Faculty Workload and Productivity in an Era of Social Diversity

By Henry Lee Allen

Henry Lee Allen is professor of sociology at Wheaton College in Illinois. His research relates to the sociology of higher education. Working with Wolfram Research, he is devising a theory that examines connections between institutions, social networks, academic professions, and national policies. In 2016, he participated in a global forum, sponsored by the International Sociological Association in Vienna, Austria, that examined the causes and consequences of police shootings of unarmed African Americans.

Racial prejudice has unfortunately become an American tradition, which is uncritically handed down from generation to generation. The only remedies are enlightenment and education. This is a slow and painstaking process.
—Albert Einstein

Social turmoil is engulfing America. Think of the Occupy movement, white privilege and backlash, Black Lives Matter, Blue Lives Matter, and All Lives Matter. Our colleges are not immune. Think of student protests, race-based admissions, racist fraternity rituals, and same-race roommates. How does the academy cope? Has the level of expertise on racial and ethnic diversity increased throughout the disciplines? Probably not. Expertise rarely offers solutions for the superficialities of popular culture, ethnocentricity, and xenophobia. Nor does expertise carry over to faculty recruitment, retention, sponsorship, mentorship and development. Can the same generation create and resolve complex problems of diversity? Can it neutralize adversarial vested interests affecting diversity?

Student activists from diverse social backgrounds refuse to allow colleges and their faculties to ignore the nation’s racial inequalities.
Prior attempts to foster diversity and equality, they recognize, were ineffective or even corrupted. A troubled society, they fear, will bequeath a confusing, precarious future. These students experienced economic downturns, public disinvestment in higher education, limited job opportunities, and vacuous political leadership. They encountered or observed police shootings of unarmed persons. Hate speech, abusive encounters, hostile atmospheres, and racist incidents also fueled conflict. These students expect more from institutions espousing cultural competence, social intelligence, and merit.

All lives matter, they understand, but in different ways. Ethnic groups faced more segregation, corruption, and violence, and greater political indifference. Students seek innovative leaders who realize that neither legislation nor courts has obviated history. Voluntary immigrants have largely assimilated while equality of opportunity is a distant dream for involuntary immigrants facing more structural and interpersonal impediments. Disappointment increases for disaffected students; they demand greater faculty diversity and more sensitive administrators.

This essay examines the “diversity explosion” affecting higher education. It stresses current implications and future challenges for faculty work and the academic career. We must assess with rigor, evidence, and empathy issues related to diversity, especially the backlash associated with political conservatism, racial bias, academic freedom, civility and micro-aggressions. Practicing genuine compassion requires us to see life from other perspectives and to cultivate win-win outcomes—respecting the rights of those who disagree. We assess the struggles facing millennials in an era of increasing social diversity by following NEA’s call for education, awareness, and activism.

Genuine faculty diversity requires effective, culturally competent, social networks. Their absence breaches the trust relations facilitating authentic learning and mentoring for all. The statistical distribution of faculty, students, and administrators on a campus, or among departments, colors the ethos of any college. But mere tabulations of ethnic disparities many conceal systemic factors. These factors include:

- organizational access or demography;
- levels, type, and quality of expertise;
- resource distributions;
- intergenerational mechanisms;
- social networks, intelligence, and “capital;”
- informal social interactions or “weak ties;”
- generating adaptive systems;
- socialization processes;
- role and impact of mentors and sponsors;
- segregation indices;
- algorithmic complexity;
- historical or temporal sequences;
- political economy;
- levels of corruption;
- motives, interests, decisions, and cognitive capacities.

More important than visible physical traits or cultural behaviors are the learned values, implicit hierarchies, and socialized attitudes we ascribe to these traits. No person or group—within or outside the system of higher education in the United States—wants to be in a predicament where ignorant assumptions or foolish stereotypes devalues its humanity. How many stakeholders, one wonders, have completed a substantive course on racial and ethnic relations? And how many could pass an assessment of their competencies in this domain? No wonder Albert Einstein reminds us that a problem cannot be solved at the same level of awareness or consciousness or expertise in which it was created. A little knowledge can be dangerous for any neophyte.

**ETHNIC DIVERSITY**

Demographers believe the United States population is shifting from predominantly older, white groups of European ancestry to younger, more ethnically diverse cohorts. The numbers of Hispanics and Asians, and of biracial
and multiracial persons, are rapidly increasing. “The diversity explosion that the country is now experiencing will alter all aspects of society,” one demographer optimistically concludes, “in ways that can help the nation to prosper, make it more inclusive, and increase its global connectivity.” The 2010 census and the 2012 election, the demographer adds, “made it apparent that the United States is on the cusp of great change—toward a new national demographic transformation in the twenty-first century.”

But these changes are producing turbulence. Life chances for different age cohorts and ethnic groups—involving schooling, employment, and residence—are increasingly unequal. Many African Americans, for example, remain segregated in public schools, while whites gravitate to private schools. Compounding the turbulence: media distortions of the consequences of demographic change create conflicts and confusion. The real shock is that more pathological outcomes have not transpired.

The fate of colleges and universities is linked to the societies in which they reside. The ethnic tapestry of a society matters; so does the pattern of social inequality. We may distinguish between ethnic groups in America by their dates of voluntary or involuntary arrival. Life changes occur according to the timing of their sojourn. Different groups with different histories, locations, and trajectories in the political economy show diverse patterns of adaptation, intergroup conflict, stereotypes, institutional absorption, and identity. So do the range of opportunities and hostilities, violence, and structured inequalities. Groups also differ in contingencies, the probability of acceptance, social capital, and organizational networks.

Engaging diversity adds to the complexities inherent in postsecondary institutions. Some campuses exhibit open and tolerant racial and ethnic relations. Other more rigid, inflexible, or reactionary colleges tacitly engage in conventional forms of social reproduction by encouraging assimilation via their curricula, extracurricular activities, and “hidden curriculum.” Most campuses are found between these extremes. Inability to address racial matters can characterize stakeholders on such campuses, thereby fueling conflict.

ETHNIC DIVERSITY, INSTITUTIONS, AND THE ACADEMIC PROFESSIONS
Research on social diversity in higher education lacks coherence and is incomplete. Qualitative research provides idiographic measurement, establishing contextual factors. Quantitative studies identify structures, processes, and outcomes, including the traits of social agents. Conceptualizing a standardized set of variables from these studies may be a necessary first step. But that step does not address the deep pains associated with racism, ethnocentrism, and discrimination. Problems associated with diversity needed decisive actions and effective programs decades ago.

Descriptive accounts address the emotions and hurts of faculty, students, and administrators. Statistical comparisons complement these descriptions. Some studies integrate qualitative and quantitative research, though few use social network analysis to decipher intergroup and intragroup relations. Most literature about race and ethnic relations in the academy addresses these themes:

- intergroup dialogue or communication about interpersonal misunderstandings or conflicts;
- codifying social experiences or personal reflections;
- encouraging civility, cooperation, and tolerance;
- increasing cultural awareness and competencies;
- policies or managerial approaches to address diversity;
- institutional cultures, proclivities, and transformations;
- classroom and curricular issues;
- pipeline or recruitment mechanisms;
- faculty diversity and retention;
- mentorship and sponsorship networks;
• diversity in scientific fields;¹⁴¹
• resolving aggression, racism, xenophobia, and ethnocentrism;²⁴²
• forging ethnic identities or solidarity;³⁴³
• white privilege and its pathologies;⁴⁴⁴
• social scientific analyses;⁴⁵⁵
• searches for meaning and human understanding.⁴⁶⁶

THE FACULTY RECRUITMENT PIPELINE
The historic barriers faced by racial and ethnic groups resulted in varied social and institutional trajectories.⁴⁷⁷ Here are some examples of differences:⁴⁸⁸

• Rates of educational attainment vary for racial and ethnic groups, despite progress in high school graduation rates. Existing data does not account for immigration or for geographical and intergenerational mobility.
• The percentage distributions of school-age children ages 5 to 17 in 2013 were: white, 53 percent; black, 14 percent; Hispanic, 24 percent, and Asian, five percent. Biracial or mixed ancestry students accounted for four percent of all students. In that year, 39 percent of African American children, 30 percent of Hispanic children, and ten percent of white or Asian/Pacific Islander children under 18 years of age lived in poverty.
• The percentage distributions of students enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools were: white, 51 percent; Hispanic, 24 percent; black, 16 percent, and Asian/Pacific Islander, five percent.
• Achievement levels differ among racial and ethnic groups, and gaps between groups at grade 12 have widened since 1992.
• Many studies document differences in school attendance, behavior, and dropout rates; math scores; Advanced Placement credit, and safety measures.
• Disparities exist in wealth per capita, teacher quality, school facilities, and correlated items. We lack measures of the quality of school climate including social networks and trust relations.⁴⁹⁹

• Ethnic differences persisted in postsecondary enrollments (full- or part-time), loans acquired, and grant awards.
• In 2013, the six-year college graduation rates were: 71 percent for Asian students, 68 percent for biracial and mixed-ancestry students, and 41 percent for American Indian/Alaska Native students and for blacks.
• In 2012–13, the percentage of students earning bachelor’s degrees in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) subjects varied by ethnicity: Asian, 30 percent; black, 11 percent; Hispanic, 14 percent; American Indian/Alaskan Native, 14 percent, and Pacific Islander, 15 percent.
• In 2013, the median annual earnings of graduates with a bachelor’s or higher degree, ages 25–34, were: Asian, $59,000; white, $50,000; Hispanic, $45,800, and black, $44,000.

We can deduce the implications of this data for access to higher education and the academic professions. The data, reflecting conditions after the civil rights and affirmative action eras, and after the Great Recession, shows continued inequality of opportunity among racial and ethnic groups. Pipeline data is comparatively easy to publish, while data on effective solutions or policies for ethnic disparities is nearly absent. Most statistical tabulations do not state that the reported variance among ethnic groups is not random. Not all groups encountered and battled equally dehumanizing atrocities across centuries.⁵⁰⁰ Effective remedies or interventions must be at least proportionate to the degree and type of injury. Pipelines, affordability, affirmative action, and graduate education are implicated when faculty diversity is the desired outcome.⁵¹¹

THE ACADEMIC CAREER
In Fall 2013, according to the National Center for Education Statistics, “there were 1.5 million faculty in degree-granting postsecondary institutions: 51 percent were full-time and 49 percent were part-time.” In that year,
Of all full-time faculty in degree-granting postsecondary institutions: 79 percent were White (43 percent were White males and 35 percent were White females), 6 percent were Black, 5 percent were Hispanic, and 10 percent were Asian/Pacific Islander. Making up less than 1 percent each were full-time faculty who were American Indian/Alaskan Native and of Two or more races. Among full-time professors, 84 percent were White (58 percent were White males and 26 percent were White females), 4 percent were Black, 3 percent were Hispanic, and 9 percent were Asian/Pacific Islander. Making up less than 1 percent each were professors who were American Indian/Alaskan Native and of Two or more races.

These data demonstrate a gap between the diversity of student bodies and their faculties at many institutions. A structural lag in recruitment exists. Some other implications: The majority of students in postsecondary colleges and university are therefore unlikely to encounter diverse faculty, save for a few disciplines. The skew in the disciplinary, institutional, and regional distributions of diverse faculty may minimize their educational impact on students. Given the pipeline data and the existence of structural and financial barriers, it will be a long time before achieving statistical parity with the racial and ethnic distributions in the general population. Last, it will take enormous national and institutional commitments to change this picture—pledges that appear unlikely!

Table 1 shows the gap between the number of white faculty and those from other racial and ethnic groups. American Indians and blacks have a far longer presence in the United States, but the number of black (43,118) and Hispanic faculty (33,217) combined (76,335) was only 5,296 more than the total for Asian faculty alone (71,039) in 2013. The growth of academic fields, opportunity structures, graduate training, institutional recruitment, and mentorship affect faculty presence. So does the power of social networks.

Table 2 reveals the dominance of whites at the full professor rank, where professional influence contributes to governance, curriculum, and recruitment. A social network analysis would reveal how and why the attitudes, acumen, and behaviors of these faculty members control or influence the implementation of diversity in

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**Table 1. Full-time Faculty in Degree-Granting Postsecondary Institutions, by Race and Ethnicity, 2009, 2011, and 2013**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>551,230</td>
<td>564,218</td>
<td>575,491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>39,706</td>
<td>41,662</td>
<td>43,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>28,022</td>
<td>31,335</td>
<td>33,217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>66,469</td>
<td>71,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islander</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1,373</td>
<td>1,208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>3,458</td>
<td>3,534</td>
<td>3,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more races</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4,122</td>
<td>5,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown race/ethnicity</td>
<td>16,059</td>
<td>16,999</td>
<td>20,013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-resident alien</td>
<td>31,197</td>
<td>33,402</td>
<td>38,407</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

appointments. The perspective of full professors about faculty diversity can be determinative.

Tables 3 and 4 show gender disparities in the ethnic distribution of male and female professors. Among whites, the increase for men (779) is much less than for women (9,774) between 2011 and 2013. Black female professors were more numerous than males in 2011 (23,026 vs. 18,636) and in 2013 (24,283 vs. 18,905). Male faculty with a Pacific Islander heritage decreased from 621 in 2011 to 591 in 2013. Whites disproportionately dominate college faculties, with Asian faculty ascendant.

A 2016 study shows how the academic appointment structure of higher education shifted toward contingent labor just when women and minorities attained some access. Tenure-track jobs with good salaries, benefits, and professional development opportunities are becoming scarce. Institutional location and academic discipline or field, notes the study, acutely affects their progress. Racial and ethnic minorities seem destined to be exiled into the void of contingent labor. Focusing on the rate of increasing faculty diversity, instead of absolute numbers, provides a more optimistic conclusion.

While the headcount number of white faculty increased by 43.3% between 1993–2013, the numbers of Asian-American and URM (under-represented minorities) faculty grew by 170.5% and 142.8% respectively—three times the rate of growth in white faculty. Moreover, among white faculty, the proportionate presence of women increased from 38.4% to 48.6%, suggesting that women are destined over the next decade—if current trends continue—to become the majority of white faculty. The reversal of fortunes of white versus nonwhite faculty is illustrated most dramatically when we focus on the growth of faculty in tenured and tenure-track appointments. The absolute number of white faculty—men and women combined—on tenured appointments actually declined slightly from ca. 242,700 to 238,500, while the number of tenure-track appointments declined during that period from 90,300 to 82,400—a negative growth rate.

Here are some further observations:

- Asian-American and foreign-born and educated nonresident aliens (NRA) are disproportionately located at research universities.

### Table 2. Full-time Full Professors in Degree-Granting Postsecondary Institutions, by Race and Ethnicity, 2009, 2011, and 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>149,553</td>
<td>150,364</td>
<td>148,577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>6,086</td>
<td>6,517</td>
<td>6,665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>4,683</td>
<td>5,180</td>
<td>5,604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>14,425</td>
<td>15,247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islander</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two or more races</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown race/ethnicity</td>
<td>1,923</td>
<td>2,202</td>
<td>2,323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-resident alien</td>
<td>1,460</td>
<td>1,384</td>
<td>1,519</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of Asian-American faculty in tenured and tenure-track appointments more than doubled between 1993 and 2013. Foreign-born and educated NRAs made the greatest inroads among any racial or ethnic subgroup into tenured and tenure-track appointments.

- The proportion of whites among all full-time faculty members declined from 84.1 percent to 73.2 percent between 1993 and 2013.
- During the same period, Asian-American faculty grew from 4.7 percent to 8.6 percent. Black and Latino URM faculty grew from 8.2 percent to 11.1 percent.
The authors acknowledge complications and policy concerns involved with implementing genuine faculty diversity. Given the absolute numerical dominance of white faculty, however, as NCES data demonstrates, it will take a very long time for these percentage increases to create substantial diversity in the academy for most groups. Nor do the challenges racial and ethnic minorities face in many local elementary and secondary schools give rise to optimism.

Legal considerations can affect diversity in postsecondary education. A study of 338 non-profit four-year institutions concludes:56
- The most widely used diversity strategies—such as targeted recruitment and outreach to high school students, to community college transfers, and to low income/first generation students—receive the least attention.
- Institutions that consider race in admissions decisions use other diversity strategies more often. They find these strategies more effective than do institutions using race-neutral strategies alone.
- The 2016 Fisher Supreme Court decision reaffirmed that public universities, such as the University of Texas, to use race as a factor in admissions decision under strict criteria. The reactions to this decision are evolving, as campuses seek research about the educational impact of diversity, optimal conditions for a critical mass of diverse students, and the interaction between diversity and admissions strategies.57

By themselves, court-mandated remedies cannot fully rectify race and ethnic inequalities. But they have a role to play.58

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ACADEMIC CAREER

The quagmire of race and ethnic relations can often be difficult for any faculty member to navigate, especially where unresolved tensions boil over and civility or trust is diminished. Tenure concerns are inescapable, since productivity is expected regardless of the challenges related to diversity.59 A report, issued in 2000, on the impact of diversity within college classrooms found:
- Students did not feel that curricular diversity in itself was essential. But, they added, combining student interaction, curricular diversity, and structural diversity created creative educational possibilities.60
- Faculty members believed that racially and ethnically diverse classes enriched the educational experience of white students.61
- The existing scholarship consistently shows that racial and ethnic diversity positively affects the educational outcomes and experiences of college students.62
- A gap exists between institutional aspirations regarding diversity and the achievement of salutary results on many campuses.63

The potential for genuine diversity also differs according to the structures of academic disciplines and the proclivities of academic departments. In 2010, leading scientists and engineers urged steps to increase the participation of underrepresented minorities in scientific disciplines, from pre-school to graduate school.64 Their report considered recruitment, retention, mentoring, affordability, and institutional adaptation paramount to achieving this goal.65 But the evolution of the “market university” can also influence the professional climate faced by racial and ethnic minorities.

Professors can be major conduits to a more diverse future for colleges and universities.66 Faculty workload and productivity must adjust to the diversity explosion currently transforming higher education and society. How can receptive faculty thrive in this era? Here are some suggestions:
- Explore diversity. Use social and emotional intelligence to understand and empathize with this new generation. Recall the best lessons of an excellent general education, even if you disagree with the content and methods of those who are impatient with the legacy of the past and its toxic consequences.
Feel the pains and aspirations of others who were socialized along different paths.

- With patience and humility, expose the origins of political and social beliefs and the conditions under which these ideas are likely to emerge. Analyze the values, presuppositions, and empirical evidence related to diversity and its discontents. Admit ignorance or experience, if necessary, and learn about the dynamics of diversity in this digital age.
- Faculty do not live in a vacuum. So converse with colleagues from diverse ethnic backgrounds. We all learn from others, whether the communications are constructive, neutral, or unhealthy. Separate substance from posturing and polemics by engaging the scholarly literature.

Let us seize the intellectual initiative as this new Diversity Age unfolds in the United States.67

CONCLUSION

Decades ago Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. warned Americans to avoid the traps of “moralistic ignorance and conscientious stupidity” as we move toward a more diverse future. Students often see these maladies in police actions, politics, media depictions, and interpersonal behaviors. Racial corruption, racial terrorism, and benign popular ignorance impede the solidarity and collective conscience of an educated citizenry. Many scholars have dedicated their lives and careers toward understanding and resolving conflicts among racial and ethnic groups in this nation. But the academic community neglected or ignored much of that research—to its detriment.

Faculty members must provide more informed leadership on the issues of social diversity. NEA’s aegis provides a platform for sustained effort, regardless of academic specialization. But absent faculty expertise, experience, and civility, the Lucifer Effect—where good people and groups use their power to dehumanize, degrade, or exclude others—is likely.68

Leaders of 21st century faculty unions must instill greater awareness of the issues surrounding diversity among members of their academic communities. They must vigorously contest dysfunctional uses of power, especially where abuse and incivility generate unjustified and unsympathetic dominance. The academy must engage acts that challenge human decency.69 Of course, productivity is essential to any social spaces in higher education. Effective social action and cooperation are sorely needed to inspire future generations. May NEA lead the way!

NOTES

I remain forever grateful to Dr. Edgar G. Epps of the University of Chicago for instructing me about race and ethnic relations in two pioneering graduate courses in the early 1980s. I am also indebted to Dr. Harold S. Wechsler for mentoring my work and career in the sociology of higher education for decades. I also appreciate conversations with William Julius Wilson, St. Clair Drake, Horace Cayton Jr., and Elijah Anderson. Despite enormous disappointments in popular culture, politics, and law, I have engaged this field of study with hope.

1 Sagan, 1997, 43.
2 Calaprice, 276.
3 For most sociologists “race” refers to physical or phenotypic differences between persons or groups, while “ethnicity” refers to cultural and behavioral distinctions. Both concepts identify socially defined or constructed notions, not objective or definitive categories. Sociologists use the term “minority” to designate persons or groups lacking relative power, prestige, wealth, and access to social rewards. The term “majority” or “dominant” designates the group with the most power, prestige, wealth, and access. The term “white” usually denotes those identifying with the dominant groups in the United States. “White privilege” characterizes the superior resources or opportunities favoring dominant groups. Conversely, the terms “black” or “African American” indicate self-identification with racial or ethnic minorities. On “white privilege,” see Katznelson, 2005. Sagan’s remarks suggest the dubious history and nomenclature cited in popular culture and associated scholarly thinking.
4 Uslaner, 2008, 27.
5 On social intelligence, see Goleman, 2006.
7 Padgett and Powell, 2012; Carroll and Hannan, 2000.
8 Daley, 2010; Borgotti, Mehra, Brass, and Lablanca 2009.
Not all disciplines generate ideas germane to social diversity. Also, many disciplines lack permeable boundaries enabling substantive engagement with diversity and its discontents.

For a classic rendition of hopeful prospects and techniques, see Ackoff, 1974.

Forms and frequencies of social diversity can be encountered and analyzed at many different levels of thought (Blalock, 1990; Feagin, 1993). The media can arouse an audience to emotional aggression apart from cognitive reflexivity. At the popular level, the immediate feelings and interactions of proponents and antagonists can be acknowledged, for good or ill. At the humanistic level, one can dissect feelings and contrast experiences with an established canon. At the scientific level any proscriptions or prescriptions must follow examination of the overt and covert conditions generating social diversities and inequalities.


This discussion uses the racial and ethnic descriptions devised by the National Center on Education Statistics, 2016.
Espinosa, Gaertner, and Orfield, 2015.

Saenz and Ponjuan, 2016, show how an acceptable diversity recruitment program can target a minority group in Texas after the Supreme Court’s Fisher decision.

There are no guarantees of success on the path to diversity. As the nation tries to forget its past legacy of slavery, indentured servitude, contract labor, and segregation, the residue from those incidents now creates a bubbling cauldron.

Tierney, 1999.


Ibid., 4.

Ibid., 3.

Ibid., 38.


Ibid., 113-149. Recommendations pertained to all levels of government and education.

We cannot sanitize history as we grapple with current problems and construct a more beneficial future.


Skubikowski, Wright, and Graf, 2009.

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