Interrupting the Usual: Successful Strategies for Hiring Diverse Faculty

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Introduction

Across the country, hundreds of campuses are engaged in efforts to diversify their faculties ethnically/racially, in response to both internal and external pressures. While fueled by numerous arguments related to the increasing diversity of their student body and the need to prepare all students for a diverse society, the reality is that perhaps the least successful of all the many diversity initiatives on campuses are those in the area of faculty diversity. Despite years of affirmative action policies, faculty of color continue to be underrepresented in higher education (Astin, Antonio, Cress, & Astin, 1997; Blackshire-Belay, 1998; Harvey, 2001; Pavel, Swisher, & Ward, 1994; Trower & Chait, 2002; Turner & Myers, 2000; Wilson, 1995a,b).

In response to this reality, the current literature offers numerous explanations for the low representation of faculty of color in the academy, coupled with suggestions for improving this condition. While increasing attention is being paid to the condition of Asian-American faculty, the bulk of the research today has focused on historically underrepresented African-American, Latino/a, and American Indian faculty. However, few studies to date stem from empirical work that considers the *conditions* under which appointments are made that contribute to a diverse faculty.

Given the significance of hiring processes and practices in achieving a diverse faculty, this study examines the departmental search committee process and those conditions that lead to hiring diverse faculty in terms of race/ethnicity and gender.

Specifically, this study examines whether specific interventions account for the hiring of diverse faculty above and beyond hiring done in academic areas specifically focused on race and ethnicity. Using data from approximately 700 searches, we investigate the hypothesis that at institutions with predominantly White populations, hiring of faculty from underrepresented groups (African-Americans, Latina/os, and American Indians) occurs when at least one of the following three *designated* conditions are met: (1) The job description used to recruit faculty members explicitly engages diversity at the department or subfield level: (2) An institutional "special hire" strategy, such as waiver of a search, target of opportunity hire, or spousal hire, is used; (3) The search is conducted by an ethnically/racially diverse search committee.

Brief Review of the Literature

A large part of the literature on faculty diversity suggests that the lack of faculty of color stems from the relatively few, particularly underrepresented, students of color earning doctorates (Adams, 1988; Bowen & Schuster, 1986; Bowen & Sosa, 1989; Clotfelter, Ehrenberg, Getz, & Sigfried, 1991; CPEC, 1990; Myers & Turner, 1995; National Center for Educational Statistics, 1992; Norrell & Gill, 1991; Ottinger, Sikula, & Washington, 1993; Schuster, 1992; Solorzano, 1993; Thurgood & Clarke, 1995). For example, Linda J. Sax, director of a research program that oversees the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) national faculty survey, explains the decline in proportional minority faculty representation in the 1998–1999 survey by saying, "There hasn't been much of an increase in minority doctoral recipients over the same period—they're still only 12 percent of the Ph.D.'s" (Magner, 1999, p. A18). Viewing the issue of doctorates awarded in relationship to gains in faculty hires from the same relational premise, Aguirre (2000), examining data from 1980 to 1993, suggests that the relationship between doctoral attainment pools and faculty hiring numbers are in some cases (though not always) positively related. The use of the pool argument to explain the lack of diverse faculty is often asserted by administrators and faculty. For example, commenting on the institution's lack of progress in hiring African Americans, former president of Harvard University, Neil Rudenstine, stated that "we have to keep going back to the still really unfortunate problem of the fact that only two percent of Ph.D.s in the

United States—if you exclude clinical psychology and education—awarded annually are to African Americans, and that's just a tiny number of people" (Roach, 1999, p. 37).

This limited pipeline argument is also expressed at the community college level where minority faculty constitute an even smaller percentage of full-time faculty than at four-year institutions. A survey of beliefs on recruitment of minority faculty held by Chief Academic Officers (CAO) at two-year colleges reveals that 59% of White CAOs (versus 38% of their counterparts of color) believe faculty of color are not available in technical fields, and 49% of White CAOs (versus 32% of their counterparts of color) believe that minority faculty are not available in arts and science fields (Opp, 1994).

The concern about the pipeline for future faculty is a legitimate one. Nevertheless, using the situation of Latinos in law schools as an example of the larger academic community, Olivas submits that the pipeline rationale can be deceptive. Viewing higher education as the consumer, in this case of Latino law faculty, he points out that the consumer is also the producer of the product sought after. He asks "why it is schools do not see their responsibility to recruit and graduate more Latino lawyers?" (1994, p. 131). Olivas goes on to argue that even if graduation rates are considered low, the number of graduates over time produces a pool more than capable of altering the dismally low numbers of Latino lawyers currently employed as faculty in the academy. Furthermore, Trower and Chait (2002) point out that even in fields with more scholars of color, such as education and psychology, the faculty is not diverse.

Because of pipeline issues and because of the continued limits in the labor market for faculty (Busenberg & Smith, 1997; Schuster, 1995), many assume that there is a "bidding war" in which faculty of color are sought after over "traditional" White male faculty (Mooney, 1989; White, 1989, 1992; Yale, 1990). In this context, "ordinary" institutions believe they are not comparably rich enough, located well enough, or prestigious enough to attract the few candidates who are in such high demand (El-Khawas, 1990; Harvey & Scott-Jones, 1985; Wilson, 1995a). A report from a prestigious research institution about their diversity efforts typifies this belief, wherein the institution claims that "although a concerted effort has been made, small candidate pools and intense competition between top universities has made growth in faculty members extremely difficult" (Smith, Wolf, & Busenberg, 1996, p. 3).

Contrary to this belief, faculty, postdoctoral fellows, and administrators of color deny that the typical hiring experience of minority scholars is one of bidding wars (Carter & O'Brien, 1993; Almost, 1994; Bronstein, Rothblum, & Solomon, 1993; Collins, 1990; Collins & Johnson,

1990; Cross, 1994; de la Luz Reyes & Halcon, 1991; Delgado, Stefancic, & Lindsley, 2000; El-Khawas, 1988; Garza, 1988, 1992; Menges & Exum, 1983; Michelson & Oliver, 1991; Moore, 1988; Smith, 1989; Staples, 1984; Turner, 1999; Washington & Harvey, 1989; Wilson, 1987, 1995a,b).

A recent national empirical study was designed to test the competing beliefs about faculty diversity (Smith et al., 1996). The study, examining the employment experiences of scholars who had recently earned doctorates with funding from three prestigious fellowship programs, found that the underrepresented scholars of color, even in this group, were not highly sought after, and that the bidding wars were vastly overstated. Moreover, the majority of the scientists in this study (54%)—all underrepresented scholars of color—were not pursued for faculty positions by academic institutions. In another study addressing supply and demand arguments, Olivas (1994), in a study of Latino law school faculties, concludes that the credentials of Latino/a law school faculty exceed that of their White counterparts. Olivas 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 . . ." (1994, p. 133).

While it is clear that there are a number of factors involved in the issue of diversifying faculty, the literature reports that, in order to achieve greater success, search processes must change. Turner and Myers (2000) suggest, for example, that the absence of aggressive hiring strategies may contribute to the underrepresentation of faculty of color. Many agree that it is at the departmental level that most policy decisions about hiring are made. There is, indeed, considerable power at the departmental 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; Pepion, 1993; Swoboda, 1993; Turner & Myers, 1997; Turner, 2002; West, 2000).

In relationship to the power dynamic, de la Luz Reyes and Halcon state "The qualifications of minorities alone are almost irrelevant [in the hiring process, instead] personal and political preferences, prejudices and fears of majority faculty and inaction of administrators play a larger role in the final decisions reached" (1991, p. 179). Similarly, Busenberg and Smith question the system of meritocracy upon which hiring decisions are supposedly made, pointing out that "informal systems of preference still mold much of American life, and take marked importance

over merit" (1997, p. 170). Others have echoed these concerns (e.g., Merritt & Resken, 1997; McGinley, 1997).

Suggestions for strategies that emerge from the literature take aim at both attitudinal and structural barriers, including recommendations to involve administrators in maintaining a stronger institutional commitment to diversity, urging faculty to become involved in programs that address diversity issues, and strengthening the support for scholars of color who are prepared to enter the faculty ranks. Additional suggestions include the use of job descriptions that are relevant to institutional diversity along with institutional interventions, such as target of opportunity hires and incentive programs (Caldwell-Colbert et al., 1996; Light, 1994; Opp and Smith, 1994; Smith et al., 1996; Turner, 1999, 2002).

As previously expressed, despite these various suggestions to improve the processes by which faculty are hired, few researchers have empirically addressed the question of whether searches using such strategies yield results in relationship to faculty diversity that differ from the outcomes of "regular" searches. The present study was designed to answer this question for a limited but important sample of institutions and to develop a protocol that could be used in other studies. Hiring in ethnic studies departments would be expected to yield hiring of faculty of color. Carefully constructing a job description represents a potential intervention that links hiring to the academic program. Strategies that allow a department to bypass the usual search process or that alter the composition of search committees could be employed by any field or subfield.

Methodology

Three large elite public research universities—each of which are member institutions of the Association of American Universities (AAU)—agreed to participate as partners in this study. Because of the nature of the study, the names of the institutions, as well as all information about individuals, were kept confidential. In the end, data were compiled on 689 searches.

Each campus was asked to include all faculty hires during the period from 1995 to 1998 and to provide the following information: (a) job description; (b) discipline of the appointment; (c) race/ethnicity and gender of faculty hire; (d) race/ethnicity and gender composition of the search committee; (e) any special initiatives, funding sources, or interventions that were used in the search; and (f) the institution from which the successful candidate came (Ph.D. institution and previous place of employment, where applicable). The data had to be developed search-

by-search from campus records, affirmative action documents, and school-based records. As predicted, not all data were available in every case (particularly the composition of the search committee).

In the case of one campus, all searches during the time frame under study were included, with the exceptions of medicine, classics, philosophy, political science, microbiology and molecular genetics. These exceptions were due to an inability to gather data in time to meet the completion date of the study.

Variables

The following variables were used in the study:

Job description. For quantitative purposes, job descriptions were classified according to whether they contained requirements related to diversity in the subject matter or expertise of the faculty member. Job descriptions that contained requirements relating to diversity were categorized according to how the association to diversity was made. The categories used were "department indicates diversity," "subfield within department indicates diversity," and "other salient job qualification indicates diversity." The operational definitions were as follows:

1. *Department indicates diversity* refers to Ethnic Studies programs, i.e., African-American Studies, Asian-American Studies, American Indian Studies, and Chicano/Latino/a Studies;
2. *Subfield within a department indicates diversity* covers areas such as African-American literature within an English department or race relations within a sociology department;
3. *Other salient job qualification indicates diversity* is exemplified by a call for applicants, for example, who "engender a climate that values and uses diversity in all its forms to enliven and make more inclusive the work of the organization" and with "experience in community outreach in multi-cultural settings."

Each of these was given scores of one for "yes" and two for "no."

The discipline. Positions were classified by disciplines and fields. Interdisciplinary hires and joint appointments were also noted.

The composition of the search committee. The racial/ethnic and gender composition of the search committee was described and then categorized according to whether at least one member of the search committee was from an underrepresented group.

Special hire. Any intervention strategies that bypassed normal search processes were indicated. These included spousal hires, targeted hires for fields, and incentive funds of some sort.

Race/ethnicity and gender of the faculty hire. Ethnic and gender categories were used for this study according to the classification used by the campus. While the focus of the study was on historically underrepresented African-American, Latino/a, and American Indian faculty, patterns for Asian-American and White faculty along with gender were also investigated.

Institution from which the person came. The name and pre-2001 Carnegie classification of the Ph.D. granting institution and, where available and applicable, the prior institution of hires were noted.

Flexibility. Job descriptions were coded according to whether they had some flexibility in the areas of specialty sought. Those that were not highly specific were coded as flexible (yes=1), those that were specific were coded as not flexible (no=2).

Diversity in the final pool. Where available, we coded the data to indicate whether there was diversity in the final pool, that is, whether an underrepresented faculty candidate (an African American, Latino/a, American Indian), or an Asian-American candidate was included.

Analysis.

The data were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively to see if any patterns emerged. In particular, the analysis tested the hypothesis that when underrepresented faculty of color are hired, (a) the field or department into which they are hired will be more likely related to race and ethnicity or (b) a proactive intervention strategy will have been employed— significantly more often than when White men or women are hired. In addition, OLS stepwise multiple regression was employed to validate what variable or combination of variables best predicted the presence or absence of a "diversity hire." Following several readings of the entire portfolio for each hire, additional observations about field specific issues and search committee issues were also analyzed. A meeting of all principals and representatives from the campuses further validated the results of the data.

Although narrative data were not available for each search case, some portfolios included information in addition to what was requested. Where available, this information was analyzed. For instance, curriculum vitas and letters of support written on behalf of candidates for exceptional hire searches provided information about the unique qualities brought by diverse faculty members and specific reasons for using "exceptional hire" as an intervention strategy. While case studies of the search process would be very useful in future research, the data in the study provided some information from a qualitative perspective.

The data for the three institutions were pooled after analysis suggested similar overall findings in each.

Reliability

Interrater reliability was used for both the categorization system developed in the matrix and for determination of "flexibility." A subsample of every tenth search was tested using interrater reliability between two coders, and 98% agreement was obtained on the coding protocol.

Results

Hiring Conditions

Table 1 summarizes the search results for the three campuses by condition and by race/ethnicity of the faculty member hired. Of the 689 searches completed during the three-year period of the study, 3% of those hired were African American, 6% were Latino/a, 1% were American Indian, 16% were Asian American, and 74% were White.

Using job descriptions to investigate the types of strategies/conditions used for faculty hiring, each search was coded according to whether (a) the department indicated diversity; (b) a subfield within a department indicated diversity; (c) diversity was salient in other desired job qualifications; or (d) a special hire was invoked. In addition, the data also noted where both a special hire was made and the job contained a diversity indicator.

Table 2 summarizes the conditions for the three campuses combined and the percentage of special hires within each race/ethnic category. Figure 1 presents a visual representation of the results for the hiring of all underrepresented faculty combined. Of these faculty hires, 71% were hired with a diversity indicator or special-hire intervention—24% using

TABLE 1

Faculty Hires for 1995–1998

	AA[1]	LA[2]	AI[3]	ASA[4]	W[5]	Totals
Department indicates diversity	2	5	2		2	11
Subfield within department indicates diversity	3	2		10	25	40
Other desired job qualification indicates diversity	3			3	33	39
Special hire	6	8	3	5	51	73
Special hire & department diversity	2	1	1		2	6
Special hire & subfield indicates diversity	3	2		2	1	7
Special hire & other indicator of diversity					2	2
Position with no diversity indicator	3	24		89	395	511
Totals	22	42	6	108	511	689
	(3%)	(6%)	(1%)	(16%)	(74%)	(100%)

[1]African-American; [2]Latino/a; [3]American Indian; [4]Asian-American; [5]White.

diversity in the job description, 24% special hires, and 23% a combination of special hire and diversity indicator.

African Americans were hired almost entirely under the designated conditions expected (86%), divided among special hires, job descriptions, and diversity departments (see Figure 2 and Table 2). All American Indians were hired as a result of diversity indicators 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 (see Figure 3).

For Latino/as the results showed a broader range of hiring circumstances, although 43% were hired outside of regular searches (See Table 2 and Figure 4). Because the initial definition of diversity indicators did not

TABLE 2

Conditions under which Racial/Ethnic Group Hired

Condition	AA	LA	AI	ASA	W
Diversity in position/job description	36% (8)	17% (7)	33% (2)	12% (13)	12% (60)
Special hire	27% (6)	19% (8)	50% (3)	5% (5)	10% (51)
Diversity in position/job description & special hire	23% (5)	7% (3)	17% (1)	1% (1)	1% (5)
Totals	86% (19)	43% (18)	100% (6)	18% (19)	23% (116)

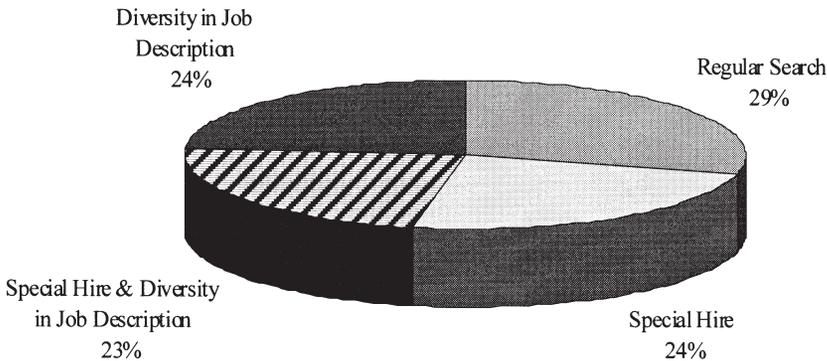|	Underrepresented	ASA	W
Special hires/total hires of group	37% (43)	6% (19)	11% (116)

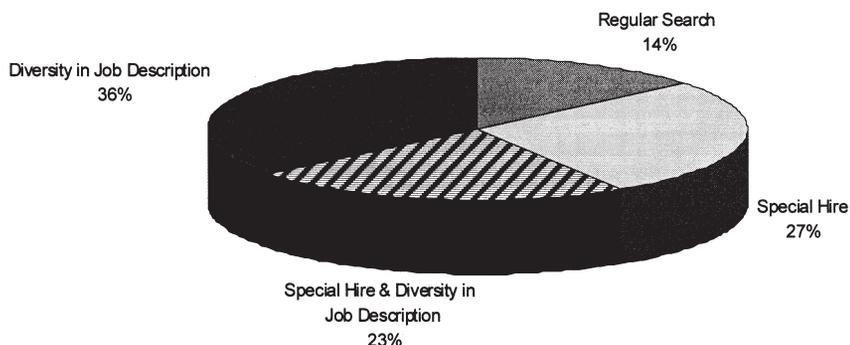FIG. 1. Hiring Patterns—Underrepresented Hires
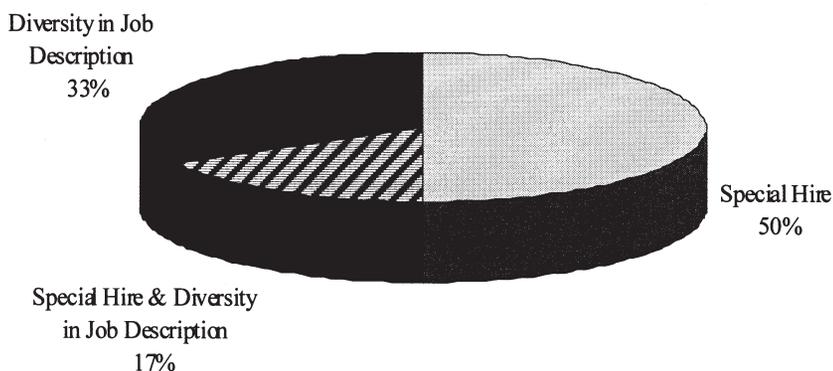
FIG. 2. Hiring Patterns for African Americans

FIG. 3. Hiring Patterns for American Indians

include such fields as Spanish or Latin American studies, the data were re-analyzed to see how many Latino/as were hired in these areas as well. This analysis revealed that an additional 14% of Latino/as would be included in hires resulting from a diversity indicator in the job description. Broadening the definition in this way would have brought the total percentage of Latino/as hired using a diversity indicator or special hire to 57%.

In the case of Asian Americans 18% were hired with a diversity indicator or special hire (see Table 2 and Figure 5). As with Latino/as, broadening the definition of diversity indicators to include Asian languages and international areas would result in an additional 7% of Asian Americans defined as hired under these conditions, bringing the total to 25%.
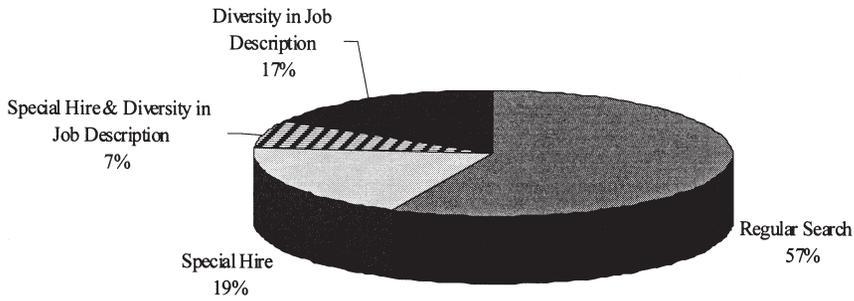
Diversity in Job
Description
17%

Special Hire & Diversity in
Job Description
7%

Regular Search
57%

Special Hire
19%

FIG. 4. Hiring Patterns for Latino/as

Special Hire & Diversity in
Job Description
12%

Diversity in Job
Description
1%

Special Hire
5%

Regular Search
82%
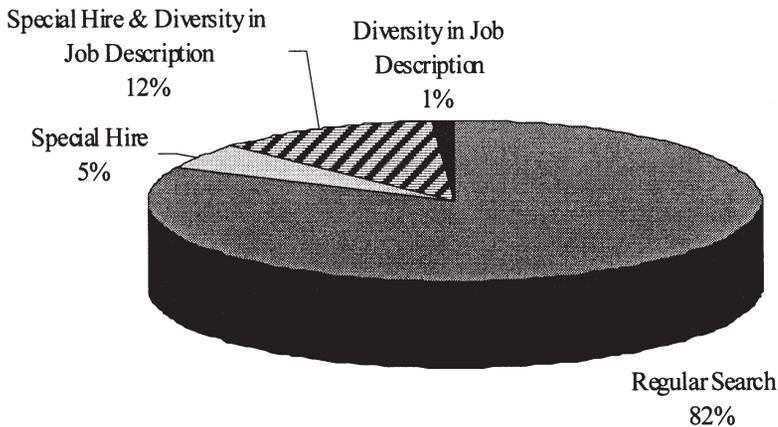
FIG. 5. Hiring Patterns for Asian Americans

A total of 23% of Whites were hired under the designated conditions, with 12% hired for positions indicating diversity and 11% hired as special hires (see Table 2, Figure 6).

Another way to view the data is to look at the hiring patterns within each of the conditions we have studied. For the positions where the department indicated diversity, 82% of those hired were underrepresented faculty (see Table 3 and Figure 7). Whites filled the remaining 18% of positions meeting this description. Only 13% of the positions where a subfield indicated diversity went to underrepresented faculty. Of the remaining 87% hired for positions meeting this description, 62% were White and 25% were Asian American. Special hiring represented an important intervention in securing underrepresented faculty, as it was

Fig 6. Hiring Patterns for Whites

TABLE 3

Percentage of Positions Filled by Faculty from Underrepresented Groups
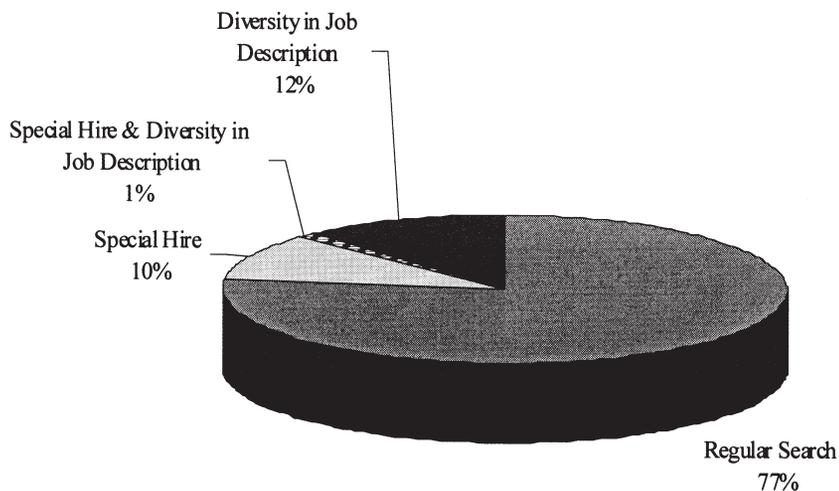
	%	(n)
Department indicates diversity	82%	(9)
Subfield within department indicates diversity	13%	(5)
Other desired job qualification indicates diversity	8%	(3)
Position with no diversity indicator	5%	(27)
Special hire	30%	(26)

utilized in 30% of the cases. A meager 5% of regular hires, that is to say hires for positions without a diversity indicator and without the use of a special hire, resulted in the hiring of an underrepresented faculty member.

Table 4 shows the ethnic distribution of hires from all searches, that is to say those employing regular searches and those using special conditions as defined by this study. Of the total number of searches, 26% used either diversity indicators or special hires. What this table illustrates is that without these conditions, the ethnic composition of the faculty would have been quite different. In the proposed scenario, only .6% of faculty would be African American, 4.7% would be Latino/a, 0% American Indian, 17% Asian American, and 77% White. However, while in-

82%

13%

8%

5%

30%

0.9
0.8
0.7
0.6
0.5
0.4
0.3
0.2
0.1
0

1   2   3   4   5

Position Type

1. Department indicates diversity (n=11)
2. Subfield within department indicates diversity (n=40)
3. Other desired job qualification indicates diversity
(n=39)
4. Position with no diversity indicator (n=511)
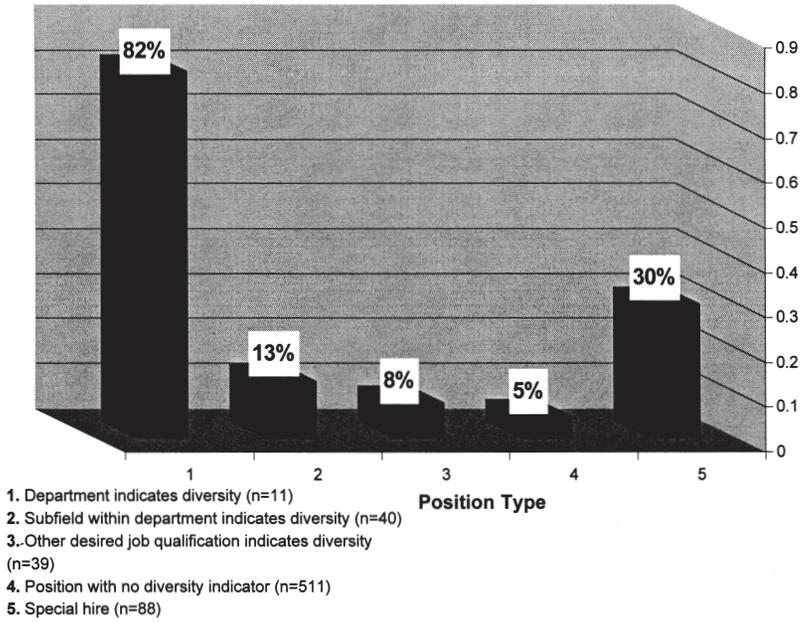**5.** Special hire (n=88)

FIG 7. Percentage of Positions Filled by Faculty from Underrepresented Groups by Position Type

TABLE 4

Faculty Diversity Profile for Regular Searches and Those Hired with Designated Conditions[1]

	No designated conditions	Total hires	Designated Conditions
African American	.6% (3)	3% (22)	11% (19)
Latino	4.7% (24)	6% (42)	10% (18)
American Indian	0% (0)	1% (6)	3% (6)
Asian American	17% (89)	16% (108)	11% (19)
White	77% (395)	74% (511)	65% (116)
Total n	511	689	178

[1]Designated conditions include diversity indicators and/or special hires (see methods)

terventions or 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 or special hires were White.

Search Committee Composition

We had some data on the composition of search committees from 419 (61%) of the searches. Table 5 summarizes the data for searches in which at least one member of the committee was an underrepresented faculty member. Of the 10 searches that resulted in the hiring of an African American and where we had search data, 40% (4) of the committees had at least one underrepresented faculty member. For Latinos/as, this number was 48% (11), for Asian Americans, 12% (8) and for Whites, 21% (69). Because there was so little diversity on the search committees, the findings here are merely suggestive that diversity on the search committee may increase the likelihood of a diverse hire.

An OLS multiple regression analysis was used (see Table 6) to verify findings from the descriptive data and to see what variables served as the best predictors for the hiring of underrepresented faculty (Berry & Feldman, 1985). Three variables entered significantly at the .01 level or below. These were diversity (Beta=.3), special hire (Beta= .2), and subfield indicates diversity (Beta=.1). The variables entering account for almost 20% of the variance, thus supporting the hypothesis that intervention strategies are important in the hiring of underrepresented faculty.

Diversity in the Finalist Pool

From two institutions, we had information on the ethnic composition of finalists. Table 7 summarizes those data. Out of 267 searches where we had finalist information, 146 (55%) of the final pools included people of color. Of these, 18 (12%) resulted in the appointment of an underrepresented person of color, 44 (30%) resulted in the hiring of an Asian-American faculty member, and 84 (58%) resulted in the hiring of a white faculty member. Thus, diversity in the finalist pool served to increase somewhat the likelihood of hiring a person of color though a majority are still white.

Gender

The intervention strategies and hiring patterns by gender and race/ethnicity are displayed in Table 8. For the sample as a whole, 69% were men and 31% were women. This general relationship holds for each racial/ethnic group, though 59% of African Americans and only one-third of the American Indians hired were men. For each racial/ethnic group, with the exception of American Indians, more women were hired with diversity indicators or intervention strategies than were men. Indeed, all African-American women, 62% of Latinas, 100% of American Indians, 37% of Asian-American women, and 36% of White women were hired under these conditions in comparison to 77%, 34%, 100%,

TABLE 5

Percentage of Racial Ethnic Group Hired When There Is At Least One Member of an Underrepresented Group on Search Committee

Racial/ethnic group of faculty hire	AA	LA	AI	ASA	W	Unknown	Total
Was there a member of an underrepresented group on search committee?							
Yes	40% (4)	48% (11)	50% (1)	12% (8)	21% (69)		93
No	60% (6)	52% (12)	50% (1)	88% (61)	79% (257)		337
Total	100% (10)	100% (23)	100% (2)	100% (69)	100% (326)		430
Missing data (n) (No information on search committee composition)	12	19	4	39	185	1	260
Overall total (n)	22	42	6	108	511	1	690

TABLE 6

Results of the Regression Analysis for Predicting Underrepresented Faculty Hires

| | Underrepresented hire | | |
	Unstandardized coefficient	Standardized coefficient	Sig
Department indicates diversity	.627	.322	*
Special hire	.197	.218	*
Subfield indicates diversity	.122	.102	*
Other indicator of diversity	6.546E-03	.005	
Underrepresented member on search committee	5.715E-02	.065	
(Constant)	.308	—	
R^2	.18		
Adjusted R^2	.18		
N	690		

*$p<0.01$

TABLE 7

Effects of Diversity in the Finalist Pool on Final Hire

	Totals
Regular searches with finalist pool data available	N=267
Finalist pools with no diversity	45% (121)
Finalist pools with diversity	55% (146)
Finalist pools with diversity resulting in the hire of a faculty member from an underrepresented group	12% (18)
Finalist pools with diversity resulting in the hire of an Asian faculty member	30% (44)
Finalist pools with diversity resulting in the hire of a White faculty member	58% (84)

8%, 17% respectively for men. These conditions were important conditions for hiring women across all groups as well as for hiring underrepresented faculty of color.

Doctoral Institutions

Because a key question often asked (even if presumptuous) is whether the candidates who come from underrepresented groups are somehow "less qualified," we did look at the doctoral granting institutions for the faculty by race ethnicity. The data were coded by an earlier version of Carnegie classifications that made distinctions between Research I, Research II, and Doctoral Granting Institutions. The data, as shown in Table 9, clearly reveal no differences. Virtually all those hired had

TABLE 8
Hiring Patterns by Race/Ethnicity and Gender

Condition	AA		LA		AI		ASA		W		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Diversity	5	3	4	3	1	1	3	10	33	27	46	44
Special hire	3	3	6	2	1	2	3	2	25	26	38	35
Diversity & special hire	2	3	0	3	0	1	0	1	3	2	5	10
Total of gender with designated conditions	10	9	10	8	2	4	6	13	61	55	89	89
% of gender with designated conditions[1]	77%	100%	34%	62%	100%	100%	8%	37%	17%	36%	18%	42%
Total regular hires	3	0	19	5	0	0	67	22	299	96	388	123
% regular hires	23%	0%	64%	38%	0%	0%	92%	63%	83%	64%	82%	58%
Total overall hires	13	9	29	13	2	4	73	35	360	151	477	212
% of overall hires	59%	41%	69%	31%	33%	67%	68%	32%	70%	30%	69%	31%
% with designated conditions[1]	52%	48%	56%	44%	33%	67%	32%	68%	53%	47%	50%	50%

[1]Designated conditions include searches using diversity indicators and/or special hires

received their degrees at Research I institutions regardless of ethnicity. Indeed, an inspection of the actual institutions by name, reveal degrees from the top tier of research universities in virtually all cases.

Rank

Similarly, the disaggregated data by race ethnicity and rank of appointment (Table 16) show that about two-thirds of all appointments were at the rank of Assistant Professor. At the same time, 23% of African Americans, 27% of Latinos/as, 25% of Whites were hired at the rank of Full Professor. Asian Americans were more likely to be hired at the Assistant Professor level than the other groups (75%) and fewer at the level of Full Professor (14%).

TABLE 9

Race/Ethnicity of Faculty Hire by Carnegie Classification of PhD Institution[1]

	Research University I	Research University II	Doctoral University I	Doctoral University II	Non-U.S. Degree	Other Terminal Degree	Total
African American	94% (15)		6% (1)				16
Latino	75% (21)	7% (2)		4% (1)	7% (2)	7% (2)	28
American Indian	67% (2)				33% (1)		3
Asian American	90% (79)	1% (1)		2% (2)	6% (5)	1% (1)	88
White	89% (372)	1% (3)	1% (3)	1% (3)	7% (30)	1% (5)	416
Total	89% (489)	1% (6)	1% (4)	1% (6)	7% (38)	1% (8)	551

[1]138 Unknown

TABLE 10

Race/Ethnicity of Faculty Hire By Rank

	Professor	Associate Professor	Assistant Professor	Total
African American	23% (5)	14% (3)	64% (14)	22
Latino	27% (11)	12% (5)	61% (25)	41
American Indian	17% (1)	17% (1)	67% (4)	6
AsianAmerican	14% (15)	11% (12)	75% (81)	108
White	25% (128)	11% (56)	64% (326)	510
Total	23% (160)	11% (77)	66% (450)	687

Fields

While most of the hiring of underrepresented faculty was in fields directly related to diversity, patterns varied for hiring in science and math, management/business, and other professional areas. Only two African Americans were hired in engineering, none in science or math, and only two in law. Three African Americans were hired in education and six in professional schools (nursing, landscape ecology, urban planning, public health, and journalism). For Latino/as, 12 (29%) were hired in science and math, though it should be noted that one campus accounted for seven of these 12 hires. Management/business hired five (12%), education hired two, and law hired one. For Asian Americans, 48 were hired in math, science, or engineering (44%), 16 (15%) in management/business (mostly quantitative areas), two in education and one in public health. Whites were distributed throughout all fields. Of the 510 hired, 32% (n=165) were in math, science, or engineering, 4% were in law (n=22), 6% in health (n=29), 4% in education (n=21), and 8% in business (n=40). The emphasis of Asian American hiring in science and business, mostly quantitative fields, and the lack of hiring of African Americans in these fields is apparent.

The conclusion apparent from this analysis is that intentional hires in the form of diversity indicators or interventions do make a difference. Regular searches in fields unrelated to diversity will not yield diverse hires. Moreover, it was clear from the data, that departments often used special hires to broaden the scope of hiring as an enhancement of the search process. In a number of cases, a special hire was used when a promising candidate did not emerge as a choice from a "regular" search but was discovered by the search committee through that process. 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 quoted in the letter of support 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.

In this particular case, unanimous support was given by the departmental faculty in 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. The letter stated, "This exceptional hire will impact the academic priorities of [Name of department] 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."

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 the ways in which 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.

Discussion

This study was designed to investigate the hypothesis that the use of diversity indicators or special-hiring interventions will explain the bulk of the hiring to the faculty of underrepresented faculty of color. The results of the analysis of 689 searches from three large public research universities give strong support to this hypothesis. Analysis of study data indicates that successful hires of underrepresented faculty of color at these predominantly White institutions are most likely to occur when a job description contains an educational or scholarly link to the study of race or ethnicity and/or when an institutional intervention strategy that bypasses or enhances the traditional search process is used. Additional data suggested a modest impact when finalist pools contain some diversity.

While hiring faculty for ethnic studies departments yields the most reliable hiring of underrepresented faculty of color, this does not represent a potential intervention strategy as such unless an institution is willing to have most of its diversity located in ethnic studies programs. 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. Indeed, such an approach would not be interrupting the usual but rather would be relying on the usual. Introducing a diversity indicator in the 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. 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 be introduced.

While diversity indicators accounted for a significant portion of the hiring of underrepresented faculty of color, special hiring was equally important. Significantly, departments often took advantage of institutional resources to make a case for a "special hire" of talented individuals who were identified through the search process. While not precisely fitting an existing job description, they were otherwise well suited to strengthen the department. This is important because it suggests that such individuals might have had department support (an important factor for long-term success). This will be an important area for future research.

Study results indicate that the "special hire" interventions (a process circumventing the regular search process) prove to be a powerful strategy, coupled with the use of position description diversity indicators, in the hiring of faculty from all racial/ethnic backgrounds. However, the combination of diversity indicators and special hires is absolutely critical in the hiring of African-American and American Indian faculty. Fully half of African-American faculty and American Indian faculty were hired as special hires. Asian-American and White faculty hires were almost always hired through regular searches although they were in some instances hired through special hires and when diversity indicators were specified. The difference was that Asian-American and White faculty were hired with *and* without the use of specific conditions that were the focus of the study.

Overall, Asian American faculty are represented in greater percentages in this hiring cohort than African Americans, Latino/as, and American Indians. Indeed, there are legitimate challenges faced by Asian Americans in higher education. For instance, contrary to the common misconception that Asian Americans are well represented in faculty ranks, a closer look shows that they are hired primarily into fields such as science, engineering, medicine, and Asian language departments and

are less commonly found in the social sciences and humanities. Nakanishi (1993), Hune and Chan (1997), and Cho (1996) 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. Furthermore, the myth of the "model minority" still informs much of the public perception and attitudes toward Asian Americans. These challenges are also confounded by the fact that many who are perceived as Asian Americans are actually foreign nationals who received degrees abroad.

Thus, it is important for campuses to pay close attention to the diversity of faculty throughout fields and disaggregated by racial/ethnic group. Overall numbers of faculty of color might well increase because of the addition of Asian-American faculty in specified fields. Underrepresented faculty of color could well be declining at the same time.

While we had hoped to examine the effect of search committee composition on faculty hiring, for the most part search committees examined here had little or no racial/ethnic diversity. Almost all search committees were entirely White with little diversity on any of the committees except in ethnic studies areas. Thus, while the literature points to the importance of search committee racial/ethnic composition, outcomes as a result of diverse search committees could not be adequately analyzed.

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.

Study Limitations

While study results paint a compelling scenario of successful departmental and institutional search processes, study results are limited in scope.

First, this study was conducted at three large, elite public research universities. Further research within other contexts (small liberal arts, private universities, community colleges, and so on) need to be undertaken in order to determine whether hiring patterns and practices are similar to those found in this study.

Second, while the data provided on each successful search pointed to important and revealing results, detailed case studies would shed more light on the particular circumstances under which a faculty of color hire was made. For example, what role did individual search committee members play in determining the outcome of the process? What exactly

was the role of the search committee in the process in contrast to other institutional personnel? Did the search committee make the final decision? What are differences in successful search processes by department within the same institution?

Third, there are factors that complicate the interpretation of data for both Latino/a faculty hires and Asian-American faculty hires. First, study data do not report the various ethnic affiliations within these groupings. For example, an examination of the presence of Filipino/a or Chicano/a/Mexican-American faculty hires may uncover more of a dependence on hiring interventions for these subgroups. Second, both Latino/a and Asian-American scholars can be hired in language departments (for example, to teach Spanish) and Latin American or East Asian Studies programs. Such departmental affiliations were not counted as diversity indicators in this study, though the additional analyses suggested their importance. Such affiliations, when they are the primary source of hiring, underscore the risk of marginalization.

Implications for Institutional Policy and Practice

Notwithstanding study limitations, results from data presented here can provide direction for further research as well as direction for further successes in the hiring of underrepresented faculty.

Continued support and use of strategies that work. Study results suggest that intentional hiring strategies will be required to promote success in the hiring of most underrepresented faculty outside of ethnic studies departments. Such practices are referred to in the following ways: 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 searches result in hiring faculty of color only in expected fields. Significantly, such strategies yield hiring across all racial/ethnic groups, suggesting that it would not violate current restrictions in the use of affirmative action. Institutions can continue to support and use such strategies. However, an important caution should be noted. Because faculty success is dependent on department support and mentoring, continued research is needed to look at the success of faculty appointed with such interventions. In this study, some of the qualitative data suggested that special hires were made with enthusiastic support of the department and with high regard for the scholarly contribution of the person hired. This may not always be the case and could jeopardize faculty success.

Evaluation and monitoring of successful departmental and campus practices.

Institutions themselves can also assess "why" and "how" such strategies worked, particularly for faculty of color. This study indicates different results by discipline. Departments and fields with diversity indicators continue to be the most likely places for hiring of underrepresented faculty of color, while science and math fields are hiring Asian-American faculty through the use of regular searches. Over time, this could result in distorted and potentially stereotypical placements. In future studies, it would be interesting to closely examine those practices in the context of successful diversification of faculty within departments that traditionally have not been diverse. Such knowledge can inform all campus hiring processes. Each institution can craft and characterize its interventions in ways that are congruent with its department and campus environment.

Understand organizational processes for success.

Understanding the organizational processes that result in the use of intervention strategies and successful faculty hiring is critical for defining institutional practice and the role of academic administrators.

Question the usual.

Particularly for African-American and American Indian faculty, study results point to the importance of examining and changing how regular search and hiring processes are conducted. The search process will, no doubt, remain at the center of faculty hiring. Indeed, in this study, search committees were often central to recommendations for special hires. Modifications in search practices can be explored to expand the applicant pool, to require active recruiting, and to link job descriptions to educational requirements.

In conclusion, while one cannot deny that some progress has been made in the diversification of higher education faculty, much remains to be done. In spite of the special-hire interventions and the use of diversity indicators in position descriptions, racial/ethnic diversity among the total faculty hires in this study is still low. However, as the results attest, advances can be made with the implementation of strategic interventions. At every step, however, interrupting the usual will no doubt be required.

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