



Identifying Talent

The Faculty

Diversity in leadership is essential for building institutional capacity for diversity. Yet it remains one of the least successful areas, even as it becomes an increasingly urgent issue facing college campuses. Change has certainly occurred, but the question is whether the changes are sufficient.

This chapter addresses faculty diversity, especially in race/ethnicity and gender, because of their significance and because of the challenges associated with them that are reflected in the literature. These challenges are exacerbated by a limited educational pipeline and by a legal climate that has suggested that interrupting the usual is tantamount to reverse discrimination. The chapter will summarize the literature and some key research, present some mini–case studies that highlight the complexity of the hiring process and the need for careful attention to it, and suggest some strategies that can be helpful. While focusing on faculty, the themes and conclusions presented here apply to administrative hiring and retention as well.

The Rationale for Faculty Diversity

Existing research shows that greater clarity is needed about the rationale for diversifying the faculty. On many campuses and in much of the literature, a direct link is made between the increasing racial and ethnic diversity of the student body and the need for similarly diversifying the faculty. This link needs more development if it is to be compelling. At the same time, some of the limits of this connection must be acknowledged. Further, on other campuses, the kinds of diversity being targeted have been broadened to be all-inclusive. This undifferentiated approach to hiring can render diversity efforts meaningless, since individuals bring many forms of diversity to the institution. It is critically important, therefore, to

clarify the role faculty play for higher education, why faculty are hired, and, in particular, why having a diverse faculty is significant.

For years, the *primary* rationale for diversifying the faculty that has been stated in the literature is the increasing racial and ethnic diversity of the student body. Indeed, faculty diversity is very important to students and student success. As the student body has grown more diverse, students have increasingly sought out faculty from similar backgrounds for advising and mentoring. Moreover, the presence of visible models of faculty from diverse backgrounds creates images of possibility in terms of career. In addition, the more diverse the faculty, the more opportunities are created for seeing faculty as individuals and making them less vulnerable to being stereotyped.

Though the significance of having a diverse faculty for the benefit of students cannot be underestimated, the reasons are often stated in terms that are open to some criticism and require some clarification. First of all, while students from diverse backgrounds do seek out faculty from similar backgrounds to a significant degree, it is always important to note that the correspondence between faculty and student identity is not one to one. That is, pairing students with a faculty member of one similar background may not be sufficient to ensure effective advising or mentoring. This is in part because, as I have shown in chapter 2, individuals bring many characteristics to their identity on which a student and faculty member may make a connection and other characteristics on which they may not. The mixed results on this question in the literature on mentoring may be explained by the multidimensionality of identity.

In addition, on most campuses, in most departments, it is not a matter of whether the diversity must match the diversity of students. Rather, it is a matter of the *absence* of significant diversity. In many departments, it is not unusual to have no faculty of color, let alone an underrepresented-minority faculty member. There may be no women, or only White women. The data are clear that there are significant numbers of students who have never been taught by a URM faculty member. The numbers of White women faculty have increased significantly; however, there are still many students who have never studied with a woman scientist, for example.

The absence of diversity places pressure on the token faculty from underrepresented groups to function as super mentors and advisors and also makes the lack of openness of the field extremely visible. If students never see an African American physicist, how likely is it that significant numbers of African American students will imagine themselves as physicists? Indeed, it is the presence of a diverse group of faculty that explains in part the significance of women's colleges and his-

torically Black colleges and universities. If one goes to Spelman College or Bennett College to major in math or science, one will see a number of African American women mathematicians or scientists. Where else in the country might this be possible? In other women's colleges, the same holds true, except that in many of these institutions, the women are predominantly White. Nonetheless, the power of these institutions is in part a result of the visible presence of diversity in the faculty and also the presence of an entire faculty, regardless of their backgrounds, who are committed to the special mission and supportive of students entering academe. Much of the research on special-purpose institutions suggests that these two factors explain the impressive results that will be presented in chapter 7.

The significance of a visible presence of faculty of color and women faculty of all backgrounds is perhaps nowhere more challenged than in science, engineering, and other technical fields (STEM fields), where the lack of domestic diversity is emerging as a national crisis. Despite generations of students who have majored in these areas as undergraduates, the faculty in many departments are not very diverse, especially in terms of White women and URM faculty. Asian American faculty are more likely to be in STEM fields, and not uniformly visible throughout other disciplines.

Again, it is not that faculty of all backgrounds in these departments cannot be good mentors to URM students, all students of color, or White women; it is that the absence of significant diversity influences perceptions of possibility and openness. It puts pressure on any single faculty member to be the image of the field for whole groups of students. It suggests that the department does not believe that increasing diversity would strengthen the field or unit. It also suggests that the department does not believe that sufficient talent is present in those groups. The absence of diversity has significant implications as well for the quality of life for faculty and staff in the department, because being a token is not easy and is often quite impossible, both for the individual and for the department.

While there is no doubt that the increasing racial/ethnic diversity of the student body is significantly related to faculty diversity, emphasizing this reason to the exclusion of others will, in the end, undermine serious efforts at the departmental or college level to focus on increasing the diversity of the faculty. Faculty are hired primarily on the basis of field, department, or institutional priorities, *not* on the background characteristics of students. Even so, there are a number of very important institutional reasons to diversify a faculty. These reasons, already summarized in chapter 3, underscore the centrality of diversity for developing human capacity in colleges and universities. They are particularly important for faculty hiring.

First of all, diversity in the faculty represents the institution's values concerning equity in both hiring and retention. Any institution that describes itself as open and committed to diversity but has the faculty demographic common today could be seen as disingenuous and hypocritical. Thus, success in diversifying the faculty goes to the heart of whether an institution is seen as committed to equity and diversity.

Second, diversity is a central component of the academy's ability to develop diverse forms of knowledge. Partly in response to legal challenges to diversity, a body of research has been developed to study the impact of diversity in the faculty. The consistent findings from numerous studies demonstrate the role of URM faculty and White women, in particular, in bringing diversity themes to scholarship, increasing diversity in the curriculum, and introducing more and different patterns of pedagogy, including increasing the engagement of students in the community (Antonio, 2002; Astin, 2002; Hurtado, 2001a; Ibarra, 2000; Luna de la Rosa, 2005; Marin, 2000; Milem, 2001; Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005).

Whether through the vehicle of ethnic and women's studies, through emphases in mainstream academic departments, through cross-disciplinary institutes, or in programs related to specific communities in health, social services, medicine, law, and education, scholarly work has been influenced by the perspectives and experiences of women, persons of color, LGBT faculty, and faculty with disabilities. Most recently, one can see the important contributions of Muslim scholars and others from a variety of religious traditions, without whom many campuses would find their conversations about Islam restricted and inadequate. Indeed, if it had not been for the development of these new forms of scholarship over the past forty years, especially ethnic and women's studies, many campus efforts to diversify the curriculum would be difficult. It has produced the scholarly base, the books and articles, and the resources more generally to facilitate curriculum transformation.

The correspondence between scholar and field is not one to one: a number of faculty of color have had the experience of being asked to teach a course on race and/or gender even when their own expertise was not in that area. In this way, institutions can be guilty of pigeonholing faculty who do not emphasize diversity-related content in their own scholarship (Allen, Epps, Suh, & Stassen, 2002; Baez, 2000; Benjamin, 1997; Weinberg, 2008). One can make the case that until there is sufficient diversity in the faculty as a whole, there is the danger that faculty members from underrepresented backgrounds will not thrive as individuals, but rather as members of groups for which there is either student or institu-

tional pressure to engage in diversity in ways that are often stereotypical (Baez, 2002; Villalpondo & Delgado Bernal, 2002).

Indeed, the presence of greater numbers of faculty who bring diverse perspectives to teaching and research decreases the likelihood that any individual faculty member will be stereotyped. With a critical mass of faculty from different groups, one may experience a woman who is caring and one who is not, a person who is effective as a teacher and one who is not, an Asian American who is a scientist and one who is a poet. Paradoxically, by paying attention to gender and ethnicity in hiring, a campus increases the likelihood of creating an environment where individuals can also be individuals (Jordan, 2006).

There is increasing recognition that one's position in society can help frame a set of perspectives or concerns that might not be introduced by someone else. This is true even in the sciences, where, for example, it has taken women scientists and supportive men to point out that the absence of women patients in clinical drug trials for treatment of breast cancer was not in the interest of women's health or good science. This practice, common up until the 1990s, resulted in federal legislation requiring that clinical trials include people from diverse backgrounds. By not including a variety of men and women from different racial and ethnic groups and by not addressing sexuality, many approaches to health care have been ignored or potentially misdirected.

A third benefit of faculty diversity lies in the development of vital relationships with diverse communities outside the campus. For both personal and intellectual reasons, many White women and faculty of color are more likely to cross a border between the academic institution and issues of practice outside. The early work in both ethnic and women's studies made boundary and border crossing an academic priority. In addition, when one experiences isolation in one setting, the tendency is to reach out to communities outside. This is true on campus as well, where one often sees campus groups and alliances formed around race/ethnicity and/or gender that bring together students, staff, and faculty, as well as community members in some cases.

Fourth, in what has been called the demographics of decision-making, faculty from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds are essential to the capacity of institutions to make fully informed decisions at all levels. With URM faculty and Asian American faculty at low levels on many campuses, and with campuses increasingly engaging diversity as an institutional priority, those who bring diversity are spread thin, and the institution's capacity to make effective and credible decisions is hampered. In short, diversity is essential for the expertise, excellence,

and perspectives required at the institutional and departmental levels. Participation by diverse faculty not only increases the likelihood of more informed perspectives, it also addresses power inequities on campus. As key decision-making bodies are diversified, power sharing in leadership increases.

I gave a talk once at an institution and asked the faculty and administrators present how they would feel if the provost or president only appointed physicists to his or her cabinet. The discussion that followed was energized by the understanding that both politically and rationally, this would not be a good thing to do. The faculty outside physics, or at least outside the hard sciences, would be alarmed that institutional decisions would be made without a deep understanding of and priority for their fields—and credibility and trust would thus be compromised.

Moreover, no matter how sensitive and broad-minded individual physicists might be, there would be a need to demonstrate—or perhaps overdemonstrate—how supportive they were of the arts and social sciences. In addition, the absence of diversity in academic affiliations would necessarily limit the information that emerges from being involved in relevant social networks. Thus, the importance of the composition of decision-making bodies lies not only in the qualities of the individual, but also in the perspective and position the individual is seen as representing and the quality of the perspectives around the decision-making table. Department affiliation is clearly a major source of identity on campus, and race and gender are as well. At least from the perspective of persons of color and all women, the profile around most leadership tables is remarkably homogenous. White women are sometimes present, though still often in token positions, but the presence of persons of color is quite rare. The implications for the content and credibility of decisions are profound.

We understand this when we think of global issues (or technology, for that matter). An interest in furthering internationalization as part of the institution's mission almost inevitably involves hiring international faculty, who bring the relevant educational and scholarly expertise. We also know that having people from international backgrounds represented on campus will enhance the institution's credibility and ability to connect to an increasingly globalized society. While this value commonly informs global discussions on campus, it is not always applied when hiring domestic faculty—even though, as mentioned earlier, recent research has documented that faculty from a diversity of racial and ethnic perspectives often bring new perspectives to the curriculum, to research, and to ways of engaging even traditional areas of the curriculum.

My examples here have focused on race and gender, but the issue of identity

threat mentioned in chapter 2 should also be considered with respect to sexuality, ability, and even immigration status. Bringing diversity to the table requires, in most cases, a willingness to be public about the issues. While one can speak about concerns involving domestic-partner benefits, for example, without being gay or lesbian, the full benefit of that experience would only be realized if the environment in the institution made it possible and comfortable to be open.

Fifth, faculty diversity is essential for creating an environment that will be attractive to persons from diverse backgrounds as a place to work and to develop. The literature on the disadvantages of tokenism to the institution and the individual is quite sobering. Studies document the cost to individuals in terms of stress, overload, and visibility that would make working at such a place less desirable (Kanter, 1977; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2006; Thompson & Louque, 2005; Turner, 2002b; Yoder, 2002). The results can be damaging for the institution, too, if the dynamics on campus or in a department increase the likelihood of turnover, lawsuits, or decreased satisfaction.

It may be that despite the lack of diversity, higher education has managed up until now precisely because this is a condition true of most campuses. Moreover, the risks to any individual of suing a university are high enough to discourage lawsuits except as a last resort. Increasingly, however, lack of diversity may become a liability in terms of attracting candidates and the decisions of students to pursue faculty careers. I am aware of increasing numbers of faculty and administrators (of all backgrounds) who are basing decisions on where to work on the diversity of students, faculty, and staff on a campus.

Sixth, and perhaps the most overlooked rationale for faculty diversity, is the issue of the relationship between the faculty and the future-leadership pipeline. Because most academic administrators come from faculty ranks, a relatively homogenous faculty clearly limits the future development of diversity in leadership—something that is cause for great concern and is emerging as a significant issue in a number of sectors in higher education.

Finally, the most frequently mentioned rationale is to provide role models for all. Seeing individuals from diverse backgrounds function in faculty roles in all disciplines provides ways of envisioning oneself in such roles or experiencing others in one. The presence or absence of diversity sends strong signals about what is or is not possible and the degree to which talent from diverse groups is appreciated.

These reasons are both broad and deep in their implications for serious discussion of diversifying the faculty. While each probably applies to any campus, the

process of engaging the rationale for diversity is best done in the context of a specific institution—with a focus on its mission, its academic purpose, and its culture.

The State of Faculty Diversity

Chapter 4 presented some figures on national changes in faculty diversity. These data can show change or lack of change in the aggregate, but they do not show patterns across sectors or regions, nor some of the factors involved in the results.

For example, in the study of the James Irvine Foundation Campus Diversity Initiative (CDI), which involved twenty-eight private campuses in California over a five-year period (2000–2005), faculty diversity was an important priority for the institutions. Yet on those campuses, the share of URM faculty among total tenured and tenure-track faculty only increased on average from 7% to 9%. This figure is similar to the five-year change in tenured and tenure-track faculty nationally, despite the diversity in the state of California (Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, & Teraguchi, 2006; Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, Smith, Moreno, & Teraguchi, 2007).

The fast pace of hiring overall was perhaps one of the most significant and startling findings of the CDI study. For these twenty-eight campuses, not only had the overall size of the core tenured and tenure-track faculty grown by 5% during this period, but 31% of the faculty, on average, had been replaced. This rate of hiring is being replicated in many institutions across the country. Though it has taken longer than expected when Bowen and Schuster projected a generational change in 1986, there does now appear to be significant hiring because of retirements. This is an important era for faculty hiring and has created urgency to diversifying new hires. If one-third of a faculty is replaced during a five-year period, in ten more years the next generation will have been hired.

The Hiring Process

The question then remains, why has progress been slow? For the past few decades, there have been a number of conditions that have no doubt affected the hiring of a diverse faculty. The opportunities for hiring were limited by budget cuts and a relatively low rate of retirements. One could also point to the pipeline through graduate school as a factor that limited pools (though the diversity in the pipeline has been increasing) (Bowen & Sosa, 1989; H. A. Brown, 2006; Cole & Barber, 2003). In addition, changing the overall demographics of a population can be slow even if hiring is robust (Marschke, Laursen, Nielsen, & Rankin, 2007).

These factors led many to assume that supply and demand would place faculty of color, especially URM faculty of color, in high demand. Indeed, the prevailing explanations for lack of progress in diversifying the faculty included such statements as “There aren’t any faculty of color,” “They wouldn’t want to come here,” “We can’t afford them,” or “They are all going into industry.” In the STEM fields, limited supply and significant demand has been the dominant explanation for the lack of diversity. It has been typical in campus reviews of diversity efforts, even in elite institutions, to find the following kind of statement:

Although a concerted effort has been made, small candidate pools and intense competition between top universities has made growth in faculty numbers extremely difficult. . . . In disciplines such as engineering, mathematics and many of the hard sciences, the number of qualified candidates is extremely limited. In 1989, for example, of the 393 doctorates awarded in mathematics to U.S. citizens only six were earned by African Americans, eight were earned by Hispanics, while none were earned by Native Americans. Despite these problems . . . commitment to diversification among the faculty has not lessened. (Quoted in Smith, Wolf, Busenberg, & associates, 1996, p. 1)

At the same time, scholars of color and others—often employing qualitative studies concerning the experiences of faculty of color (and to some degree White women) in the recruiting and hiring processes—have been largely critical of such claims. The dominant themes have been the lack of effort on the part of campuses to recruit seriously and the existence of bias in how candidates are selected, in spite of a great deal of rhetoric. To those on the outside, institutional practices reflect continuing structural inequities, bias, and lack of commitment (Allen, Epps, Suh, & Stassen, 2002; Bronstein, Rothblum, & Solomon, 1993; Carter & O’Brien, 1993; Castellanos & Jones, 2003; Collins, 1990; Collins & Johnson, 1990; Cross, 1994; de la Luz Reyes & Halcon, 1991; Delgado, Stefancic, & Lindsley, 2000; Frierson, 1990; Garza, 1988, 1992; Graduate Employees and Students Organization, 2005; Knowles & Harleston, 1997; Harvey & Scott-Jones, 1985; Jacobson, 2006; Menges & Exum, 1983; Mickelson & Oliver, 1991; Misra, Kennelly, & Karides, 1999; Opp, 1994; Smith, 2005; Smith, Wolf, Busenberg, & associates, 1996; Staples, 1984; Tippeconic, 2002; Turner, 1999; Turner & Myers, 1997, 2000; Valian, 2000, 2005; Villalpondo & Delgado Bernal, 2002; Washington & Harvey, 1989; Wilson, 1995a, 1995b; Yale University, 1990).

Other empirical studies have documented the slow pace of progress in diversifying the faculty; the lack of any significant growth in the level of senior professors, despite the efforts at hiring assistant professors years ago; the growth in di-

iversity among PhD's; and the presence of a significant percentage of African Americans in HBCUs, as places where serious hiring does occur (Beutel & Nelson, 2005, 2006; MacLachlan, 2006; Nelson & Rogers, 2004). Kulis, Chong, and Shaw (1999), in a large-scale statistical analysis of national data exploring institutional and statistical discrimination, conclude that "the allegedly escalating competition for black faculty labor . . . does not appear in our results to have markedly improved black faculty's prospects of securing positions in institutions with the most plentiful resources" (p. 142). In another article addressing supply-and-demand arguments, Olivas (1994) concludes that the credentials of Latino law-school faculty exceeded those of their White counterparts and suggests, "For most schools, White candidates with good (but not sterling) credentials are routinely considered and hired, while the high-demand / low-supply mythology about minorities persists" (p. 133).

Donna Nelson (Beutel & Nelson, 2005, 2006; Nelson & Rogers, 2004), in a continuation of her work on diversity in the top-ranked science fields, reported in 2005 that the racial/ethnic and gender diversity in faculty for thirteen fields in the "top-ranked" departments lags behind the national rate of PhD production in those fields. While it must be acknowledged that she is comparing total doctoral degrees to the "top fifty" (and presumably most selective) institutions for faculty hiring, the data are still important. In biology, URM graduates constitute 7% of the PhD's but are just 3% of the faculty. In psychology, where URM graduates are 11% of the PhD's, they represent just 6% of the faculty. This gap, true for all faculty of color and White women, is especially true for women from all racial/ethnic backgrounds. Moreover, an analysis of Nelson's data shows that in fields such as chemistry, physics, math, chemical engineering, political science, psychology, and biology, African American women and Latinas each make up a higher percentage of the PhD's than do White women.

One can look at these data in many ways. But a profile by department in each of these fifty institutions reflects the sense of isolation and tokenism that can result. Among the top-ranked chemistry, physics, math, chemical engineering, and psychology departments, for example, most have at least one woman, most often White. Thus, while White women have clearly made progress on faculties generally, their presence on faculties lags substantially behind their presence among PhD recipients, even in fields such as engineering and physics.

With respect to race and gender, the absence of URM faculty, especially URM women, is quite striking. Among the top fifty chemistry departments (with an average faculty size of 33), 33 have no Blacks (48 have no Black women), 30 have no Latinos (41 have no Latinas), and 47 have no American Indians (49 have no

American Indian women). There are 3 departments with no Asian Americans (34 have no Asian American women). Among physics departments (with an average faculty size of 40), 40 have no Blacks (50 have no Black women), 26 have no Latinos (42 have no Latinas), and 49 have no American Indians (50 have no American Indian women). There are 4 departments with no Asian Americans (33 have no Asian American women).

In social science fields, one typically sees more White women represented and more ethnic diversity. For example, among the top fifty departments in economics, with an average size of 28 faculty, 3 departments have no women. Thirty-three have no Blacks (45 have no Black women), 29 have no Latinos (43 have no Latinas), and 49 have no American Indians (50 have no American Indian women). Eight departments have no Asian Americans (36 have no Asian American women). Political science and psychology follow a similar pattern.

Trower and Chait's analysis (2002) of faculty at research universities results in similar conclusions. They report the progress for White women, at the same time noting that this progress does not reflect the growth in PhD's among White women and their rank and status in higher education. Similarly, while the number of minority faculty has increased, the percentage increase was less dramatic and mostly attributable to gains by Asian Americans or Asians. Indeed, in their study, the proportion of African American faculty at predominantly White colleges and universities has been relatively static since 1979. And in addressing the pipeline issue, especially for URM faculty of color, Trower and Chait conclude that "the pipeline is not the basic problem. In fact, even if the pipeline were awash in White women and minorities, a fundamental challenge would remain: the pipeline empties into territory women and faculty of color too often experience as uninviting, unaccommodating, and unappealing" (p. 34).

A look at the practice and the research reveals competing perspectives on why higher education is lacking in faculty diversity. The explanations by institutions and their leaders focus more on the situation, issues of availability in the pipeline, and academic preparedness, or the fact that progress is being made (which is somewhat true).

In an effort to study the strong competing explanations for lack of faculty diversity, I initiated a study (Smith, Wolf, Busenberg, & associates, 1996) of the hiring experiences of a diverse group of national fellowship winners. We chose national fellows for the interviews so that there would be no question about the quality of the individuals being studied. Through these fellowships, the scholars had been vetted at a national level for quality and competitiveness. Among 390 fellowship recipients, we conducted 298 in-depth interviews (76%) with those ob-

taining their doctorate between 1989 and 1994. Of those interviewed, 92% had received their degrees at Ivy League or elite research universities. The study addressed six myths.

Myth 1: Because there are so few faculty of color in the pipeline, they are being sought out and bidden after.

Myth 2: The scarcity of faculty of color in the sciences means the bidding wars will be even more intense.

Myth 3: The nature of the pool of scholars in this study will mean they are only interested in being considered for positions in elite institutions.

Myth 4: Individuals are continually being recruited by wealthier institutions, resulting in a revolving door.

Myth 5: Faculty of color are leaving academe for more lucrative government and industry positions.

Myth 6: Campuses are so focused on diversity that heterosexual White males have no chance. (pp. 4–5)

The results of the study highlighted that the supply and bidding arguments are grossly overstated and that the propositions offered above are indeed myths. While 70% of the candidates were employed in faculty positions, they were largely not hired with the frenzy or bidding that dominates the higher education “air-waves.” Indeed, only 11% (including White and Asian American faculty) had anything like a bidding experience, and this most often amounted to offers from two campuses (not necessarily of the candidate’s choosing), perhaps a course relief, and a summer research stipend.

A White male in the study, an art historian, reported that “there is a lot of talk about diversifying, but when push comes to shove, there is still a lot of hiring of White males, and I am a White male” (p. 117). Indeed, in this study, White males who had integrated diversity into their expertise were among those highly sought after. Many of them reported that although they brought the expertise of diversity, they also brought more comfort, because of the norms and cultures of their departments. One White male in classics reported that the institution “should have hired a woman. At that time, they had six men and no women. I was a man who did feminist scholarship. It gave them an out. . . . One more thing, . . . I didn’t frighten the people” (p. 87).

This lack of bidding was especially true in the sciences and other technical fields, where, even after numerous postdoctoral studies, underrepresented-minority faculty reported such a lack of interest on the part of campuses that they began to consider industry positions, where they felt appreciated and where they felt that

their credentials would be taken seriously. A number of scholars of color with elite backgrounds in highly technical fields, such as geophysics and biochemistry, had not found jobs after applying for dozens of faculty positions. They ended up in industry or in research labs.

Limited numbers in the pipeline can easily become an excuse for campuses when it comes to diversity in a way that is quite different than when a new program in nanotechnology or another “hot” field is being conceptualized. In such cases, limited numbers may indeed make the candidates even more desirable. Search committees or campus leaders are charged with finding and luring the candidates to the campus. During the era of growth in technology, for example, the limited supply of people with expertise was not offered as an excuse. Salaries rose, hiring strategies were creative, and campuses were proactive in identifying individuals to bring the necessary capacity to the campus. One had the sense that technology experts could name their price and write their own job description. In this case, supply and demand resulted in a very favorable job market for almost anyone with a reasonable level of technological sophistication. Costs were not very important, because the benefits were seen as critical and necessary for the institution. The contrast to hiring of diverse faculty suggests that while the supply of diverse candidates may be limited, the demand has not been there, in spite of rhetoric to the contrary. The absence of diversity is in many cases a regret on the part of the institution, but not deeply threatening to its credibility or viability—although this is perhaps becoming less and less true for White women.

The presence of more rhetoric than reality in the bidding-war myth is captured by a Latina interviewed for the 1996 study. A Chicana historian, she said, “I would say that I find it a little surprising that I do not regularly get phone calls, with respect to recruitment. We are so few, it’s amazing that most universities will say ‘We can’t find anybody,’ yet persons like myself are not recruited. I think I should be getting phone calls, and I don’t get phone calls” (Smith, Wolf, Busenberg, & associates, p. 70).

The study also documented the wide range of institutions and regions to which candidates were attracted because of the location of offers, personal preferences, family circumstances, or institutional culture. There were a number of additional issues that emerged from the study. It affirmed the limited hiring during the early to mid-1990s. It also pointed to the significance of champions in the hiring process (either members of the search committee or mentors) who took a special interest in the candidate, assisted with the process, and even advocated for the person. The results also revealed the challenges of dual career hiring, the passive nature of hiring, and the importance of tenure for these candidates. Finally, a clear

concern for the climate on campus emerged, including issues of fair treatment and isolation, as well as how faculty are very often prompted to consider alternative positions by unhappiness in the institution, rather than because they are offered more money elsewhere. Although this study did take place during a period of limited hiring, the results appear to echo continued concerns today, even as the pipeline and overall faculty hiring have improved.

Conditions for Faculty Hiring

While there are many studies using both qualitative and quantitative data on faculty hiring, there have been relatively few studies on the conditions under which faculty of color and White women have actually been hired. For the most part, such data are not readily available. A study titled “Interrupting the Usual: Successful Strategies for Hiring Diverse Faculty” was designed and implemented by Caroline Turner and myself, along with several colleagues, and was developed with the support of three major public research universities that provided relevant data on the conditions under which faculty were hired (Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004).

The study was designed to investigate the conditions under which a diverse faculty is hired and whether jobs that list ethnic or women’s studies or special-hiring interventions would account for the bulk of the hiring of underrepresented faculty of color into tenure or tenure-track positions. In particular, the analysis tested the hypothesis that when underrepresented faculty of color are hired, (1) the field or department into which they are hired will more likely be related to race and ethnicity; or (2) a proactive intervention strategy, one in which the focus is on making diversity central, will have been employed—significantly more often than when White men or women are hired.

The results of the analysis of 689 searches over a three-year period, from 1995 to 1998, from these three large elite public research universities gave strong support to this hypothesis. Successful hires of underrepresented faculty of color at these predominantly White institutions were most likely to occur when a job description contained an educational or scholarly link to the study of race or ethnicity and/or when an institutional intervention strategy that bypassed or enhanced the traditional search process was used. The combination of diversity indicators and special hires was absolutely critical in the hiring of African American and American Indian faculty. Asian / Asian American and White faculty were almost always hired through regular searches, although they were in some instances hired through special hires and when diversity indicators were

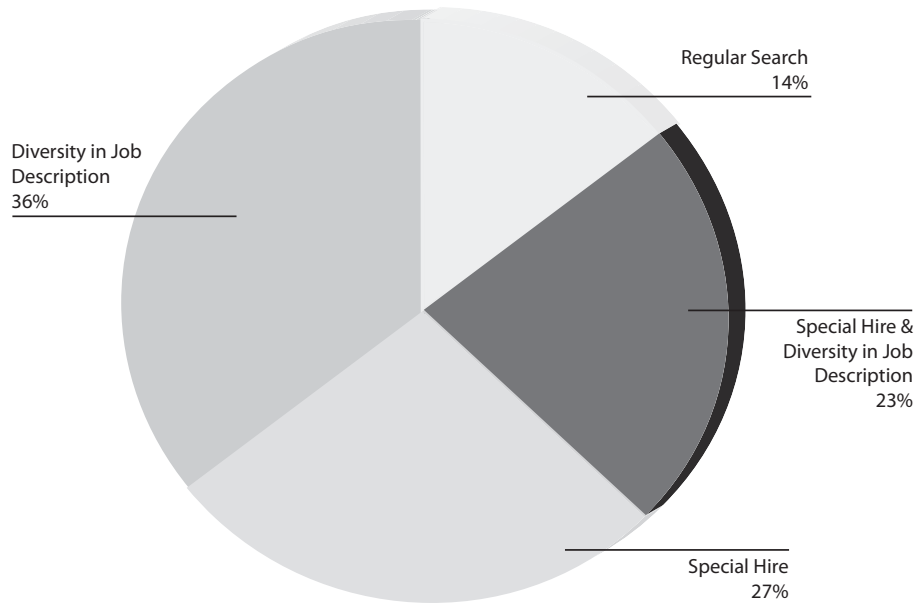


Figure 5.1. Hiring patterns for African Americans. Source: Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004

specified.¹ The difference was that Asian / Asian American and White faculty were hired with *and* without the use of the specific conditions that were the focus of the study.

Figures 5.1 through 5.5 show the percentage of hires, disaggregated by race/ethnicity, that were made through the regular search process, using job descriptions that focused on diversity, using other intervention strategies (special hires), or through a combination of job description and intervention by race/ethnicity. The findings are dramatic and sobering.

Among URM faculty combined, 71% were hired with a diversity indicator and/or special-hire intervention—24% using diversity in the job description, 24% as special hires, and 23% with a combination of special hire and diversity indicator. African Americans were hired almost entirely under the designated conditions expected (86%), divided among special hires and job descriptions (fig. 5.1). All (100%) of the American Indians were hired as a result of diversity indicators and/or special hires: 50% were special hires; 33% were hired with diversity indicated in the job description; and 17% were special hires for positions in which diversity was indicated (fig. 5.2).

For Latinos, the results showed a broader range of hiring circumstances, al-

1. Given what is known about the citizenship of Asian PhD's, it is likely that many of the Asian faculty are Asian, not Asian American. At the time of the study, citizenship data were not considered.

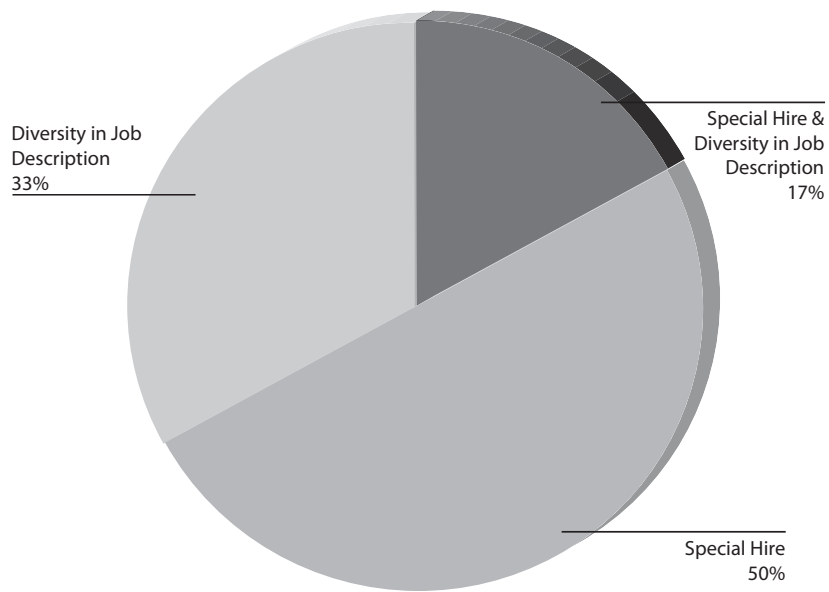


Figure 5.2. Hiring patterns for American Indians. Source: Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004

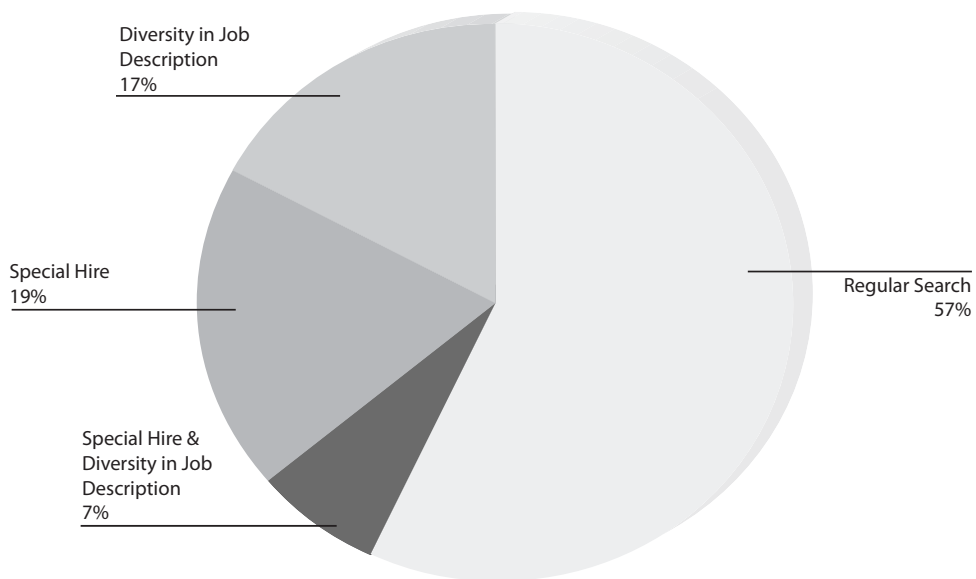


Figure 5.3. Hiring patterns for Latino/as. Source: Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004

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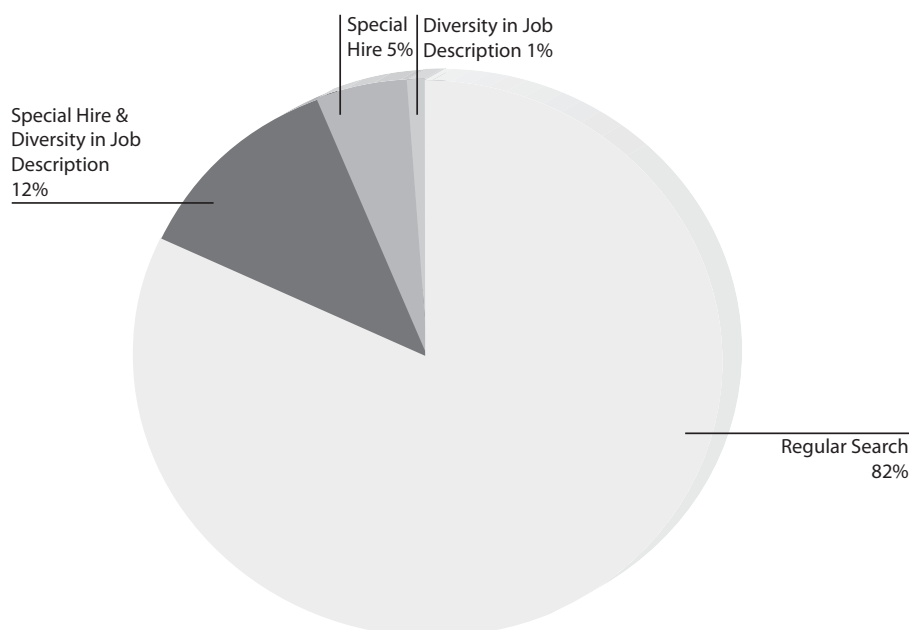


Figure 5.4. Hiring patterns for Asian Americans. Source: Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004

though 43% were hired outside of regular searches (fig. 5.3). Because the study's initial definition of diversity indicators did not include such fields as Spanish or Latin American studies, the data were reanalyzed to see how many Latinos were hired in these areas as well. This analysis revealed that an additional 14% of Latinos would have been included in hires resulting from a diversity indicator in the job description. Broadening the definition in this way would have brought the total proportion of Latinos hired using a diversity indicator and/or special hire to 57%.

A meager 5% of regular hires—that is, hires for positions without a diversity indicator and without the use of a special hire—resulted in the hiring of an underrepresented-minority faculty member.

In the case of Asians, 18% were hired with a diversity indicator and/or special hire (fig. 5.4). As with Latinos, broadening the definition of diversity indicators to include Asian languages and international studies would have resulted in an additional 7% of Asians being defined as hired under these conditions, bringing the total to 25%.

Overall, Asian faculty were represented in greater percentages in this hiring cohort than African Americans, Latinos, or American Indians. Nonetheless, the study revealed several challenges faced by Asians / Asian Americans in higher education. These challenges are compounded by the fact that many who are counted

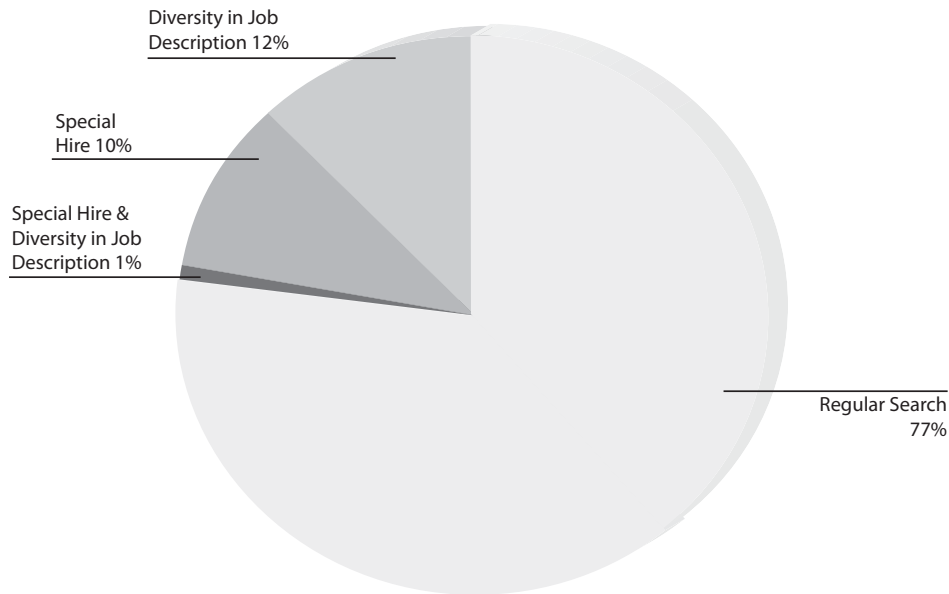


Figure 5.5. Hiring patterns for Whites. *Source:* Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004

as Asian Americans are actually foreign nationals. The data from chapter 4 illustrated how important this can be for Asians in particular. Contrary to the common misconception that Asian Americans are well represented in faculty ranks, the 2004 study shows that they were hired primarily into fields such as science, engineering, medicine, and Asian-language departments and were less commonly found in the social sciences and humanities. Moreover, Asian Americans were the least likely to benefit from special-hiring opportunities; Whites benefited substantially more often. Nakanishi (1993), Hune and Chan (1997), and Chang and Kiang (2002) argue that academic-pipeline issues are still critical to achieving greater representation of Asian Americans at all levels of higher education and throughout a range of disciplines. As suggested in chapter 4, the confounding of international and domestic faculty of color affects African American and Latino faculty as well (Chapa, 2006).

A total of 23% of Whites were hired under the designated conditions, with 12% hired for positions indicating diversity and 11% as special hires (fig. 5.5). While interventions and diversity indicators made a significant difference in the ethnic composition of the faculty, especially for underrepresented faculty, Whites maintained an overwhelming majority position throughout. Indeed, 65% of those hired with diversity indicators and/or special hires were White. This finding is worth emphasizing. The strategies that resulted in increased hiring for faculty of color were most often used to hire White faculty.

Because of the concerns about hiring in the sciences, the data were also disaggregated to pull out the STEM fields. The results mirror the larger findings, except that special hire was the condition most often employed. For African Americans, special hires were used 75% of the time; for Latinos, 36%; for Asians, 4%; and for Whites, 13%.

Special hiring was an important strategy for departments throughout the three campuses. They often took advantage of institutional resources to make a case for a special hire of talented individuals who were identified through the search process. Often the candidates did not fit an existing job description precisely but were otherwise well suited to strengthen the department. For example, at one institution, an exceptional-hire search was used to advance the departmental goal of increasing diversity among faculty after the usual search did not yield a diverse hire. A statement in the letter of support from a department chair in family studies articulates this goal more fully: “Senior faculty are of a single race. It is imperative in today’s world to provide students with faculty that reflects, at least in some degree the ethnic diversity of the families they study and one day hope to serve. . . . Infusion of new blood is essential to the future vigor and robustness of the department. Beyond the obvious need to continue support for the graduate and undergraduate programs of the department, they will bring the new perspectives and scholarly priorities that will keep the department alive and current” (quoted in Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004, p. 151).

In this case, the departmental faculty gave unanimous support to the hiring of an African American female into a tenure-track assistant professor position. Within the letter of support, faculty outlined the ways in which the hire would promote the department’s diversity goals:

This exceptional hire will impact the academic priorities of [department name] in the following ways:

- Provide a crucial element of diversity among an all Caucasian faculty
- Allow for further diversity in the curriculum and the department research programs, responding to the needs and demands of our graduate and undergraduate students
- Assist in the recruitment and retention of graduate and undergraduate students of color
- Numerous opportunities for federal grants earmarked for faculty of color will increase the likelihood of external funding. (p. 152)

Such qualitative data support the hypothesis that institutional interventions or diversity indicators can be important strategies in the hiring of diverse faculty.

This example also demonstrates that the rationale for hiring involves substantive scholarly, institutional, and pedagogical reasons. In many cases, we observed that the department itself took the initiative to put forth the candidate. This suggests that these conditions become important tools for department faculty as additions to search-committee options and approaches. Moreover, it suggests that despite concerns in the field that persons hired through special interventions might not have the support of the department, most special hires were initiated by the department—with enthusiasm.

The study also permitted an analysis of the intersection of race and gender. For each ethnic group, with the exception of American Indians, more women than men were hired with diversity indicators or intervention strategies. All African American women, 62% of Latinas, 100% of American Indian women, 37% of Asian American women, and 36% of White women were hired under these conditions, in comparison to 77%, 34%, 100%, 8%, and 17%, respectively, for men. Thus, while the presence of White women on the faculty has grown much more robustly than for women of color, this study pointed out that interventions were important conditions for hiring women across all groups, as well as for hiring underrepresented men of color.

The study included an examination of the effect of search-committee composition on faculty hiring, but almost all the search committees were entirely White; there was little or no racial/ethnic diversity on any of the committees except in ethnic studies areas. The study also investigated the impact on faculty hiring when finalist pools contained some diversity and found a modest positive relationship here.

Hiring faculty for subject areas that contained some form of diversity yielded the most reliable hiring of underrepresented faculty of color. However, as others have pointed out, the potential for marginalization and restriction of scholarly range is significant enough to suggest that overreliance on these searches to secure faculty diversity is a mistake (Baez, 2003; Konrad, 2003; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2006). Indeed, such an approach would not be interrupting the usual but would, rather, be relying on a form of “barrioization” or “ghettoization.” Introducing a diversity indicator in a job description, however, does create the potential for expanding the role of diversity in faculty searches throughout the institution. Even in science searches, adding an explicit criterion in the job description for experience and success in working with diverse groups of students has significant potential to broaden the qualities being considered. Moreover, there are many areas in science, medicine, and engineering that would benefit from a diversity of perspectives. Our data suggest that this strategy in the sciences is rarely considered. Reliance on diversity indicators in the job description to increase the likelihood

that faculty of color will be considered and hired requires that program considerations also be introduced to clarify why and in what ways diversity is important to the department and for a particular hire.

Campuses need to pay close attention as well to the diversity of faculty throughout fields and disaggregated by ethnic group and gender. Overall numbers of faculty of color might well increase because of the addition of Asian faculty in STEM fields, but underrepresented faculty of color could well be declining at the same time. Hiring of White woman may be increasing, but hiring of women of color may not be improving. Such situations yield binary demographics, in which most of the women hired are White and most of the minorities hired are men.²

Moreover, with the recent surge of lawsuits challenging affirmative action, it is important to note that the approaches described in this study were largely directed to the notion of bringing the scholarship of diversity to searches as opposed to only representative diversity, making these interventions a much more robust strategy from a legal perspective. In this context, it is also important to note that 65% of those who benefited from special-hire interventions were White, which limits the ability to charge that special hires are limited to minority hires.

Retention

A large volume of both quantitative and qualitative research over the past several decades documents the challenges faced by underrepresented faculty, faculty of color, women faculty, and gay and lesbian faculty. Even with the considerable strides that White woman have made, recent studies of women in science at elite universities reveal the continuing issues concerning sexism, tokenism, and marginalization on campuses and in fields where women, including White women, have not achieved anything close to a critical mass and where institutional practices place women at a disadvantage (Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005; Lawler, 1999).

Numerous narratives describe the challenges and fears experienced by gay and lesbian faculty in terms of discrimination, harassment, and the entire coming-out process (Mintz & Rothblum, 1997; Tierney, 1997). Nonetheless, the bulk of the research has focused on the challenges facing faculty of color and women faculty of color (Aguirre, 1995, 2000; Allen, Epps, Suh, & Stassen, 2002; Benjamin, 1997; Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005; Garcia, 2000; Gregory, 2001; Hagedorn,

2. Such demographics are echoed in the title of a now-classic book, *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, but Some of Us Are Brave* (Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982).

2000; Hopkins, 2006; Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002; Smart, 1990; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2006; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2002; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Turner, 2002b, 2003; Turner & Myers, 2000).

The explanations given on most campuses for the turnover of faculty of color, especially, focus on aggressive “hiring away” or the lack of productivity. However, most of the research in which faculty of color and White women are studied contains powerful and emotional descriptions of climate, fairness, treatment, tokenism, and inequity. Studies report environments that are alienating and in which faculty report feeling that they don’t matter. They mention having few mentors and few others who believe in their capacity.

The themes that scholars such as Laura Rendón have suggested for student success reappear in the literature on faculty of color. What is required is that the culture, perspective, language, and values that individuals bring are appreciated and are seen as being important for the department or institution (Antonio, 2002; Lawler, 1999; Moody, 2004; Rendón, 1992, 2005; Thompson & Louque, 2005; Turner, 2002b, 2003; Turner & Myers, 2000). A theme that emerges regularly is the classroom as contested terrain, in which students challenge the competence, position, and role of faculty of color and women faculty (Harlow, 2003; McGowan, 2000; Pope & Joseph, 1997). For many faculty and administrators, however, such issues are exacerbated by their being the only person of their racial/ethnic group or gender in the department. As MacLachlan (2006) suggests, it may be no coincidence that two-thirds of the 150 African American physicists work in HBCUs, partly because of climate and partly because of a recruiting process that takes their potential seriously. The same is true for African American women mathematicians.

Even as we talk about achieving some level of critical mass so that a faculty member may be an individual rather than a representative of a group, it is rare that any form of critical mass exists at the department level, except perhaps in women’s studies or ethnic studies, and then only for the identity connected to the program. Scanning the tables in Nelson’s study (Beutel & Nelson, 2005; Nelson & Rogers, 2004) of faculty at the top fifty departments in science, engineering, and social sciences, one sees many zeros and ones in columns, especially for men and women of color. This not only has implications for students and their exposure to diversity, it has huge implications for faculty and their ability to thrive and focus energy on teaching, scholarship, and service (Allen, Epps, Suh, & Stassen, 2002; Cooper & Stevens, 2002; Garza, 1993; Moody, 2004; Smith, Altbach, & Lomotey, 2002; Stanley, 2006; Tierney, 1993, 1997; Weinberg, 2008).

In the Campus Diversity Initiative study (Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, Smith,

Moreno, & Teraguchi, 2007; Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, & Teraguchi, 2006), my colleagues and I attempted to understand why, in these twenty-eight campuses, the overall change in faculty demographics did not move faster, given the rate of hiring that was occurring and the increased diversity in new hires. While few studies have access to campus data for turnover, we were able to look at this for these campuses. It became clear that some of the new URM hires were going to replace URM faculty who had left. Thus, a campus might hire three new Latino faculty, but if all three of them simply served as replacements for Latino faculty who had left, it would not increase the net number of Latino faculty.

To study this more carefully, we developed a quantitative indicator, the turnover quotient (TQ), using three readily available data points—the number of URM faculty in 2000 (the baseline year), the number of new URM hires, and the number of URM faculty in 2004. In the example above, a campus with no turnover would expect to have six Latino faculty in 2004—three in 2000, plus three new hires. A campus that both hired and lost three Latinos would have a TQ for Latinos of 100, meaning that all new hires went to replace people who left. Such a campus would see no change between 2000 and 2004. The formula presented below can be easily used to compute a turnover quotient for URM faculty for any campus.

$$TQ = [1 - (\frac{2004URMFac - 2000URMFac}{New URMHires})] \times 100$$

In our study, the average campus TQ was 58%. What this means is that, on average, three of every five new URM hires went to replace URM faculty who had left. There was considerable variation among the campuses. Indeed, eleven of the twenty-eight campuses had a turnover of zero—all new hires added to the existing diversity. In contrast, the remaining campuses had turnover approaching 100%, meaning that most new URM hires were replacing URM faculty who had left.

While there are many factors involved, there was a dramatic relationship between the changes in faculty diversity on a campus over the five-year period and the TQ (fig. 5.6). Knowing its TQ can help alert a campus to issues of retention along with hiring. Many of the CDI campuses had no idea that retention was a significant issue and had little information on the sources of their turnover, whether through departure or retirement. However, when trying to explain a high TQ, campuses, in the absence of data, often reverted to the largely debunked myths discussed earlier. This is a cycle that is easily interrupted if campuses engage their institutional research capacities for “research” and organizational learning.

On many campuses, progress from year to year was often erratic, so that a campus that had a “good year” would, upon further analysis, find that it had had only

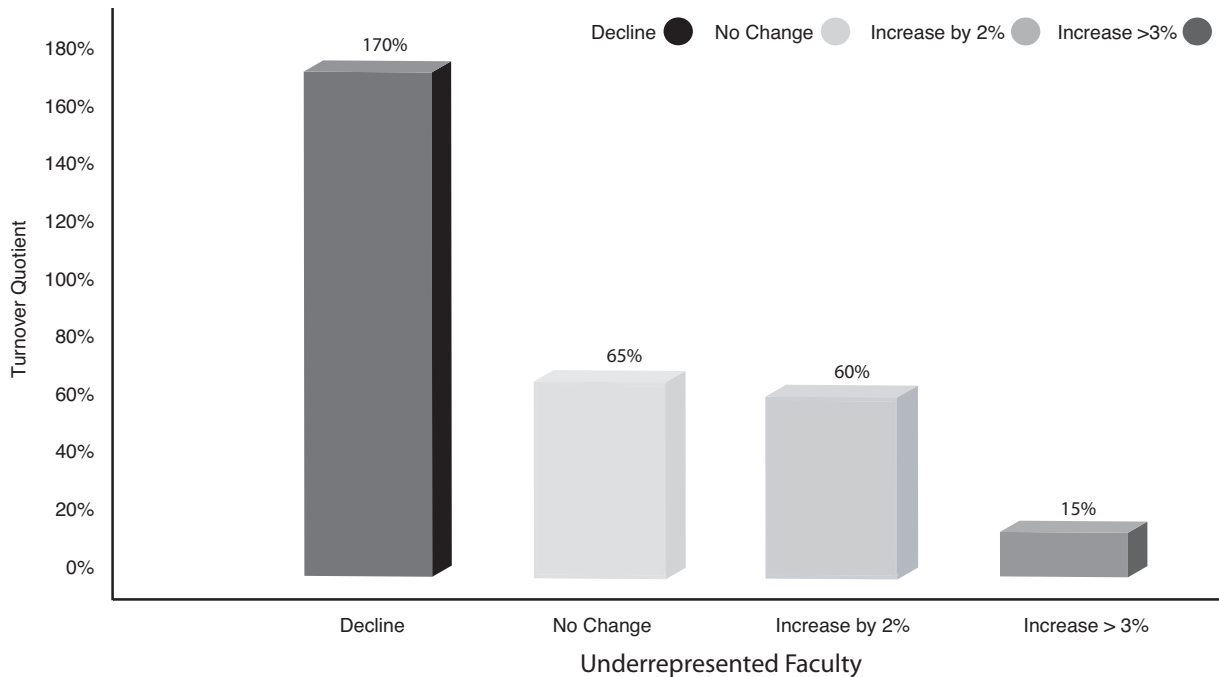


Figure 5.6. Change in percentage of underrepresented-minority faculty and turnover quotient. *Source:* Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, & Teraguchi, 2006

one good year. Interestingly, such campuses often referred back to that single year's successes as typical when discussing progress. This served to demoralize faculty and staff who were working daily to support the campus in its efforts. It is important that campuses be willing to engage the lack of progress, as well as the successes, through empirical data assessed on a regular basis, rather than through anecdotes.

Some Examples

In this section, I want to describe three cases of faculty searches that actually occurred. In each case, the campus was deeply committed to diversity and especially concerned about faculty diversity. Yet the efforts that took place during the search process failed with respect to diversity and resulted in deep regret and frustration. These examples can serve as an opportunity for reflection on ways to anticipate and interrupt an unsuccessful process.

The first case occurred at a large comprehensive university that had succeeded in diversifying its pool of candidates in terms of both ethnicity and gender. When the search committee met, a number of White women and faculty of color with

strong but ordinary credentials were not placed in the final pool of three to be brought to campus. Of the final three, one was a White woman with Ivy League credentials. The committee was impressed by this woman and felt that by placing her in the final three, they had exercised “due diligence” for diversity. The other two were White men with strong but ordinary credentials from similar comprehensive institutions. After coming to campus, the White woman withdrew, and in the end, the candidate hired was the third choice of the committee. While he had been included in the final three, it turned out that his credentials were no more impressive than those of a number of the other women and candidates of color in the original pool. It is not uncommon to have campuses place all their efforts on one “diversity” candidate. Then, if the person doesn’t work out, the campus is left with no diversity to consider.

What is involved here is not unusual. Many campuses restrict their finalist pool to perhaps three candidates; in a set of three, the amount of diversity and the range of options are restricted. In this case, there were other candidates who had ranked near the top but did not make the top three. Had they been included, the likelihood of making a diverse hire would have increased. A number of campuses have offered this option to search committees who find themselves with more than three very positive-looking candidates. In some searches, committee members have found themselves the most enthusiastic about a candidate who on paper may have been ranked fifth but who excelled in person.

For my second example, we visit a small liberal arts college in the Midwest that has been known for its commitment to diversity. The campus had done a lot of work on diversity in the curriculum, in admissions, and even in staff hiring. Yet there was a palpable sense of frustration with regard to faculty hiring. The administrators expressed regret about the lack of progress, stating that their institution’s location and budget meant that there were few candidates who would want to live in the area and that they couldn’t afford to hire people who were being lured away by wealthier institutions. The president documented this by telling the story of a senior African American faculty member who had been hired away to a nearby research university three years earlier.

At the same time, the African American faculty and staff were quite frustrated about the increasing rhetoric of diversity and the lack of hiring, and they had a competing example to offer. Three years prior, the dance department had hired, on soft money, a part-time African American instructor to teach jazz and modern dance. This dancer had worked for a national dance company and had a background in ballet. Her presence had revitalized the dance program, increased en-

rollments, and built enthusiasm for dance. There was general agreement that she was an extraordinary teacher and also brought significant connections to the arts world. She very much wanted to stay on the faculty, preferably full-time, but her time was coming to an end and there had been no word.

As luck would have it, the dance department had a retirement in ballet. Because the chair of the department was so enthusiastic about the role this dancer had played and about the significance of introducing new forms of dance, she proposed a job description that would be broader than that of the prior ballet position; it would include some teaching of ballet but also jazz and modern dance. There was considerable agreement and enthusiasm in the department and among students for this new approach.

This chair, however, was a bit controversial on campus. Thus, before approving the new position, the campus curriculum committee suggested to the senior leadership that a program review in dance be conducted to see what the future directions for dance should be. That review was conducted with a nondiverse team of outside reviewers, who concluded that while broadening dance was “nice,” ballet should be the core of this new position and that any dance department without ballet was not a “quality” dance department. As a result, the job description was rejected, and a new search was mounted for which the part-time faculty member was not a serious candidate, even though she had a background in ballet.

At the end, there was considerable regret on the part of the senior leadership, who felt compelled to explain the reasons for what had happened. And there was considerable frustration and anger within the African American community on campus about what had happened. Regardless, this incredible resource, who was universally viewed as an extraordinary teacher and contributor to a revitalized dance program, left. Had the original position been advertised, would this candidate have been hired? That cannot be known, but what could have been a wonderful scenario of fortuitous timing and good planning instead unfolded to a sad end.

This revealing case illustrates many issues central to hiring—what is considered excellence, who gets to decide what is considered quality, and institutional practices that, while having little to do with diversity, end up undermining diversity efforts.³ Moreover, even though the institution was following its governance process, the senior administration did not make the connection between the process that was unfolding and its diversity efforts and thus did not see the results com-

3. Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) call this impeding change by a “thousand cuts.”

ing. What was happening was ostensibly an argument about the curriculum, but what was really happening was an argument about the “canon” of dance—something that was determined by the group of people brought in as experts.

The third example occurred at a religiously affiliated small liberal arts institution in an urban area, very committed to diversity and with an extremely diverse undergraduate student body. Little progress had been made in faculty hiring, however. Again, the leadership and many faculty felt that there were few candidates “out there” and that they were being recruited by more affluent institutions with which this campus could not afford to compete. A Latino theologian had been hired in the religion department as a non-tenure-track, full-time faculty member. There appeared to have been universal agreement that he was an incredible teacher, as well as a very prolific scholar. Moreover, he loved the campus and, although concerned about his lack of a tenure-track position, wanted to make his career there. A retirement in the department led to the development of a position description that aligned well with the areas of expertise held by this faculty member. A search committee was formed, chaired by a somewhat controversial chair of this small department.

As the process unfolded, the Latino theologian emerged as one of three finalists for the position, and there was excitement for his candidacy among students and colleagues. In the meantime, a nearby research university began to contact him about a full-time, tenure-track position in religion. As the small college’s search unfolded, it became apparent that the chair of the search committee preferred one of the other candidates, a White man, and championed this candidacy strongly. No one, including other members of the search committee, felt able to confront the chair. As a result, the offer was made to the chair’s candidate. The Latino theologian went to the research university with great regrets and sadness, because he had wanted to be at this college. In the end, even though many on the search committee and in the senior administration were upset, no one interrupted this story as it unfolded. The failure to interrupt or to at least challenge what was happening was also a failure to attend to the ways in which diversity efforts can be undermined.

In the last two cases, the candidates were on campus, highly regarded, and well qualified, and almost miraculously, there were relevant positions open. Yet in both processes, campus dynamics and politics unfolded in ways that led to what everyone recognized as a regrettable outcome: a valuable member of the community left. The highly decentralized departmental structure, the impact of a single person left unchallenged to champion someone else, and the failure of anyone to interrupt led to these outcomes. From an institutional perspective, there were rea-

sons for the outcomes. To members of the community committed to diversity, these were examples of lack of commitment. These are not isolated examples; similar ones can be found throughout the country. Such things happen in all searches. But if we are to take seriously the limited pool, then each time something like this happens and a faculty member either doesn't come or leaves, the consequences are more significant to the campus's diversity efforts.

Many others have documented in detail factors that influence the hiring process and that systematically undervalue minority and White women faculty (Moody, 2004; Turner, 2002a, 2002b). Too often, however, these patterns go unacknowledged until it is too late. Creating search processes that build capacity to evaluate and carry out effective searches requires commitment and training.

Issues to Consider for Interrupting the Usual

Higher education is quickly hiring the next generation of faculty, who at this rate will not be diverse enough to provide institutions with the expertise and competence to serve the needs of the institution, the students, or society. Not only must hiring practices be altered, but turnover must be understood and engaged so that all the efforts going into hiring and identifying talent will not go to waste. In addition, myths continue to create self-fulfilling prophecies and to allow excuses to explain the lack of progress, such as lack of diverse pools, "hoarding" of minority faculty by other universities, lack of competitive salaries, and slow rates of hiring.

A number of themes emerge from the material presented in this chapter. These themes are echoed widely in the literature on faculty diversity. While the focus of this chapter has been on core tenured and tenure-track faculty, the demographics and hiring of part-time faculty, full-time faculty, and "off-line" faculty also have implications for students, administrative hiring and retention, decision-making, and scholarship on campus (Schuster, 2003; Schuster & Finkelstein, 2006).

What Counts as Excellence: Identifying Talent

Epistemology and the definitions of knowledge and excellence in a field are very much framed by the field itself. For some, this is a struggle for the canon of the field and what counts as core knowledge. While some of the controversies about excellence are characterized as culture wars, there has been sufficient experience in higher education over the past forty years to demonstrate the fundamental changes that have occurred in many fields related to the impact of knowledge of

race, class, gender, sexuality, and religion. There has also been significant change in the creation of new knowledge informed by these developments. What counts as excellence will not only affect who is hired and retained, but will also relate to the climate of a department and the success of the person hired. It will determine how seriously the faculty member's work is taken and whether it is appreciated. While taking new scholarship seriously was once a critical issue, more and more mainstream journals and presses are giving serious attention to diversity perspectives. Nonetheless, this can be a serious concern for a given department and for a particular set of scholars.

The search process can also be the site of struggle over priorities in developing job descriptions. In some areas of the hard sciences, one often hears, "We would be happy to add a woman or minority, but we simply hire the best." This assumes that there is a unidimensional ranking system based on a single criterion. Most job descriptions include a number of competencies that the search committee is looking for—expertise in an area, teaching experience, publications, grant awards, and so on. Here again, the issue of multiplicity emerges. I have been on enough search committees, including those in science, to know that most committees look at a number of candidates and wish they could take this quality from one and other qualities from others. There are many characteristics that are desired in a faculty position, and it is rare to find one person who fills all of them. Thus, in the end, the issue is where diversity ranks in the mix.

Academic elitism also plays a role. Even at a diverse comprehensive university emphasizing teaching in science and concerned about the lack of diversity among STEM graduates, how many search committees have been dazzled by the resume of someone from an elite research university who has had two postdocs but not significant teaching experience or success in working with diverse groups of students going into science? How many campuses use institutional prestige as surrogates for merit, regardless of whether this disadvantages those whose route to a faculty position might be different? In such cases, there is both an allure and a preference for prestige, rather than clarity about the excellence needed and how to identify it—questions that must be answered at the institutional and departmental levels.

Myths

The myths concerning faculty diversity with respect to availability, interest in faculty careers, bidding wars, and the lure of industry continue and serve as self-fulfilling prophecies—excuses—for the slow pace of change. Scrutinizing explana-

tions for failure to make progress often reveals these assumptions, and making progress requires that they be debunked.

Rationale

Practices in the hiring and retention of faculty and the criteria for excellence have all changed over the years with the introduction of new technologies. Thus, it will be important for faculty search committees to pay attention to the rationale for diversifying the faculty and to see diversifying as essential, rather than simply optional. This is especially true for the STEM fields, where the obvious rationale concerning broadening the content of scholarship does not always apply (Brown, 1988; Chubin & Malcolm, 2006).

Decentralization and Silo of Faculty Hiring

One of the clear tensions at the institutional level is the decentralization of faculty hiring, which is located at the level of the department or search committee. Many agree that it is at the departmental level that most decisions about hiring are made. There is indeed considerable power at this level. Department heads and senior faculty develop recruitment plans and decide what constitutes “quality,” including how scholarly “productivity” is measured, how publications and research are credited, and the areas of scholarship to be emphasized (Busenberg & Smith, 1997; de la Luz Reyes & Halcon, 1991; Gainen & Boice, 1993; Steinpreis, Anders, & Ritzke, 1999; Swoboda, 1993; Turner, 2002a; Turner & Myers, 2000; West, 2000).

The ability of departmental faculty to define what is important and to hire someone who contributes to department goals is a strong value of higher education in many institutions. With respect to diversity, it can give the department the freedom to change, but it can also inhibit the *institutional* efforts to diversify. The answer involves engaging the department in the institution’s diversity efforts and helping and encouraging departments to locate their searches in this larger context. Through program reviews, strategic planning, or some other process, the department can come to see a connection between diversity and its own excellence, future, and place in the university. If this connection is not established, hiring will replicate what has always existed. If it is established, departments can create new job descriptions and position requirements for hiring that reflect changes in the field and the needs of the institution.

The Problem of “One”

At the institutional and departmental levels, search committees often lament the low percentage of URM doctorates vis-à-vis a national labor pool, even though at the department level, the need is to hire only one or two persons, a small fraction of the available pool. Ironically, the hiring of “one” often impedes hiring rather than facilitating it. The reality is that departmental searches often occur one at a time, making each hire significant and often placing a burden on a single search to capture all the needs that the department wishes to address. In such circumstances, moving in new directions, or hiring people who bring new perspectives, may be seen as “less comfortable” or may require having to give up something people have held dear.

Moreover, a single search can become a zero-sum game with respect to priorities concerning race, gender, and global and other perspectives. In contrast, hiring a group of ten, or even three, creates more opportunity for diversity and for different kinds of expertise, skills, and talent. Most departments are not hiring in this cluster fashion, although the new efforts to build interdisciplinary programs with a cluster of hires create a model for approaching searches. Even without cluster hiring, the need for increasing the domestic diversity of faculty is urgent, while many other aspects of diversity may need to focus on climate or policies. The experience of White women may first be an issue of satisfaction and climate. The experience of LGBT faculty may also be one of climate or campus policies.

Another problem of “one” is that in a typical pool of finalists, there is often one person who represents “diversity”—either an underrepresented person of color or, in some cases, a White woman. There are many factors that result in a successful search, and the likelihood that some problem or issue will arise increases when there is only one chance to add diversity. If there are five candidates and only one of them brings diversity, there is a much better chance that one of the other four will come through the search positively: there is room for one to give a bad talk and one to decide not to take the position, and two of the four will still be left. For the one candidate, there is only one chance. Extensive checking, prior interviews, and adding to the number of finalists increase the likelihood of a diversity hire.

The problem of “one” when the person is the only member of a group in his or her department or school also has direct implications for satisfaction and for retention. Being a token member of a group, as discussed earlier, has profound implications for the professional and personal experiences of the faculty mem-

ber in this position. The challenge is that the development of a critical mass is not easily accomplished at the most local of sites—the department—and is often not engaged fully even if it exists at the institutional level.

Job Descriptions and Cluster Hiring

Perhaps the most important step following a review of diversity at the level of program or school is the development of a job description (Caldwell-Colbert et al., 1996; Light, 1994; Opp & Smith, 1994; Smith, Wolf, Busenberg, & associates, 1996; Turner, 1999, 2002a). This process can be quite controversial. Conflict about what is important can escalate unless a decision is made to keep the position description broad. In addition, because job descriptions are often developed within a discipline as understood by existing faculty, the group may not consider new developments in the field or new opportunities. So many of the almost seven hundred job descriptions reviewed for the 2004 study (Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards) looked as if they could have been written in the 1950s, and, except for positions that built in global or technology priorities, most did not appear to have been written in the context of program or strategic planning. The development of a good description requires some articulation of what skills and competencies are needed, including the competence to engage diversity and perhaps to successfully teach a diverse group of students. Moreover, the job description should not be pulled from an old file and developed, as it often is, apart from a review of the program or institutional priorities. Drafting a job description must be one of the core parts of a newly conceptualized hiring process in which the job description is linked to strategic plans, program reviews, and institutional priorities.

There are examples today where campuses are using a single job description to hire a cluster of faculty, either within a single department or within a school, who can address a particular area for research and teaching from different disciplinary and methodological vantage points. This approach broadens the job description, reduces the problem of hiring one, and increases the likelihood that persons bringing diversity to the department or school will be hired. It also has implications for retention. Pfeffer (1985), in a classic study concerning hiring, demonstrated that cohort hiring can be extremely effective with respect to retention and satisfaction.

Job descriptions are significant in another way. They signal to candidates something about the degree to which diversity really matters in the conduct and mission of the campus, in contrast to the pro forma “We are an equal opportunity employer” language. Statements about mission, student body, and community are

often important in communicating the centrality of diversity and the potential attractiveness of the campus to a diverse pool.

A word about essentializing scholars and job descriptions is needed here. There is no question in the research that job descriptions that engage diversity more centrally are more likely to produce diverse pools and diverse hires. What does that mean for persons who bring diversity of background and experience but whose areas of scholarship—physics, accounting, Shakespeare, opera—are not directly related to diversity issues? I am not suggesting that all strategies should be focused on job descriptions and fields that explicitly address diversity. This is an important cautionary note. A campus needs to make some explicit statement about its commitment to diversity, through its mission statement, and about its need to hire people in all fields who have competence in teaching diverse groups of students and other skills linked to diversity. Such a statement also speaks to the willingness of a campus to be proactive in identifying diverse pools in fields whose content is not directly related to diversity. Without attention to this, campuses may be more diverse institutionally yet end up ghettoizing faculty in content-related fields.

Proactive and Careful Searches

Being on a faculty search committee is not a task that most faculty seek out, and chairing one does not always represent anything more than another major demand on an already overloaded schedule. Moreover, the highly sophisticated search processes now common in recruiting senior administrators are not common knowledge or practice in faculty searches. The pattern for faculty searches is to develop the job description or change dates on an old description and then place ads and send out letters. Applications are received and reviewed, and a group of finalists are selected based on their paperwork and sometimes on preliminary interviews at conferences. This is a fundamentally passive process, and it has often yielded sufficient numbers of applications—except when it comes to diversity. Having advertised in the major ethnic journals that announce positions, the department or campus feels it has done its job of advertising and opening up the pool.

Sometimes, when a campus is serious about proactively creating a diverse pool, members of the search committee are encouraged to network at the relevant professional meetings (after all, faculty hiring is often done from a bounded group of people located in programs or disciplines). However, it is not clear that professional societies are any less segregated by race than our schools and communities. One scientist told me in a moment of candor, “I know there are African American, Latino, and American Indian scientists at my meeting, but I don’t know

them and I feel awkward approaching them.” Faculty tell people they know about searches they have. If those networks are de facto segregated, then the network serves those who are most like those in faculty positions already.

In contrast, by actively networking, members of a search committee have a chance to acknowledge the significance of a scholar’s research, not just his or her ethnicity or gender. It became clear in the 1996 study concerned with debunking the myths about hiring for diversity (Smith, Wolf, Busenberg, & associates) that faculty of color, especially URM faculty, were reluctant to apply simply on the basis of advertisements, because they thought that they would not be taken seriously or that they might serve to diversify the final candidate pool but not really be a serious contender for the position. One participant in the study, an African American chemical engineer, highlighted the delicate relationship between affirmative action in hiring and her own accomplishments: “The first thing that somebody says to me when they find out I have a PhD or that I’m interested in an academic position . . . doesn’t have anything to do with my research area or my research ability. It’s ‘Oh, you’re Black and female, you’d be great.’ After you work really hard for years you want to say, ‘yeah, but I did some research’” (p. 108).

Fundamentally, the search process is about identifying talent. When affirmative action was introduced as a strategy at the federal level, colleges and universities were on the defensive. The lack of diversity with respect to gender and race on most campuses, and the resistance to change, prompted the federal government to pass affirmative-action legislation that mandated that search processes be open, that campuses work to diversify the pool, and that criteria for hiring be appropriate to the particular search. The underlying message was that there was talent available but that campuses had been unable or unwilling to interrupt their usual and often closed processes to find and consider that talent. That is still the issue. To what degree do campuses seriously engage finding talent from different pools of people, and to what degree do campuses have the competence to identify that talent when it looks different to search committees and campus groups? One of the important strategies, then, is the aggressive development of a diverse pool.

Overscrutiny and Bias in the Search Process

Most search processes put heavy emphasis on the initial review of paper applications. This is often felt to ensure objectivity. But the fact is that the paper presentation of candidates affords numerous opportunities for bias, either implicit or explicit. The bias toward privileging people who have attended elite institutions is common and often explicit (Knowles & Harleston, 1997; Smith, Wolf, Busen-

berg, & associates, 1996). Other biases are more implicit, involving where people have published, whether having explicit scholarship on issues related to race or gender is viewed as a strength or a weakness, whether a person's early experiences in community college are viewed as a strength or a weakness, and whether the person has done work in the community (Moody, 2004). Indicators such as where one went to school can become surrogates for merit and thus bias the process away from those who have not followed an elite educational trajectory (see, e.g., Busenberg and Smith, 1997; McGinley, 1997; Merritt & Resken, 1997).

Bias has been documented in a number of reports. Studies looking at letters of reference for women candidates and evaluations of resumes have found bias favoring male candidates even when the records are identical (Trix & Psenka, 2003; Valian, 2000, 2005). Such studies should be sobering and should provide an impetus to interrupting the usual when it comes to screening candidates. Though I have not seen formal research on this, more and more people who participate on search committees have begun to talk about the overscrutiny of women and minority candidates, including scrutiny of their tenurability, their degrees, their research, and so on (Kulis, Chong, & Shaw, 1999; Kulis & Shaw, 1996; Misra, Kennelly, & Karides, 1999). This would be consistent with the literature on tokenism, in which such a candidate is visible as a representative but invisible as an individual. Regardless, overscrutiny has devastating consequences for the equitable review of applications and the likelihood that even one "qualified" candidate will emerge from the paper review.

My own research suggests that champions on search committees play a valuable role in watching out for how individual applicants are reviewed (Smith, Wolf, Busenberg, & associates, 1996). But there is greater likelihood that underrepresented candidates will find themselves without champions and more likely to be questioned. The only way to guard against bias is to ensure that there is sufficient awareness in the search committee, through training, and sufficient diversity on the committee to avoid it.

Special Hires

Research results suggest that special hires (along with other strategies such as diverse search committees, relevant job descriptions, linking departmental hires to institutional priorities and processes, and proactive searches) may be required in order to promote success in the hiring of most underrepresented faculty outside of ethnic studies and women's studies departments. Such practices are referred to with a variety of expressions: exceptional hires, search waivers, spousal hires,

special-hire intervention, expanded job descriptions, modification of usual search requirements to meet program needs, shortened search process (truncated process), cluster hiring, or out-of-cycle hiring. Special hiring will remain significant as long as regular searches result in hiring faculty of color only in expected fields. Significantly, such strategies yield hiring across all racial and ethnic groups, suggesting that they would not violate current restrictions in the use of affirmative action and legal challenges.

However, an important caution should be noted. Because faculty success is dependent on department support and mentoring, continued research and vigilance are needed to monitor the success of faculty appointed with such interventions. Special hires should be made with the enthusiastic support of the department and with high regard for the scholarly contribution of the person hired.

Leadership and the Timing of Interventions

It is common in the research and practice literature on this topic to talk about the need for senior leadership to stay involved. Some suggest that leaders should be willing to turn back final candidates if there is no diversity present. It appears to me that while this is a potential strategy, it is not the best one. By the time search committees have come to agreement about the final group to bring to campus, a great deal of compromise, effort, and frustration have already been expended. (This also shows how untrue it is that there is one dimension of excellence and that one candidate simply rises to the top.) If we are to break down the silos of hiring and build the potential for institutional, school, program, and department synergies, leadership has to be engaged early on in the process: the discussion of what is important as revealed in recent program reviews, formulating the job description, creating a competent search committee, selecting a chair, ensuring that the candidate pool is diverse, monitoring that outreach has taken place, supporting efforts to ensure that relevant people have been encouraged to apply, and working to have the department see the institutional and program imperative. As the search proceeds, it is critically important that someone in the administration know what is happening and that the necessary supports be in place to facilitate an effective search.

The very decentralized nature of faculty hiring, sometimes down to the level of the search committee, has important implications for the role of deans and department chairs. The leadership in schools and departments becomes critical in facilitating the development of job descriptions, organizing the search, struc-

turing the search committee, and facilitating proactive networking strategies. Senior leadership, however, has a clear role to play in identifying the curricular, research, and hiring priorities for the institution. When there is alignment between institutional-level efforts and more localized efforts, then change can occur. Intervention strategies such as creating extra faculty lines have been effective and often involve departmental and senior leadership. Chairs of search committees, deans, and department chairs can also be oriented as to how to conduct effective searches that are intentional about identifying biases, overscrutiny, and other patterns that emerge (Moody, 2004).

Linking to Central Processes

The relationship between the need for diversity in core institutional processes and faculty hiring has been both implicit and explicit throughout this chapter. It is important enough to warrant some special attention. As technology became central to every sector of college campuses, it emerged as an important factor in many searches. This occurred in part because there was a recognition that these new developments were, or were going to be, central to program, school, and institutional needs. In these searches, there was often a recognition of the gaps in programs that needed to be filled. While often not as clear in matters of diversity, this connection between hiring and core institutional elements is critical to ensuring that diversity in hiring is a consideration. Otherwise, the rhetoric will be present and the words will be written, but in the end, the reasons for failure will be more common than the evidence of success.

Faculty hiring is so central to departmental autonomy that diversity has to be linked to or embedded in these cultures to really emerge as a priority. For campuses that have a well-developed program-review process or program-planning process that is linked to academic planning or institutional priorities, program plans can be an important vehicle if the structure is provided to facilitate the understanding of how important the diversity imperative is to the department.

The dimensions of diversity can be readily built in to most of these processes through the employment of disaggregated data. A number of questions can be included in program reviews: Who are our students (undergraduate, graduate, professional)? For whom are we successful (undergraduate, graduate, professional students)? What is the relationship between the mission of a department (program, unit) and the mission of the campus? What resources do we have, and

what resources do we need? What are the new developments in the field that relate to diversity, and how well do we engage them? What are the curricular and/or scholarly needs of the institution, and to what degree are we prepared to meet them? How do we relate to our external communities? What societal needs should we be addressing? Many of these questions are being addressed in institutional plans that incorporate diversity. Asking departments to engage them at the local level will provide a much stronger basis for developing job descriptions and identifying faculty needs as units face hiring opportunities. Institutions can also use the priority of diversity as a way to prioritize the allocation of searches to units.

Legal Issues

Because the current environment may put campuses on the defensive about legal matters in hiring, the hiring and retention of faculty, as in other areas, needs to be understood as being focused on expertise, talent, skills, and institutional and departmental requirements (Alger, 2000, 2005a, 2005b). Locating diversity at the center of an institution's mission and educational and scholarly priorities is both effective and legal. An approach to special hires that focuses on levels of expertise and skills but that opens the application process to all persons is both narrow enough and clear enough to increase the likelihood of diverse pools while staying within legal limits. In contrast, the debates about affirmative-action practices are often framed today in a legal context, and often with a defensive posture. Approaching the hiring and retention of faculty in ways described here makes this very important institutional function a scholarly and educational one—proactive and central to the mission.

Many people critical of affirmative action suggest that there is nothing but diversity hiring occurring, thus leading to reverse discrimination. The data do not support such allegations. Indeed, the counterevidence is that in many fields and departments, there is a total absence of persons of color. The research suggests that the impetus for affirmative action—putting campuses on notice to diversify their hiring—remains a current issue that should leave campuses vulnerable to charges of continued bias, rather than the reverse. These data, along with evidence that diversity is central to the institution's mission, are critically important from a legal perspective. Moreover, while the focus here has been on race and gender, every campus must consider its own context in looking at the ways in which other forms of diversity are important.

Evaluation and Monitoring of Successful Practices

The need to evaluate and monitor progress is significant in faculty hiring and retention. Tracking patterns for faculty diversity over time, looking at turnover, gathering information about the reasons faculty stay and leave, and identifying locations on campus where success has been achieved can provide a manageable and useful store of information. In understanding promising practices and what works, institutions themselves will have to assess if, why, and how strategies worked, and for whom the strategies worked or didn't work. Research in the field now indicates significantly different results by discipline.

Departments and fields whose content is closely linked to diversity continue to be the most likely places for hiring of underrepresented faculty of color, while science and math fields are hiring Asian and Asian American faculty through the use of regular searches. Over time, this could result in distorted and potentially stereotypical placements. Campuses are often in a position to examine examples of successful departments and to share information. Such knowledge can inform all campus hiring processes. Significantly, context does matter. Each institution has to craft and characterize its interventions in ways that are congruent with its departments, campus environment, and mission.

The studies reported here have focused primarily on tenured and tenure-track faculty. It will be increasingly important to look at whether people who bring diversity, and which ones, are being hired—both “online” and “off-line.” It has been well documented that, along with the recent growth in the number and percentage of tenured and tenure-track faculty, there has been much more significant growth in positions “off-line.” While more data are needed, preliminary studies, including those by Trower and Chait (2002) and Schuster and Finkelstein (2006), suggest that a much higher percentage of URM faculty and White women are being hired in such positions than in tenure or tenure-track positions.

Graduate Students

It is not uncommon to discuss graduate-student diversity as part of an analysis of student diversity. Through the work with the James Irvine Foundation Campus Diversity Initiative, the important link between graduate-student enrollments and faculty hiring emerged. There is not yet sufficient diversity in graduate enrollments to create the robust pipeline necessary for “easier” faculty hiring. Higher education is not only hiring the next generation of faculty, it is also producing the pipeline for

the next generation of faculty (Golde & Walker, 2006). Olivas has asked why schools “do not see their responsibility to recruit and graduate more Latino lawyers” (1994, p. 131). The national data suggest that despite the fact that undergraduate enrollments in doctoral-granting institutions are significantly more diverse, graduate enrollments are not moving fast enough (Congressional Commission on the Advancement of Women and Minorities in Science, Engineering and Technology Development, 2000; White, 1989; Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 2005).

There has been progress in diversifying students in doctoral programs by race and gender, but the rate of progress is not yet sufficient. Doctoral education and the development of future faculty are closely tied to faculty concerns, and they need to be part of the strategy for diverse faculty—especially with the robust hiring that is under way.



The prevailing findings from research and practice suggest that *interrupting the usual* and *challenging myths* will be very important if colleges and universities are to achieve excellence in developing the necessary knowledge, capacity, expertise, and success in the very diverse society that the United States has become. Given the speed of current hiring on many campuses throughout the country, and the presence of significant turnover, we are running out of time to succeed in building institutional capacity in the form of faculty resources.

Moreover, what is done now will send a powerful message to students about the potential opportunities in faculty careers. Higher education really does produce its own labor pool. It has the ability to decide who will be hired and who will not. While providing excuses for failure may be convincing to some, the failure to succeed will have repercussions for years to come. Hence, there is today both urgency and opportunity.

NOTE

Parts of this chapter were drawn from Smith, Wolf, Busenberg, & associates, 1996; Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004; and Smith, Parker, Clayton-Pedersen, Moreno, & Teraguchi, 2006.