in class because they thought that gay male faculty members of color were not knowledgeable enough to be teaching the class, which reflected problems addressed by feminist pedagogy by Johnson-Bailey and Lee (2005) and Maher and Tetreault (2001). They talked about how challenging it was for White students to perceive minority professors as a source of knowledge or authority in class because minority professors had to work in masculinized environments where "male norms were taken for granted not only by [their] colleagues but [their]students as well" (Maher & Tetreault, 2001, p. 139). Although gay male faculty members of color were actually qualified for the positions as faculty members, such conduct appeared to happen time and time again in their academic careers. Gay male faculty members of color

perceived that they could not trust or belie their trust to any persons on campus or their institutions at large. Since they had experienced such bullying repeatedly in their academic career in higher education, the gay male faculty members of color may have experienced one of the following types of damage listed by Namie and Namie (2000, pp. 55-57): emotional-psychological health damage, physical health damage, damage to social relations, or economic-financial damage ..

In this study, *emotional-psychological health damage* appeared most frequently in the narratives from the nineteen gay male faculty members of color. Sixteen of the nineteen participants talked about their experiences with bullying and their psychological well being. Over half of the participants (eleven of nineteen) reported *damage to social relations* as second most frequent in their experiences resulted from bullying in higher education. However, *physical health damage* and *economic-financial damage* were rarely seen in this study. Although a few people talked about all four types of damage in their interviews, it was not generalizable or representative because of the small number of responses in this study.

Scholars and researchers of workplace bullying in adulthood have listed psychological warning signs which may result from bullying (e.g., Namie & Namie, 2000; Randall, 1997, 2001; Watson, 2008). Namie and Namie (2000, p. 55) also created a comprehensive list of psychological signs of *emotional-psychological health damage*: a) poor concentration and forgetfulness, b) loss of sleep and fatigue, c) stress and irritability, d) mood swings and bursts of anger, e) spontaneous crying and lost sense of humor, f) indecisiveness, g) panic attacks and anxiety, h) clinical depression, i) feelings of insecurity and being out of control, j) nightmares about the bully, k) obsessive thinking

about the bully, l) always anticipating the next attack (hyper-vigilance), m) shattered faith in self-competence and feelings of worthlessness, n) shame, embarrassment, and guilt, o) self-destructive habits: substance abuse and workaholism, p) altered personality and unrecognizable to family and friends, q) PDSD/PTSD (stress disorders), r) suicidal thoughts, and s) violence: suicide or violence against others.

Because the gay male faculty members of color in this study experienced racist homophobic bullying that was subtle and nonphysical, their symptoms, if any, would be psychological. They expressed feeling that they were disvalued in their professions by their superiors, colleagues, and students and that they felt extreme stress, insecurity, shame, embarrassment, and guilt after encountering situations of racist homophobic bullying in academia. They also expressed a need to internalize what they were experiencing because they felt that they had no way out if they wanted to stay at their institutions. Some of them were still struggling to recover from their experiences of bullying. Positionality seemed to be detrimental to the gay male faculty members of color's professional and personal selves. Adults have been shown to not have a desire to talk about their experiences of being bullied (Lines, 2008; Twale & De Luca, 2008). This kind of internalization affected the well-being of gay male faculty members of color both professionally and personally.

In addition, their experiences appeared to be relational in nature when they talked about the influence bullying had on their academic careers. In this study, the nineteen gay male faculty members of color talked about how their relationship with their surroundings had changed because of racist homophobic bullying. Namie and Namie (2000, pp. 56-57) described social changes that people experience following bullying

under the category *damage to social relations*, and provided the following indicators: a) co-worker isolation from personal fear, b) parents encourage compromise with bully, c) co-worker resentment and attempts to silence you, d) spouse questions your role in dispute with bully, e) children and friends outside work show strain, f) wavering support from family, g) abandonment/betrayal by co-workers, h) separation/divorce by immediate family, and i) abandonment by friends outside work.

The participants in this study related that they had changed their perceptions of themselves as teachers and their colleagues, their departments, and their institutions. Changes in self-perception and perception of careers appear in scholarly literature on minority faculty members in higher education (Twale & De Luca, 2008; Westhues, 1998). After having had such negative experiences, the participants could not feel that they were accepted into their departments or even their institutions. Such experiences eventually made them aware of the entrenched institutional systems they were dealing with, what the beliefs were of people they were working with, and how they were perceived by their colleagues, all of which allowed them to critically re-examine how they would adjust the pursuit of their academic careers for greater success. Yet, ongoing problems with bullying based on racism and homophobia for the gay male faculty members of color in this study will continue throughout their careers unless the culture in higher education changes from one that degrades gay men of color to one that recognizes their daily struggles.

In summary, regarding the second conclusion, this study found that bullying had a negative cumulative impact on gay male faculty members of color necessitating them to live in defense of their psychological well-being and academic careers. It was apparent

that the gay male faculty members of color in this study had to deal with racist and homophobic people in higher education, which had negative effects on the participants. Literature on minority faculty members in higher education has described similar situations to those facing the participants in this study where they were questioned about their knowledge, credentials, and authority by administrators, colleagues, and students (e.g., Adams, 2006; Johnson-Bailey & Lee, 2005). Namie and Namie's (2000) description of damages from bullying covered two aspects that may have impacted the gay male faculty members of color in this study: Emotional-Psychological Health Damage and Damage to Social Relations resulting from bullying based on both racism and homophobia or heterosexism in higher education. The participants of this study reported that they knew that they were not getting the same treatment as White and heterosexual colleagues because they were perceived as outsiders in academy. So, they somehow had to internalize their emotions and manage their psychological well-being and careers to continue on as faculty members in higher education.

Conclusion Three

The third research question asked: How do gay male faculty members of color cope with bullying in higher education? The third conclusion was: The gay male faculty members of color separately and in isolation from other gay male faculty members of color constructed support networks and developed self-help mechanisms as a way to insure their survival in academia.

Spindel (2008) stated that victims of bullying at work may find that the ways they typically cope with the usual pressure of daily working life are no longer successful. In addition to the usual pressure at workplace, the participants experienced pressure and

stress regarding bullying based on racism and homophobia in higher education. The findings showed that gay male faculty members of color in this study found ways to cope with their experiences of being bullied and developed their own strategies against bullying in higher education. The participants described a variety of formal and informal support systems for their survival in academia as faculty members, some with better results than others.

Futterman (2004) suggested that victims of bullying should take advantage of various support systems. She listed the following resources that they could rely on to cope with bullying: a) support groups, b) friends and family, c) doctors and therapists, d) union representatives, e) employment assistance programs, f) human resources departments, g) lawyers, and h) financial planners (Futterman, 2004, pp. 61-63).

The participants in this study each utilized at least one of the resources listed by Futterman. They sought both formal and informal assistance. Those with more formal coping mechanisms sought professional help such as health specialists (psychologists, psychiatrist, and counselors), services from their unions, and lawyers. The participants in this study who utilized health specialists' reported that it was helpful talking about their experiences with bullying to professionals who understood or were familiar with their situations. Speaking out about their negative experiences to professionals allowed them to cope with their negative experiences. Some participants in this study also utilized unions and lawyers to cope with their experiences of bullying even though "bullying at work is rarely illegal. Either the law does not apply at all or the legal options make the case too difficult to build. Harassment or discriminatory treatment—if unrelated to gender, race, age, or any of the other Title VII (of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) protected class

categories—are invisible in the eyes of current U.S. law" (Namie & Namie, 2000, p. 6).

For participants in this study, bullying was a difficult area to deal with because it was not

treated as discriminatory under the law and lack of evidence other than hurt feelings.

Both of those points together is why bullying is such a problem in the first place. So, the

participants decided to seek professional help that could provide them with information

or help them develop legal cases to combat bullies in higher education and sustain job

security.

The participants in this study also each had some sort of informal support groups.

Namie and Namie (2000), Spindel (2008), and Sutton (2007) talked about how it is

important for victims of bullying to build a strong social support system. Spindel (2008)

stated that social support could be utilized as an alternative coping mechanism:

> Bullies win when they succeed in isolating their targets from others. Whether or
>
> not your organization has a benefits package that pays for a psychologist or other
>
> mental health professional to help you to preserve your mental health, you can
>
> still seek support from a non-profit mental health agency that offers counseling at
>
> low to no cost, or visit a physician who offers psychotherapy covered by state-
>
> funded health insurance. If all of this fails, consider confiding in a trusted friend
>
> and asking for her or his help to problem solve the situation, or just listen and
>
> offer you some support. (p. 145)

The gay male faculty members of color in this study expressed that their environments in

higher education were hostile because racism, homophobia, and heterosexism coexisted.

In such hostile environments, they were unable to find or feared finding help within their

institutions. Instead, they looked for assistance from people they knew outside their institutions.

Spindel (2008) also talked about how important it is to have a "circle of support" (p. 146). Spindel stated that bullying negatively impacts victims' lives both at work and at home. She suggested that "it will be necessary [for victims of bullying] to have several friends and family members that [they] can rely on to problem solve with, or to just listen empathically" (p. 146). The gay male faculty members of color in this study talked about how they were coping with their experiences of bullying by talking to their partners, family members, best friends, and members of their support groups by phone or email, for instance. Their strategies appeared to replicate Spindel's notion of how people cope with bullying. "The healing power of empathy helps enormously to counter the hurtful effects of workplace warfare. When fighting a psychological war, it is important to have 'comrades in arms'" (p. 146).

In addition to having developed their own self-help mechanism through their support groups, the participants in this study also utilized personal ways of coping with their experiences of being bullied. Scholars and researchers of adult bullying such as Field (1996), Randall (1997, 2001), and Spindel (2008) stated that one of the goals of bullies is to hurt another person and make their victims feel unworthy. In this study, the participants talked about how as gay male faculty members of color they were bullied in higher education by their deans, colleagues, and students in systematic ways such as positional bullying, counter-positional bullying, and conspirative positional bullying. Bullying caused them to lose self-esteem and created the feeling that they were not valued at their respective institutions.

Sometimes, the participants in this study reported that they needed some time for themselves to analyze their experiences of bullying. One of ways that the participants talked about was to make spiritual connections with their family members or best friends by keeping memorabilia or just meditating and reflecting on their experiences with bullies. Fostering a spiritual-self or developing some kind of connectedness was important parts of their coping mechanisms. Another way of coping with their experiences of bullying was to write or document what they experienced. Writing their own autoethnography and autobiography was helpful for ten of the nineteen participants in this study to cope with their experiences of bullying. Reflecting on experiences and writing about them helps people develop their own voices (Maher & Tetreault, 2001). In addition, this form of coping also created connections with others because those ten participants presented and/or published their writings about their experiences with bullies, which allowed people who had similar experiences to contact the participants for their support and help. Regaining their own voices seemed to be a pivotal part of the lives of the gay male faculty members of color to make up for the part of themselves or their core-identities they had lost as faculty members after experiencing being bullied.

Gay male faculty members of color developed self-coping mechanisms separately and in isolation from others constructed support networks as a way to sustain their place in academia. The gay male faculty members of color were isolated from their colleagues and lost their trust in academia, so they sought formal assistance from health professionals, legal professionals, and unions, and informal assistance from family members and friends. Often they decided to deal with their experiences of being bullied by themselves by documenting and publishing their experiences and developing a sense

of spirituality. It was apparent that all of the strategies that the gay male faculty members of color used to cope with their experiences of bullying seemed to be related to regaining a connectedness with others. By creating interpersonal connections as a coping mechanism, they were able to rebuild their self worth and regain their voices and their core identities of who they were. It was important for them to have such support systems in order to survive in higher education as gay male faculty members of color.

<div align="center">Implications and Recommendations for Future Research</div>

The implications for this study are drawn from a combination of the findings of this study, interpretations, and related literature based on gay male faculty members of color in higher education, school bullying, and adult bullying. This section will address implications in the areas of theoretical and practical implications for adult education. In addition to the implications, this section will provide recommendations for future research.

<div align="center">*Implications for Theory*</div>

The findings in this study have implications for theories in adult education and other fields of social and behavioral sciences including gender and sexuality studies, education, and school and workplace bullying. Scholars of color, feminist scholars, and queer scholars have found and indicated that conventional theories do not readily apply to their studies and their own life experiences (Harding, 2004; hooks, 1989, 2003; Johnson-Bailey, 2002; Maher & Tetreault, 2001; Misawa, 2007). Since the trend is for more diverse populations to attend and work in higher education in the United States (Keller, 2001; Rankin & Reason, 2005), it is important for scholars in adult education and other fields in social and behavioral sciences to develop theories and concepts that apply to

nonconventional populations. Developing theories and concepts that deal with positionality well help explain how people in different sociocultural positions interact with other people in higher education. This study may serve to instigate the creation of applicable theories and concepts for nonconventional populations in higher education so scholars and researchers could more effectively study diversity.

As pointed out in the literature section, there are not many writings on the intersection of race and sexual orientation in adult and higher education causing a lack of theoretical and conceptual literature on that intersection. It is very rare to see writings based on theories and concepts that deal with the combination of race and sexual orientation. For example, there have been very few empirical studies that were published in academic journals and books on gay populations of color in higher education.

What is clear from this study is that there is a lack of understanding of racist and homophobic bullying in general. Different authors describe the phenomenon of bullying based on racism and homophobia/heterosexism differently, but there are still very few studies on those topics. In fact, only one empirical study on homophobic bullying in secondary education has been conducted and it happened in Ireland (O'Higgins-Norman, 2008); only one empirical study on racial/ethnic at workplaces in the United States has likewise been conducted (Fox & Stallworth, 2005). Most writings on bullying seemed to be general and applicable to all populations. In addition to the lack of theory and concept of bullying of racial/ethnic and homophobic bullying, there is no study on the combination of racist and homophobic bullying. This study may be useful for scholars and researchers who are interested in understanding the lives of gay men of color in

academia in the United States in terms of how they are impacted by racist homophobic bullying.

This study also revealed there is a lack of connection among different fields who often share similar theories and concepts to describe similar phenomena. Adult education and other disciplines in social and behavioral sciences have developed and utilized theories and concepts on identity development, violence, and power dynamics for bullying, but these theories and concepts have not accounted for an intersectional or interdisciplinary way of connecting similar kinds of theories and concepts together to draw a larger picture of the phenomenon and provide a better understanding of it. This study has utilized theories and concepts from different disciplines to frame the research topic of understanding gay male faculty members of color's experiences with bullying in higher education, so this study may be a helpful start for scholars and researchers wishing to initiate the making of connections across disciplinary fields in academia.

Implications for Practice

In conjunction with the theoretical implications, four implications for practice are derived from this study. This study provides evidence of the need to implement some ideal components of adult education and continuing professional education in higher education. Firstly, adult educators must create more democratic, inclusive and safer environments for adults in higher education (Johnson-Bailey & Lee, 2005; Sissel & Sheared, 2001; Tisdell, 1995). Adult educators are assumed to conduct themselves differently from children (Apps, 1991). However, childhood behaviors continue to pronounce themselves even in adulthood, behaviors such as bullying. Researchers and scholars in bullying have pointed out that one of the conventional assumptions has been

that bullying is relegated to children (Smith & Sharp, 1994). This study and other studies and writing about bullying, however, show that bullying also appears in adults' lives at workplace and in academic settings (Field, 1996; Lines, 2008; Middelton-Moz & Zawadski, 2002). Adult educators may want to conduct professional development on the issues of bullying and set up some ground rules with their adult students so everyone in class that go beyond the usual syllabus, allowing students to know what the adult educators are expecting from their adult students. Treating people with respect becomes a key issue in higher education and the adult education classroom. It is imperative for adult educators to spend time discussing what are ethical and appropriate behaviors in class in order to create a more democratic, inclusive and safer learning environment for adults. This study may be a good point of reference for adult educators conducting and addressing bullying in adulthood.

Secondly, adult educators must also focus on teaching diversity and multiculturalism less monolithically by acknowledging that adults often hold combinations of different intersecting identities. Particularly important is that they address the intersection of race and sexual orientation when they teach about diverse populations and practice social justice. In conventional education, race and sexual orientation are rarely treated together (McCready & Kumashiro, 2006; Misawa, 2009). This study indicated that gay male faculty members of color were bullied by their White and heterosexual administrators, colleagues, and students. So, it is imperative for adult educators to create a series of courses and workshops on social justice and bullying in terms of the intersectionality of race, sexual orientation, and other sociocultural identities.

Thirdly, it is crucial for adult educators to examine power dynamics not only from the theoretical perspectives of sociocultural identities, such as race, sexual orientation, and gender but also from the practical perspectives of power dynamics and how each individual interacts with others with at least one classroom session where they address positionality. In such a session, adult educators could talk about how different identities, such as race, sexual orientation, and gender, influence the learning process. Also, what adult educators could utilize their own classroom as a lab for examining power dynamics, motivated by a similar study conducted by Johnson-Bailey and Cervero (1998). There are many opportunities for adult educators to conduct research in practice.

Lastly, adult educators must consider how power dynamics and positionality are in play throughout their adult students' lives, which enables bullying to likewise appear at any time in their students' lives. Adult educators can initiate and develop support groups and community projects that deal with issues of power dynamics, positionality, and bullying in lifelong education for adults.

Recommendations for Future Research

Based on an extensive review of the literature, this study is one of the first to explore the lives of gay male faculty members of color in higher education in terms of their experiences with bullying in academia. As such, this study provides a beginning point for more through empirical research on adult bullying in higher education. A future study might look more deeply at how bullying is experienced by people who are non-heterosexual faculty members of color in higher education. The participants of this study were faculty members of color who openly identified themselves as gay in higher education. Eight recommendations are made for future research.

The first recommendation is that this study should be replicated in an effort to examine more diverse populations and intersections. This study focused on gay male faculty members of color in higher education in terms of their experiences of bullying. Future studies could examine the experiences of lesbian faculty members' experiences with racist and homophobic bullying, or lesbian faculty members of color's experience with bullying in terms of race, gender, and sexual orientation.

The second recommendation is that future studies with similar aim could consider the relative ranks of participants in higher education more closely. In this study, there were adjunct professors, assistant professors, associate professors, full professors, and university professors. Different ranks have different career responsibilities. So, examining their experiences with bullying and how those experiences differ by rank would expand a new area of research into bullying in higher education.

The third recommendation is that participants could be students instead of faculty members for future studies, and the study could examine the lives of gay male students of color in higher education in terms of their experiences with bullying. Since this study examined the lives of gay male faculty members of color, it would be interesting to study the experiences of gay male students of color's experiences of bullying in higher education.

Another variation for this study, which would be a fourth recommendation, if for future studies could focus on the differences between locations of institutions. It was challenging to find a study population for this research, but it would be more focused if study populations were from the same region or state. From data analysis, the experiences

of the faculty members working in the Northeast, Midwest, and West were more positive than the experiences of the faculty members working in the South.

In a similar way and as a fifth recommendation, this study also contained samples from both public and private universities which may have very different approaches to dealing with problems such as adult bullying in higher education. Future studies could focus on the types of institutions and their separate rules and regulations. This would focus future researchers in a particular setting.

Additionally, the sample could be varied, by examining participants who worked in cross disciplinary settings, as a six recommendation. Findings in this study identified that some disciplines were more hostile than other disciplines. For example, the participants from nursing experienced more sexist bullying than homophobic bullying because the field of nursing is traditionally a female profession where consists of more White females than any other demographic. The culture and demographic composition may affect the phenomenon of bullying across the disciplines in higher education.

Since the current study focused on victimization of adult bullying based on racism and homophobia in higher education, future studies could focus on bullies in higher education rather than the victims of bullying. It might be difficult to identify such populations, however, but such people might be found working in higher education. Studying such populations would break new ground.

As a final and eighth recommendation, future research could be more focused on this topic by conducting a case study. This study was a narrative study that analyzed nineteen participants' life stories in higher education, seeking to understand the life experiences of the participating nineteen gay male faculty members of color in higher

education in terms of their experiences with bullying. Literature on bullying in the disciplines of human resources and workforce education had focused on cases (e.g., Brodsky, 1976; Randall, 1997) and documented various workplace incidents like disputes among workers and the process of terminating workers in specific companies. Westhues (1998) has also looked at particular kinds of individuals in certain university settings in studying mobbing in higher education with particular attention paid to describing the termination process of one professor. Each case study would significantly contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon of bullying in adulthood.

Chapter Summary

This chapter began by presenting a brief overview of purpose, research questions, the methodology and findings for this study on the experiences of the nineteen gay male faculty members of color in higher education who related their narratives concerning racist and homophobic bullying. Three conclusions were discussed in relation to the relevant literature in this area. These conclusions were: 1) The bullying of gay male faculty members of color in academia was prevalent and practiced by White and/or heterosexual males and females while simultaneously being cloaked in civility, subjectively applied rules and policies and enabled by a cooperatively complicit system; 2) Bullying had a negative cumulative impact on gay male faculty members of color necessitating them to live in defense of their psychological well-being and academic careers; and 3) The gay male faculty members of color separately and in isolation from other gay male faculty members of color constructed support networks and developed self-help mechanisms as a way to insure their survival in academia.

This chapter then looked at theoretical and practical implications from these conclusions for adult and higher education. The implications included the sense that adult educators must develop theories and concepts of power dynamics from nonconventional adult students as well as from those now based on conventional students, and that adult educators must understand the dynamics of bullying in order to create more democratic, inclusive, and safer environments in higher education for adult learners.

Finally, eight recommendations for future research were provided for the field of adult education. It is important that more research be conducted in this area in order for enhanced future understanding of the phenomena of racist and homophobic bullying in adulthood. More empirical evidence is needed to understand the complexity of racist and homophobic bullying and other types of bullying in adulthood in higher education.

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APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

I, _____, agree to participate in a research study titled "ADULT BULLYING IN ACADEMIA: A NARRATIVE CASE STUDY ABOUT GAY MEN OF COLOR IN HIGHER EDUCATION" conducted by Mitsunori Misawa from the Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy at the University of Georgia (706-227-4267) under the direction of Dr. Ronald M. Cervero, Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy, University of Georgia (706-542-2221). I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can refuse to participate or stop taking part without giving any reason, and without penalty. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The reason for this study is to understand how adult bullying impacts the academic lives of gay men of color in higher education. If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:
1)   Answer questions about my demographic information which will take 10 minutes
2)   Talk about my life experiences of being bullied as a gay man of color which will last 25 minutes
3)   Answer questions about my sociocultural identities that will take 20 minutes
4)   Have conversations with the researcher while it is recorded
5)   Respond to calls from the researcher asking to clarify information
6)   Provide strictly confidential information about myself
7)   Participate in follow-up interviews at later times

The benefits for me are to understand my academic life better by reflecting and sharing my experiences and to be emancipated by speaking out about my experiences.

No risk or hazard currently exists, or is foreseeable in this study. In other words, my participation in this study will involve no known direct or indirect detriment, physical or otherwise, to my well-being. Since all information given by me is voluntary, there will be no foreseeable emotional discomfort during the interviews.

No information of any identifying nature that is obtained through this interview will be disclosed in any way. Any identifying information obtained in this study will be kept strictly confidential. Voice recordings of each individual interview and a transcript of the interview will be stored securely by the principal investigator, Mitsunori Misawa. All materials will be kept indefinitely by the principal investigator. Any results of this study that are published will not identify the voluntary participants in any way.

The researcher will answer any further questions about the research now or during the course of the project.

I understand that by my signature on this form I am agreeing to take part in this research project, and I understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form for my records.

Mitsunori Misawa_____   _____   _____
Name of Researcher   Signature   Date
Telephone: (706)227-4267
Email: mmisawa@uga.edu

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Signature   Date
Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.
Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 612 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

APPENDIX B

THE DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SHEET

Demographic Information Sheet: Professor

Name: _____

Preferred Pseudonym: _____

With what racial group do you identify? (If you are of a multi-racial background, mark all that apply).

□ African American/Black   □ Asian/Pacific Islander   □ Middle Eastern

□ Native American   □ Chicano/Latino/Hispanic   □ White/Caucasian

□ Other (Please specify)

How would you describe your ethnic background (if it is applicable)?

_____

What degree of openness of your sexual orientation do you think it is on campus?

□ Not open	□ Open with a few trusted people	□ Open with many people	□ Open with everyone

Where were you born?   _____

What month were you born?   _____

What year were you born?   _____

What is your position?

□ University Professor/ Institute Professor   □ Distinguished Professor   □ Professor or Full Professor

□ Associate Professor   □ Assistant Professor   □ Adjunct Professor/ Instructor/ Lecturer

□ Other (Please specify):

Educational Background (Degree, Year and Major):

Degree	Major and Minor	Year of Completion
Associate's		
Bachelor's		
Master's		
Specialist's		
Doctoral		
Other (Please specify)		

APPENDIX C

THE INTERVIEW GUIDE

THE INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. On a scale of 1-10 (with 10 being the highest), describe your general level of satisfaction with your experience in higher education.

2. How has the higher education environment accommodated, welcomed, or excluded you?

3. Tell me about minor inconveniences that you have encountered that you feel might be connected to your race and/or sexual orientation.

4. Tell me about the most negative experience that you have had in academia. In what way do you think your race and/or sexual orientation was a factor in this situation?

5. How have you judged or thought about these experiences you just mentioned over time?

6. Tell me about other situations in higher education that you have seen or heard of that involved bullying.

7. Tell me about an experience in your career which made you feel happy/valued/highly regarded in terms of being a gay male professor of color.

8. Tell me about an experience in your career which made you feel unhappy/angry/humiliated/devalued/disregarded in terms of being a gay male professor of color.

    a. How does this connect to your race and sexual orientation?

        i. Tell me about any classroom dynamics that you think you experienced differently because of your race and sexual orientation.

            1. As a Student

            2. As a Faculty member

9. How did you manage the situation that you just described?

        i. What did you do to cope with the situation?

        ii. Had it happened to you before?

        iii. Did anyone help you?

        iv. How did you overcome the situation?

        v. Who were the principal agents involved?

        vi. How do you feel about the situation now?

        vii. What would you do differently if you found yourself in this situation again?

APPENDIX D

MOST COMMON MALE FIRST NAMES IN THE U.S. CENSUS 2000

Most Common Male First Names in the U.S. Census 2000

1. Anthony, Andrew, Arthur, Albert, Adam, Aaron, Alan, Antonio, Allen, Alfred, Alexander, Alex, Alvin,
2. Brian, Benjamin, Bruce, Brandon, Billy, Bobby, Bryan, Bradley, Barry, Bernard, Bill, Brent,
3. Charles, Christopher, Carl, Carlos, Craig, Clarence, Chris, Curtis, Chad, Clifford, Calvin, Corey, Clyde, Charlie,
4. David, Daniel, Donald, Dennis, Douglas, Danny, dale, Don, Derek, Darrell, Dean, Derrick, Dan, Dustin,
5. Edward, Eric, Eugene, Ernest, Earl, Edwin, Eddie,
6. Frank, Fred, Francis, Frederick, Francisco, Floyd,
7. George, Gary, Gregory, Gerald, Glenn, Gordon, Greg, Glen, Gilbert, Gene,
8. Harold, Henry, Harry, Howard, Herbert, Herman, Hector,
9. I
10. James, John, Joseph, Jason, Jose, Jeffrey, Joshua, Jerry, Joe, Juan, Jack, Jonathan, Justin,, Jeremy, Jesse, Johnny, Jimmy, Jeffry, Jeff, Jacob, Jesus, Joel, Jay, Jim, Jon, Jerome, Jorge,
11. Kenneth, Kevin, Keith, Kyle,
12. Larry, Lawrence, Louis, Luis, Leonard, Lee, Leroy, Lloyd, Leon, Leo, Lewis, Lester,
13. Michael, Mark, Matthew, Martin, Mike, Manuel, Marvin, Melvin, Mario, Marcus, Michael, Miguel, Maurice,
14. Nicholas, Nathan, Norman,
15. Oscar,
16. Paul, Patrick, Peter, Phillip, Philip, Pedro,
17. Q
18. Robert, Richard, Ronald, Raymond, Ryan, Roger, Ralph, Roy, Randy, Russell, Rodney, , Ray, Ricky, Randall, Ronnie, Roberto, Ricardo, Rick, Ramon,
19. Steven, Scott, Stephen, Samuel, Steve, Shawn, Sean, Stanley, Shane, Sam,
20. Thomas, Timothy, Terry, Todd, Tony, Travis, Tory, Theodore, Tom, Tommy, Tim, Tyler,
21. U
22. Victor, Vincent, Vernon,
23. William, Walter, Willie, Wayne, Warren, Wesley,
24. X
25. Y
26. Zachary

APPENDIX E

MOST COMMON SURNAMES IN THE U.S. CENSUS 2000

Most Common Surnames in the U.S. Census 2000

1. Anderson, Allen, Armstrong, Adams, Alexander, Alvarez,
2. Brown, Berry, Baker, Bell, Bailey, Brooks, Bennett, Butler, Barnes, Bryant, Burns
3. Carter, Collins, Campbell, Clark, Cox, Cook, Cooper, Cruz, Coleman, Cole, Chavez, Castillo, Crawford,
4. Davis, Diaz
5. Edwards, Evans, Ellis,
6. Ford, Fox, Flores, Foster, Fisher, Freeman
7. Green, Gomez, Gary, Gutierrez, Graham, Gonzales, Griffin, Gibson,
8. Harris, Howard, Hall, Hughes, Henderson, Hamilton, Hayes, Harrison, Henry,
9. Ingram
10. Jones, Johnson, James, Jenkins, Jordan, Jimenez
11. King, Kelly, Kim, Kennedy
12. Lewis, Lee, Lopez, Long, Lee,
13. Mitchell, Miller, Martinez, Martin, Moore, Morris, Morgan, Myers, Morales, Murray, Marshall, McDonald, Mendoza, Mason,
14. Nelson,
15. Ortiz, Owens, Olson
16. Parker, Perez, Phillips, Price, Powell, Perry, Patterson, Porter,
17. Q
18. Rodriguez, Roberts, Rivera, Reed, Richardson, Reyes, Ross, Russell, Reynolds, Ramos, Ruiz
19. Smith, Scott, Sanders, Sullivan, Simmons, Stevens, Snyder, Simpson, Shaw
20. Thompson, Taylor, Turner, Torres, Tucker
21. U
22. Vasquez
23. Williams, Walker, White, Wilson, Wright, Ward, Woods, Wallace, West, Wells, Webb, Washington
24. X
25. Young
26. Z

APPENDIX F

SAMPLE DATA SET

Sample Data Set

Interviews	Themes	Transcription Info	
Interview 5	inconveniences, sexuality, gender, positive experience with female students, no contact with male students	i05-257	the young women [female students] who are lesbian often seek me out to tell me that they are lesbian. I have had that happened several times. More than twice. More than three times. They, well, near the end of the quarter, or after the quarter has ended, and I've seen them in social situations, at a restaurant or somewhere in town, and they will be with their partner and they will come up and smile and hug me, and tell me how much they enjoyed the class and good to see me, and then they'll introduce me to their partner. And very proud to introduce me. And, sometimes brings tears to my eyes because they recognize me, it's like ah, they're horning me, just like offering me their respect and I'm offering my respect. I can feel the way they hug me that they are very pleased to. It's been so wonderful. It is been such deepening and moving experience sometime with these women. With several of them. I've gone out with them socially. You know, and seen them in other social situations with their partner. You know, we got some history together. Very very very very positive. With young men. It has not been that way. They never come out. They never say anything, they're very tentative. Even when I pass back papers, no one try to make eye contact, It's not there. They don't really want that. I think it is because of the school culture. I also think that they don't want their friends in a class to see any kind of exchange that could be misinterpretive in any way at all.
Interview 7	inconvenience, names, stereotypes, White majority,	i07-0085	One minor incident that I can remember is students, students have mistaken me for another Asian American male administrator on campus. And, called me his name, so. I think, what I think about it is just need more People of Color as faculty and stuff on this campus [because faculty and stuff] are mostly White. And the student body is mostly White as well. I don't know exactly what the ratio of students, I would have to sort of look at it. But I think it's about 80-85% White and 15% students of color. I think for the most part, it's been, I haven't experienced it personally any self prejudice or incidence. I think that the minor incident with being mistaken for other Asian American administrator would be the one.
Interview 7	names	i07-0422	I mean just the incidents that I talked about where you know I've been mistaken for other administrators. Ignorance, I think.