

THE DEPARTMENT CHAIR AS TRANSFORMATIVE DIVERSITY LEADER

Building Inclusive Learning Environments in
Higher Education

Edna Chun and Alvin Evans

Foreword by

Walter H. Gmelch

Stylus

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Exercise

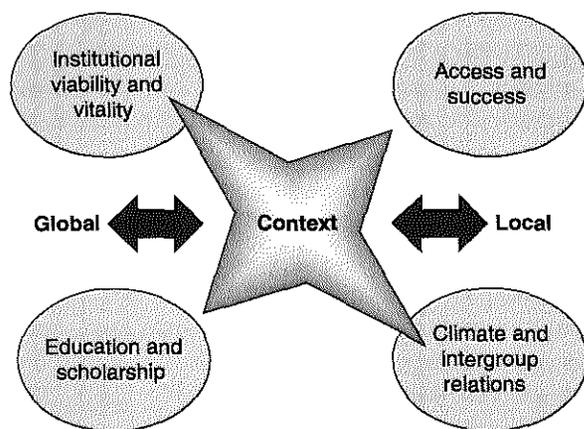
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In a similar vein, the strategic diversity goals model advanced by Damon Williams places four goals in a pyramid model with access and equity at the top of the pyramid and a multicultural and inclusive campus climate at the center of the pyramid, symbolizing the need to foster a climate in which every faculty and staff member, administrator, and student can thrive (Williams, 2013). The pyramid also includes two additional dimensions: preparing students for a diverse and global world, and domestic and international diversity research and scholarship (Williams, 2013).

The extent to which diversity programs are both localized and pervasive throughout the institution are measures of whether an institution has attained a common institutional diversity vision (Knox & Teraguchi, 2005). Building on Williams's concept of the centrality of an inclusive campus climate to diversity progress, the department is the cultural milieu that shapes how diverse individuals are supported and welcomed, the way conflicts are resolved, and how power is distributed (Evans & Chun, 2007). Given the decentralized structure of universities with varying microclimates and cultures, the experiences of diverse chairs, faculty, and staff can reflect very different realities depending on how power is operationalized in the departmental setting.

In the chapter, we will focus on the social backdrop that shapes educational access and success for diverse students and explore the ways in which exclusionary social forces can be replicated within the walls of higher education. This socioeconomic portrait provides a powerful argument for the pressing need for enhancing diversity and inclusion in the academic department.

Figure 1.2. Framework for evaluating diversity.



Source: A. R. Clayton-Pedersen, S. Parker, D. G. Smith, J. F. Moreno, and D. H. Teraguchi, 2007, *Making a Real Difference With Diversity: A Guide to Institutional Change*, Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities, p. 15.

To conclude the chapter, we offer a diversity self-assessment profile (Exercise 1.1) for chairs that will lay the groundwork for formulation of a specific, departmental action plan for diversity progress.

Exercise 1.1. Chair Diversity Self-Assessment Profile

Directions: This profile will assist the chair in assessing the extent and scope of your efforts to embed diversity within the department's work. Use the following scale to gauge the incorporation of diversity into your current role and responsibilities as applicable. The size of the department may determine the opportunity to implement certain dimensions such as hiring of new faculty.

Rating scale: 1 = not applicable, 2 = incipient efforts, 3 = sporadic efforts, 4 = sustained efforts

Domain	Dimension	Self-Assessment	Comment
Classroom	Promoting inclusive pedagogies		
	Providing support for marginalizing experiences of diverse faculty members		
	Assessing negative student evaluations in light of diversity issues		
Curriculum	Initiating conversations about curricular revisions to include diversity perspectives, research methods, or other aspects of diversity		
	Incorporating diversity into curricular offerings		
Research agenda	Encouraging research on diversity-related topics		
	Providing support for diversity-related and cross-cultural research in the tenure process		

(continues)

<i>Domain</i>	<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Self-Assessment</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Departmental climate	Providing day-to-day support for an inclusive work environment		
	Conducting inclusive faculty meetings		
	Ensuring inclusion of diverse faculty in departmental decision making		
	Ensuring equitable resource distribution		
	Providing support for socialization and network formation for diverse faculty members		
Recruitment and hiring of diverse faculty	Forming diverse search committees		
	Targeting outreach to diverse applicants		
	Providing concrete progress in remedying underrepresentation		
Retention of minority and female tenure-track faculty	Promoting faculty development that strengthens promotion and tenure attainment		
	Providing informal and formal mentoring		
	Providing supportive feedback on pretenure faculty evaluation		
	Assisting with research agendas of diverse faculty		

<i>Domain</i>	<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Self-Assessment</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Student development	Offering educational and psychosocial support for diverse students		
	Developing interest in departmental major through recruitment and outreach to diverse students		
Cocurricular activities	Providing inclusive cocurricular opportunities		
	Addressing diversity in symposia, forums, and learning communities		
Overall Assessment			

Synopsis

In what domains have you made the most progress? _____

The least? _____

For the areas of least progress, what are the principal barriers (e.g., resources, internal resistance, leadership support)? _____

What steps or factors could help you overcome these barriers?

For the areas in which you have the greatest success, what factors helped you most?

How could you apply these factors to the areas in which you made the least progress?

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RETOOLING THE EDUCATIONAL PLAYING FIELD

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution. The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated.

—President John F. Kennedy, *Civil Rights Address* (June 11, 1963)

Why is diversity transformation in American higher education an urgent matter? As Jamie Merisotis, president and CEO of the Lumina Foundation, pointed out, “College-level learning is key to individual prosperity, economic security, and the strength of our American democracy” (Lumina Foundation, 2012, p. 1). Yet at the same time, higher education must change to become responsive to the needs of a “dizzily diverse” twenty-first century student population—a population that is diverse ethnically, racially, socially, economically, and in terms of age and family situation (Merisotis, 2012, p. 3). Merisotis suggested we are in the midst of a perilous “Kodak moment” in which institutions of higher education must retool and redesign their offerings to meet all types of students without delay—or face the fate of the Eastman Kodak Company, which reacted too slowly to environmental change and then became irrelevant (Merisotis, 2012, p. 2). In his view, “Equity must be a non-negotiable cornerstone of a redesigned higher education system” (Merisotis, 2013).

We set the stage for the study with an overview of the structural inequality that still pervades American society and the role of higher education in recalibrating access to educational opportunity. This landscape reinforces the importance of the chair’s role in diversity transformation within institutions of higher education. We explore the social context for educational access and attainment, as well as factors that may help explain lower retention rates of

minority students in predominantly White institutions. Then we examine how diversity is defined in the academic department and highlight particular difficulties that female and minority chairs encounter in this still predominantly White male leadership role. Our discussion concludes with examples of specific, actionable strategies that will assist chairs in formulating an agenda for diversity change within the academic department.

Why Change Is Overdue

A recent polling report of 1,006 adults conducted by CBS News found significant differences between White and Black participants on the extent to which the United States has made progress in getting rid of racial discrimination against Blacks since the 1960s (*Race and Ethnicity*, 2013). While 78% of White participants believe that the United States has made a lot of progress, 55% of Blacks perceived this to be the case (*Race and Ethnicity*, 2013). And 62% of Blacks reported a specific instance of when they felt they had been discriminated against because of race, as compared to 29% of Whites (*Race and Ethnicity*, 2013).

The two realities of what Massey and Denton termed an “American apartheid” continue to bifurcate the American experience (Massey & Denton, 1993). In this regard, the Kerner report commissioned by President Lyndon Johnson in 1967 to explain the riots arising in U.S. cities was prophetic. It concluded that the United States was “moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal” (*Our Nation Is Moving Toward Two Societies*, n.d.). The report identified racism as a major cause of urban violence and indicated that White America bore responsibility for the rise of urban rioting. The polarization around race continues to haunt this country, even as the Supreme Court has virtually eliminated consideration of race as a measure of disadvantage in college and university admissions. More than a half century after the Kerner report, persistent inequality arises from the resegregation of housing; differential access to educational, new business, and job opportunities; and sustained patterns of subtle discrimination that penetrate the classroom, workplace, and boardroom.

Ironically, in an era in which minority populations in the United States will become the majority (by 2042), certain sectors of the economy have become enriched, whereas others have lagged far behind. A study by the Urban Institute reveals that for the past 30 years, the gaping wage inequality gap between White families and Black and Hispanic families has persisted (Lowrey, 2013; McKernan, Ratcliffe, Steuerle, & Zhang, 2013). White families earn on average \$2 for every \$1 earned by Black and Hispanic families.

Even more troubling is the wealth gap that has widened and deepened during the recession, with Black and Hispanic families hit disproportionately by the housing collapse. Although on average White families retained approximately \$632,000 in wealth, Black families averaged \$98,000, and Hispanic families averaged \$110,000 (Lowrey, 2013; McKernan et al., 2013). And for undercapitalized Black businesses in which more than 90% of business owners are one-person enterprises and only 1% generates sales of a million dollars, the recession that began in 2008 has caused a heavy attrition rate (Herbert, 2012).

Is the American dream still alive and well? From a material perspective, empirical evidence indicates that Whites and Blacks represent two nations, with middle-class Blacks earning \$0.70 for every dollar earned by White middle-class citizens but holding only \$0.15 for every dollar of wealth possessed by middle-class Whites (Oliver & Shapiro, 2006). The rise of sophisticated philosophies of color blindness has only compounded this rather stark tale of two societies. In essence, a postracial perspective insists that the United States has attained a state in which race, ethnicity, and other differentiating characteristics no longer matter in the shaping of opportunity. Yet the “thin veneer of apparent colorblindness” is an illusion and has become a way of controlling minority groups under the facade of race-neutral policies (Picca & Feagin, 2007, p. xii). A long-dominant White racial frame undergirds the notion of color blindness, assertively accenting “a very positive view of white superiority, virtue, and moral goodness” by insisting that race is no longer relevant or considered in the United States (Feagin, 2010b, p. 11). Significant new research has suggested that individuals with color-blind racial attitudes may, in fact, have a greater tendency to engage in discriminatory behavior (see Tynes & Markoe, 2010, for review). For example, a study of 282 educational psychology students found that European Americans and individuals high in racial color blindness were more likely to be not bothered by Facebook postings that mocked Blacks and Latinos (Tynes & Markoe, 2010).

The theory of color blindness rests on the belief that the playing field is level and that status attainment is meritocratic. It places the onus for success or failure squarely on the individual and negates or overlooks the sociohistorical context that mediates the opportunity structure for education and career success. By ignoring the circumstances of the less privileged, this theory further exacerbates the fault lines so deeply etched into the American experience. And, in fact, as scholars have begun to note, color blindness can have a more toxic effect: It can reproduce White privilege and color-blind policies such as those articulated in the supreme law of the land that can impact who is able to go to college (Tynes & Markoe, 2010).

From a historical perspective, we are now in what Manning Marable termed the *fourth racial domain* since the European colonization of North America (Marable, 2006). The first domain is legal slavery that lasted nearly 250 years, the second is Jim Crow segregation that excluded Blacks from nearly all aspects of public life, the third is marked by the ghettoization and confinement of Blacks to impoverished urban areas, and the fourth era beginning in the late twentieth century represents the extreme class stratification resulting from economic and political factors that coincide with transnational globalization (Marable, 2006). The first three domains were characterized by overt discrimination that occurred through formal structural barriers. In the fourth domain, we see the evolution of forms of subtle, second-generation discrimination that are difficult to pinpoint and that take shape through microinequities or recurring patterns of devaluing messages and behavior (see Chun & Evans, 2012, for review). Nonetheless, forms of blatant discrimination still persist, as evidenced by overtly racist incidents that dominate the headlines with regularity and find expression in racist incidents on campuses.

How does persistent social inequality affect higher education? The educational experience has been viewed as the most important gateway to privilege and opportunity. Nineteenth-century educational reformer Horace Mann saw education as “our only political safety” and as “a great equalizer of the conditions of men—the balance wheel of the social machinery” that “gives each man the independence and the means by which he can resist the selfishness of other men” (Mann, 1848, para. 6). Over time, the relationship of higher education to the future of democracy has emerged as an essential context for diversity (D. G. Smith, 2009). In this sense, higher education can be seen metaphorically as the source of a river that nourishes culture and society with the potential to rectify barriers to the inclusion of talented and diverse individuals (D. G. Smith, 2009).

We also know that although the mission of universities and colleges is connected with the public good and the amelioration of social conditions, these institutions have remained socially conservative. The fact that there was no broad-based education system for Blacks until the 1920s and that African American students were admitted into most traditionally White campuses on a significant scale starting in the 1960s and 1970s speaks to this reality (Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996; Wise, 2005). From their inception, European American institutions have been racially hierarchical and undemocratic, and they remain so today for the most part (Feagin, 2006). Rather than leading social change, higher education could be called a late adapter. It is only the voice of the faculty, and sometimes a decidedly more radicalized faculty, that has served as a beacon of hope in galvanizing the forces of social justice that will remedy widespread inequality.

Furthermore, within the walls of higher education, institutional hierarchies replicate and intensify the effects of social hierarchies structured around race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and nationality (Feagin, 2006; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2008). The vulnerability of diverse tenure-track faculty and administrators arises from within a broader framework of social racial inequalities, influencing the disparate experiences of individuals from non-dominant and dominant groups within the same department or institution (Chun & Evans, 2012; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2008). And faculty who occupy disadvantaged positions within social hierarchies structured around gender, race, class, sexual orientation, and nationality can experience a one-down status that does not end at the walls of the institution (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2008).

Researchers have identified the *systemic* nature of institutional discrimination that still pervades organizational hierarchies, processes, and cultures and that can be mediated, buffered, or solidified by individual actors within academe (see, e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Chun & Evans, 2012; Feagin, 2006, 2010b; Razack, 1998). From this perspective, socially based discrimination is replicated within the norms, culture, and practices of institutions through dominance, hierarchical interaction, and legacies of White privilege (Feagin, 2006, 2010a). *White privilege* refers to implicit opportunities and power that have persisted within different domains of American life, including higher education (Brown, Hinton, & Howard-Hamilton, 2007). And this privilege is sustained and reproduced through economic, social, and cultural capital that reinforces the group-based nature of advantage (DiTomaso, 2013).

Those in power determine what is seen as normal and correct through a hegemonic process of cultural domination that is accomplished through the consent of those who are disempowered (Chun & Evans, 2009; Hardiman & Jackson, 1997). As a consequence, the dynamics of unequal and asymmetrical power alter and affect the day-to-day experiences of nondominant individuals within the academy. For example, a White female chair of education in a private master's-level western university explicitly connects diversity in higher education with power inequality:

To me, diversity represents a range of power that is represented in the room. For most of us in higher ed, that power doesn't generally exist for women or for younger faculty, or for folks who have come out of lesser respected institutions. I think it's a slippery slope when we start talking about evaluating diversity and understanding what it is.

Significant scholarly attention, particularly by female academics, has been devoted to the differential experiences of women and minorities in the

tenure process (see Chun & Evans, 2012, for review). As Rockquemore and Laszloffy (2008) explained with reference to Black faculty,

Who receives the benefit of the doubt, whose opinion is valued, who gets mentored, and who is invited into collaborative opportunities are subtly shaped by often unconscious racialized assumptions about who is an insider and who is an outsider, who does and does not belong in the academic club, and whose presence is welcomed and whose is tolerated. (pp. 2–3)

Black academics and members of other nondominant groups struggle with domination, marginalization, and even subjugation both within the walls of their own institution and outside their respective campuses in the communities in which they live (Evans & Chun, 2007; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2008). Take the observations of a White female history chair on a predominantly White, religiously affiliated western campus who describes the double isolation of minority and female faculty both in the classroom and in the surrounding community:

I think there are only half a dozen faculty of color on our faculty. . . . Feeling isolated and invisible comes with the territory. . . . Feeling isolated and invisible in our city is unavoidable. Unless we do things like change the way we evaluate faculty, at least think about what role gender and race play in student evaluations, that's going to be a problem. . . . On a largely White Protestant campus, many of our students come in without significant diversity experience themselves. They relate well to young White men teaching their classes, despite the fact that we have a majority female population. People [faculty] have trouble in classrooms here if they don't fit that profile.

Because diversity is shaped by social forces linked to the structural position of nondominant groups in society, institutions of higher education need to develop diversity strategies that communicate their commitment to long-term change that will benefit society (Aguirre & Martinez, 2007). In other words, higher education must counteract rather than replicate regressive external social forces and instigate social change from the inside out.

Nonetheless, campuses tend to maintain homogeneity and adapt only when necessary, such as when limits are set on access for Asian Americans because of the fear of overrepresentation in the student body or on access for African Americans and Latino students and faculty in the name of quality (D. G. Smith, 1990). If creating a multicultural campus is seen as a diversion from, but not central to, the purpose of education, then the campus climate will not change (D. G. Smith, 1990). By contrast, transforming the *system* for

diversity means reinventing everything: new mind-sets, new infrastructures, new frames, and new business models (Scharmer, 2009). Transformational leadership for diversity needs to be focused on changing the organizational culture and enhancing the campus's ability to adapt (Aguirre & Martinez, 2007).

As a result, we emphasize the importance of actualizing inclusive practices within the culture of the university as embodied in the academic environment, interactional relations, and learning outcomes. A values-based framework that embraces the trilogy of demography, diversity, and democracy offers us the opportunity to address regressive social forces, build support for the new American majority, and create an inclusive learning experience that prepares students for participation in a global, knowledge-based society (Chun & Evans, 2009).

Social Justice Revisited: Conservative Backlash and the Legal Shift

To offset the forces of social inequality, higher education policy has, for the past three decades, espoused an agenda of access with the objective of making the benefits of a college education available to all Americans regardless of economic background (Gumport & Zemsky, 2003). For this reason, affirmative action has become a major battleground for colleges and universities seeking to ensure such access (Gumport & Zemsky, 2003). Yet the tide has turned and virtually closed the door on affirmative action in admissions through the determination of a very conservative Supreme Court in *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin et al.* (2012). In this case, Abigail Fisher, a White undergraduate denied admission to the University of Texas, claimed that her race prevented her admission to the University of Texas while less-qualified minority students were admitted.

The *Fisher* decision essentially represents the crystallization of a White backlash against affirmative action expressed through the medium of a far-right court, with five of the six justices expressing highly conservative views. In contrast to the moderate and liberal perspectives of the American public that resulted in the 2012 election of Barack Obama, the Supreme Court's shift to the right suggests a failure to represent the views of the newly emerging, increasingly diverse American majority. The determination in *Fisher* validates a view of reverse discrimination that insists on the prevalence of social meritocracy and negates centuries-old legacies of privilege.

Why is this decision so critical for higher education? In *Fisher*, the Court took an unprecedented step into the administrative domain of higher

education admissions by requiring a reviewing court to determine if a university's use of race is necessary to achieve the educational benefits of diversity. Furthermore, the ruling indicates that "the reviewing court must ultimately be satisfied that no workable race-neutral alternatives would produce" these benefits (*Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin et al.*, 2012, p. 2). As a result, colleges and universities now bear the burden of proof that such alternatives have been exhausted when seeking to consider race and/or ethnicity as one factor among others in a holistic review of admissions applications. As Eric Lewis, a prominent litigator, put it, this decision represents "a complete rout for pragmatic remedies to the continuing legacy of racial discrimination" (Lewis, 2013). Another commentator noted that the Court's views represent "an extremely active and aggressive colorblindness" (Troutt, 2013).

Compounding this decision, just a day after the *Fisher* ruling, in the *Shelby County v. Holder* decision, the Court invalidated a key part of the landmark Voting Rights Act of 1965. Chief Justice John Roberts summarized the Supreme Court's view of the United States' progress in overcoming discrimination with his insistence that "today, our nation has changed" (*Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder, Attorney General, et al.*, 2012, p. 29).

Inequities in Educational Access, Persistence, and Success

The Supreme Court's optimistic depiction of how the United States has changed contrasts with a significant body of research indicating that the playing field for racial and ethnic minority students is far from level in terms of access, persistence, and degree attainment. For example, a Georgetown University study demonstrates that American higher education has two separate and unequal tracks: the 468 selective colleges and the 3,250 open-access institutions (Carnevale & Strohl, 2013). The divergence between these tracks is increasing and not diminishing. Carnevale and Strohl identified two prominent themes that characterize these tracks: (a) racial stratification in the 4,400 two- and four-year colleges analyzed for the study and (b) polarization between the most selective schools and the open-access schools.

Between 1995 and 2009, despite increases in the enrollment of African American and Hispanic students attending postsecondary institutions, more than 8 in 10 of new White students enrolled in the 468 most selective institutions, accounting for 78% of the growth in these institutions, whereas more than 7 in 10 new Hispanic and African American students have gone to open-access two- and four-year colleges, composing 92% of the growth in these schools (Carnevale & Strohl, 2013). Stratification by income is marked in more selective colleges, with high-income students overrepresented relative to population share by 45 percentage points and African American and

Hispanic students underrepresented relative to population share by 9 percentage points (Carnevale & Strohl, 2013). This disadvantage is magnified by preexisting geographic (spatial) isolation in the location of high schools, as well as economic and educational deprivation in the precollege years. And from a student perspective, the study concluded, "Disadvantage is worst of all when race and class collide" (Carnevale & Strohl, 2013, p. 37).

The 468 most selective schools spend two to nearly five times more per student and have higher ratios of full- to part-time faculty, higher completion rates, and greater access to graduate schools, even when considering equally qualified students (Carnevale & Strohl, 2013). The college completion rate for the most selective schools is 82%, compared with 49% for open-access two- and four-year institutions (Carnevale & Strohl, 2013).

Another study reveals that the six-year postsecondary persistence rates of Latinos (68%) and Blacks (66%) fall behind their White (79%) and Asian American counterparts (86%). Six-year graduation rates for African Americans are over 20 percentage points lower than those rates for Whites, and African American men in particular have low enrollment and high dropout rates (see Arcidiacono & Koedel, 2013, for review). First-generation college students are less likely to persist than other students, and Latino students are more likely to be first-generation students than other groups (see Nunez, Hoover, Pickett, Stuart-Carruthers, & Vazquez, 2013, for review).

What accounts for the differential retention rates for minority students? In addition to factors of academic preparedness and financial aid, the campus climate and the student's social and academic integration are critical factors related to retention (Swail, Redd, & Perna, 2003). Research on minority student adjustment finds that race and ethnicity often elicit less friendly treatment, and minority students frequently function in a more constricted and separated social world (see Fleming, 2012, for review). On predominantly White campuses, first-generation minority students may feel socially isolated and experience loneliness, stress, and anxiety. For example, a longitudinal research study of 10 Latino students found that students who came from areas where Latinos constitute a critical mass do not view themselves as minorities until they arrive on a predominantly White campus (Torres, 2003).

Perceived discrimination has been identified as a unique source of major and chronic stress apart from everyday life stresses, affecting the mental and physical well-being of its targets (see Evans & Chun, 2012, for review). In this regard, a study of 161 freshman minority students on a predominantly White campus (56% White) identified *minority status stress* as a separate risk factor for maladjustment, noting that sociocultural and contextual stresses are important factors in minority student adaptation to a White university (Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993). Among social climate stresses identified

by students in this study were not having enough professors of their own race, negative treatment of minority students by faculty, and expectations of poor academic performance by White students and faculty (Smedley et al., 1993).

Similar to the barriers encountered by minority students, sexual minority students on campus face challenges that can inhibit their academic progress and inclusion. A 2003 study of 14 campuses and a respondent sample of 1,669 self-identified lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals found that more than one third of LGBT students reported harassment within the past year, with derogatory remarks as the most frequent form of harassment (see Rankin, 2005, for review). Most faculty, students, administrators, and staff surveyed in the study reported that their campus climate for LGBT individuals was homophobic (see Rankin, 2005, for review).

Diverse students can experience culture shock as they encounter stereotypes and misconceptions that challenge the formation of a positive identity. Racialized issues may increase minority students' reluctance to approach instructors of a different race. And stereotypic perceptions of minority students' academic ability or competence can impact performance through the phenomenon of self-fulfilling prophecy (Fleming, 2012; Steele, 1997).

The retention of diverse students is affected by a number of factors at both the institutional level and the departmental level. A biracial male music department chair in a midwestern liberal arts college noted specific differences in the type and competitiveness of institutions in terms of the challenges of minority student retention and shared the perspective of his institution in its effort to bring all students to a certain point so that they can compete equally:

We try institutionally to bring all students to a certain point, so then when they are in the classroom they're competing equally. We are also not a highly competitive institution, which might be an aspect of all this kind of thing. If you took Ivy League schools, you would be getting a whole different population. . . . Those norms depend on whether it is competitive or not so competitive even in terms of admission. It impacts everything that happens after they come to the institution too.

So we are more of a kind of nurturing institution than highly competitive. That is also an aspect of liberal arts colleges: There you get personal attention; there you get help; it's not like competing with everyone. . . . We're also focused as a liberal arts college . . . on the whole person rather than just them taking courses. We're focused on them developing as a whole person. Part of that has to do with how they deal with diversity. . . . So part of our mission inherently is toward opening people up to understand these kinds of issues, and it's at the institutional level. It's more at the institutional level than at the departmental level.

Factors in the academic department that impact minority student retention include the presence of diverse faculty as role models; interactional diversity with faculty, staff, and other students; the diversity of curricular offerings; the cultural competency of faculty and their ability to make course materials relevant to the students represented in the classroom; and departmental climate. For these reasons, we now further explore the meaning of *diversity* within the academic departmental context.

Defining *Diversity* in the Academic Department

Moving from a broad view of the educational landscape, we now consider how *diversity* is defined and operationalized within the academic department through the lens of department chairs in this study. The definition of what constitutes optimal diversity in the academic department will provide the foundation for the development of an actionable agenda.

Our interviews reveal a clear awareness by chairs of a holistic view of diversity that not only includes ethnicity, race, gender, and sexual orientation but also addresses socially acquired characteristics. Interview participants frequently articulated this multidimensional view of diversity. A number of interviewees reflected a high degree of sophistication, moving beyond the broad palette of diversity characteristics to implicate notions of power and privilege. Consider how a White female sociology chair in a southwestern research university described her department's active engagement with the meaning of diversity:

That's a complex question. I think diversity can mean diversity in terms of race, ethnicity, composition; it can be diversity in terms of background and class; it can be diversity in terms of outlook and perspective. This is something that our department talks about and struggles with and . . . we frequently talk about this.

And in the view of a White male psychology chair from a private midwestern college, defining *diversity* as "everything" in the context of the role of the department chair avoids the salient question of racial underrepresentation among faculty and students in higher education. As he explained,

For purposes of the department chair and for work with faculty and students, I define diversity around social identity; for me, primarily race. I think that is historically the central issue in U.S. history, also gender, sexual orientation, religion, nationality, in terms of social identities, frankly with an emphasis on race.

To define diversity too generally is to make the concept kind of useless. Certainly we want it to include attitudes and experience; I don't think that's our problem in higher ed. I think the problem is the historical underrepresentation of certain groups, race being the predominant one, gender likewise, but in my discipline of psychology, gender is increasingly more equally represented. In many graduate schools, women are now the majority. I don't know, it seems to me that defining diversity as everything is sort of a cop out.

Similarly, a White female chair of higher education in a western public research university differentiates two clear strands in the definition of *diversity*: The first involves difference, and the second necessarily brings into play issues of power and privilege. As she explained,

When I think about diversity, I think about it in two ways. One is equated with difference, in terms of race, in terms of class, in terms of sexual orientation, and also even diversity of ideas and disciplinary differences. . . . Another component of diversity goes way beyond difference, in that when I think about diversity, I also really think about power and privilege difference and sort of underlying constructs that go with diversity that privilege certain groups over others.

So when I think about diversity, I think about two things: On the one hand it's difference and . . . notions of plurality, but on the other hand, recognizing that where there is difference there are almost always issues of power and privilege difference that we need to be cognizant of.

The biracial male chair of music in a private midwestern liberal arts college cited earlier articulated his view of the social construction of diversity and clearly differentiated between institutional and personal definitions of *diversity*:

I don't like the word [*diversity*], particularly, truthfully, because there is one human race. . . . So everyone who is a human is essentially equal. Now in society diversity gets defined by how people perceive other people, in various groupings, often which are artificial, often which are based on the color of one's skin . . . so I think it depends on the context of whatever society you are in. In the institution, diversity would tend to be defined by national origin, ethnic origin, color, and possibly along with national origin, linguistic origin. . . . This other question came up in our recent faculty meeting. The admissions person had separated out persons of color and then people of more than one race . . . because he said you could check off more than one box in a category.

If I am working in an institution, then I am looking at diversity from the institution's perspective in terms of what it is after in terms of its diversity goals. In my own personal life, everyone is diverse. I think everyone in essence is the same because they are human, and everyone is totally different because they are individuals. So a person who might be of black-colored skin who has been raised in upper-class economic society is going to be very different from the person with very dark skin who has been in a very poor situation. So economic diversity is almost as important at this point in this country as racial diversity.

Survey responses indicate that chairs are aware of the complexity and layers of meaning involved in the definition of *diversity*, as well as the continuing salience of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and disability as the principal barriers to inclusion.

The Challenges of Chairs From Nondominant Groups

The chair's leadership in diversity remains a key and even contested role in academic institutions. And our interviews reveal particular challenges that remain for minority, female, and LGBT chairs in a largely White male heterosexist hierarchy. Such challenges can range from lack of support to personal attacks on their credibility, attacks that are sometimes even launched by members of nondominant groups. Minority and female chairs can be caught in the battle of proving their competence, because allegations of incompetence are a frequent stereotype used to undermine their performance. And, ironically, when individuals from nondominant groups are high performers, their competence may be viewed as a threat. A White female chair of education in a private western master's-level university described the vicious nature of attacks that involve mobbing or collective efforts to exclude or humiliate a targeted individual (see Westhues, 2004, for review): "It's that response of individuals who feel intimidated by competence." She noted that she "was shocked by the ferocious response that the mob can have against someone."

Chairs from nondominant groups may be viewed with a lack of respect that results in their not being taken seriously, making frequent end runs to higher administrators, seeing their initiatives blocked, and even having faculty members attribute routine business decisions that do not go their way to race/ethnic issues (E. Smith, 1996). And in some religiously affiliated institutions, openly LGBT individuals cannot be considered for faculty or administrative appointments. As a female chair in a Catholic university commented, "There is almost no diversity at all here. Sexual orientation diversity

is a taboo since we are a Catholic institution, so we can't address the issue openly."

A study of 800 chairs in 100 institutions found that minority chairs experienced particular stress in their efforts to resolve collegial conflicts and make decisions affecting others. The uncertainty of the level of support they receive in their administrative capacity likely contributes to this stress (see E. Smith, 1996, for review). Attempts to redress structural imbalances in the face of faculty resistance coupled with the demands of research, scholarship, and teaching can tax a minority, female, or LGBT chair's reservoir of energy, time, and resources. Consider the experiences of a White female chair of educational leadership in a western public research university who explained how her leadership has come under attack, especially by other women, and is focused on a personal level:

What I've observed for myself, I think there is a tendency especially [for] other women who challenge . . . I feel like they want to be the leader, and therefore they criticize my leadership at a pretty personal level. And I'm not saying this to sound pompous, but I feel like that's the only way they can kind of get me . . . because they can't discount my productivity. They can't discount [the fact that] I take initiatives; I hire people; I've done a lot of good things. And I'm not saying I'm above reproach and people shouldn't have comments about my leadership at all, but I feel like there is a tendency for people to get personal pretty quickly as a way to discount my leadership and question what I'm doing.

The chair recounted the way in which a departmental staff person openly challenged her authority on the simple matter of rearranging furniture:

Just recently we were talking about, of all things, rearranging furniture, and a departmental staff person said, "Who says I have to do it that way?" . . . That's not something she would have said to a man, in no way. I feel like a lot of times as a result of being a woman . . . people do feel like they can challenge me in ways that I am certain if I were a man they would not be bringing those things up.

Similarly, an African American male sociology chair in a private southern research university describes the tenuous circumstances under which minority chairs can be selected and how other colleagues may be suspicious of their abilities:

I chaired a couple of departments, predominantly White. And one of the first things you know if you are a person of color or you're not in the major-

ity is that people are always suspicious of your abilities. And they may not say it, but you know. . . . And so you're given a job for whatever reason: Usually it's like the football coach, the non-White football coach, who is given a chance to coach the team. It's usually the worst team in the league and at the bottom of the barrel. So they give it to you for a number of reasons: You know, hopefully you'll fail or you bring a different type of leadership style. You want to be honest; you want to be straight; you don't want to play games. So the administration knows I've got this person who, excuse my French, will kick some butt, and he is coming in and won't take the crap.

He underscored the vulnerability of minority chairs to end runs by colleagues to upper administration that undermine the chair's authority. As a result, the chair emphasized the importance of support from the dean:

The biggest challenge is getting your supervisor, be it vice president or whoever you report to, to respect your position to the extent that they're not going to let the end run exist so that you're not spending half of your work week having to deal with the dean or provost or vice president or somebody defending some anonymous claim from your department that you're not fair, that you don't spread the money around correctly. So for me the biggest challenge is to say, "You hired me for this position, I'm going to run this department like every other chair, and I can't have people coming to you before they come to me." And I have made that clear in every position I've had. I've been involved in enough chairs conversations and chairs meetings and conferences to know that other chairs of color, female chairs, this also is a big, big challenge, not being undermined.

And a White female chair of urban education in a midwestern regional university reported that her experiences of being marginalized in her earlier career enhanced her sensitivity to the importance of diversity:

But I had the experience of feeling discrimination and feeling I'd been marginalized in my early career. . . . I wasn't expecting it quite to the degree in an academic institution that I saw when I came in. Some of the struggles that were put upon me just seem to be sexist. Other women had felt that and seen that too. And the president developed a commission on the status of women years ago and started really looking at that kind of thing. Hopefully that helped turn the tide. And so I think that my sensitivity was greater.

When isolated in a predominantly White male academic infrastructure, chairs from nondominant groups can represent the singular voice advocating diversity change. As a Black male chair of Hispanic ethnicity in an elite private research university observed, "When one is a minority advocating

for diversity, White colleagues believe one is advancing a political agenda.” Individuals who represent the single diverse member of the faculty in a given academic department can be perceived as the diversity advocate, the individual predictably focused on issues of diversity. In this regard, a White male psychology department chair in an urban midwestern university explained how the minority leader of the diversity committee stepped down as a result of negative perceptions of her “agenda”:

At one point we were down to one minority individual. . . . We have in our department a standing committee populated by faculty members and students to promote diversity and to bring awareness about diversity to the department. That group has a faculty leader so to speak, and this individual was a leader of that for a while. And she actually stepped down; she felt that after a certain point, she was doing more harm than good by being the head of that committee because people came to see her as “Oh yes, you are always going to bring up the minority issues because you are a minority.”

She actually stepped down as the head of that position, because she wanted a nonminority person to be speaking up for minority issues, because she . . . (and I agreed with her) . . . sometimes perceived people thinking, “OK, this person (if she wants to speak up at faculty meetings) . . . is going to bring up the minority issues again” in a negative way. I definitely have seen people perceived as “OK, that’s their only agenda.” . . . In fact that was her responsibility in this position, but it became entangled with her as a natural minority.

In this case, White faculty leadership of the diversity committee was seen as more effective in gaining the support of other White faculty for the contested diversity change effort. Throughout this chapter, we have shared the persistent structural inequities in the social landscape that demand that institutions of higher learning serve as catalysts of change. The perspectives of chairs in our study clearly reveal an awareness of the need to shift the representational balance in the department to create a more intellectually rich and diverse learning environment.

Concluding Perspectives: Strategies for Attaining Consensus on a Diversity Agenda

In the effort to build a common diversity agenda, strategies suggested by department chairs provide specific approaches that will help build consensus for diversity change within the academic department. Although some of these strategies may seem surprising, they reflect the actual, lived experience of chairs in their efforts to foster more inclusive departmental environments.

Develop a common understanding of the meaning of diversity and inclusion in both an institutional and departmental context through open dialogue and in-depth discussion. A reflective definition of *diversity* honed within the departmental context needs to take into account the institution’s strategic diversity agenda, its affirmative action program and goals, its research-based and disciplinary perspectives, and its personal interpretations and experiences. In this regard, the National Institute for Intergroup Dialogue approach at the University of Michigan provides an exemplary, critical-dialogic methodology for discussing commonalities and differences among social identity groups, with an emphasis on sustained communication and involvement (Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007).

Link departmental discussions to the campus dialogue on diversity. The campus framework for diversity plays a critical role in shaping and reinforcing departmental dialogue. For example, in a far-reaching, self-critical report by a trustee committee on diversity, Princeton University cited a number of critical, reinforcing elements necessary for an inclusive campus, including (a) articulating diversity as a core value by campus leaders, (b) creating forums for diversity, (c) building a common language that promotes open dialogue, and (d) strengthening cultural competencies (*Report of the Trustee Ad Hoc Committee on Diversity*, 2013). As a second example, in its 2011–2016 Diversity Strategic Action Plan titled “To Form a More Inclusive Learning Community,” the California State University at Chico identified the need to develop a shared understanding of “inclusive community” as one of its eight priorities (The Diversity Scorecard Committee, 2010).

Participate in national disciplinary forums to develop greater awareness of disciplinary barriers. National disciplinary discussions about the relevance of diversity to a specific discipline will also strengthen awareness of the obstacles to diversity within a particular field of specialization. For example, a two-and-a-half-day workshop attended by 43 chemistry chairs in 50 top-ranked institutions in 2007 was found to impact the sensitivity of the department chairs to the obstacles that underrepresented minority faculty members face in academic chemistry (Greene, Lewis, Richmond, & Stockard, 2011). The seminar affected the views of department chairs on hiring underrepresented minorities, with four times as many respondents after the workshop viewing the need to change current faculty members’ attitudes as a factor in increasing the likelihood of hiring underrepresented faculty (Greene et al., 2011). Such national discussions are particularly important in the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields, because these disciplines do not have a readily apparent curricular tie to diversity.

Build a critical mass of faculty from dominant and nondominant groups to lead and support diversity progress. A White male chair of economics in a

public southwestern university explained the importance of obtaining a critical mass of faculty to take concrete action in support of diversity:

The chair has to take the leadership role, has to be proactive, has to get a critical mass of people on his or her side to try to take the proactive measures that are necessary. Obviously a chair or a dean . . . who simply gives lip service to diversity but doesn't do anything concrete to make it happen is not going to make any progress.

Our interviews also reveal that minority chairs in predominantly White departments may be viewed as pushing a particularistic agenda, making their leadership of diversity initiatives more problematic. For example, a female Asian American chair indicated that other faculty could view her promotion of diversity as driven by personal, selfish interests. And a female African American chair reported a challenge she has faced in promoting diversity due to "misunderstandings as well as perceptions about 'why' I'd promote diversity." These observations underscore the heightened vulnerability of minority chairs in predominantly White institutions when they promote a diversity agenda.

Recognize that White faculty may also face challenges to their legitimacy or authenticity in leading diversity efforts. A White male chair of modern languages and literatures in an eastern urban private religiously affiliated university explained how his legitimacy as a diversity advocate can be questioned:

I am a White male and therefore privileged, in some sense, just by being who I am. I think I get an airing for my views with certain constituencies. So I acknowledge that I have used my position of privilege to try to work toward this goal and that my privileged position has been an advantage for doing so. At times, though, I think also the fact that because I am a White male, there are those who might question my legitimacy as an advocate for diversity simply because I simply don't "have an understanding of" or I "don't necessarily" come from a diverse background.

Similarly, a White female chair of occupational therapy in a private southern university shared her perspective on the importance of sharing the "diversity burden":

I think that sometimes it is hard for me to further that agenda because of who I am and what I am. I am a typical American White female OT [occupational therapist], so it's hard for me, even when I am talking in class about the importance of diversity in the discipline. I feel like it sounds awkward coming from me, but at the same time, that burden, being the diversity burden, should not fall completely on the shoulders of people from diverse groups.

And a White male chair of psychology in a midwestern liberal arts college pointed out that White leaders that are committed to a diversity agenda can be viewed as predictably focused on this issue, causing pushback among other faculty:

The first chair of psychology that I worked with was utterly committed to the cause of diversity. She was White, but she was kind of criticized as being one-note, of being too excessive, so the pushback was in that regard.

A White female chair of educational leadership in a western research university noted how her ideas on diversity are sometimes dismissed when she is viewed as part of the hierarchical system she represents:

I think sometimes as a woman I get passed over with some of my ideas, a discounted sense that I attribute to gender. I also feel like age is part of it, where younger students committed to diversity think I don't "get it." I also feel like [because I am] a White woman, students and faculty of color think I don't "get it" and that as chair I'm part of the "system." I feel like I "get it," but I'm not always able to just "fix" it in ways that are immediately apparent. Challenging!

Insist on welcoming departmental climates free of harassment. Chairs, deans, and chief diversity and human resource officers need to be aware of the subtle dynamics that can create differential standards for chairs from nondominant groups. Organizational development interventions such as workshops and seminars that discuss unconscious bias and subtle discrimination can provide the opportunity to strengthen awareness of subtle behavioral barriers. As a White male economics chair in a public southwestern university emphasized,

The other thing I had in my department and the dean's office had was zero tolerance for any kind of racial or ethnic or sexual harassment. And even beyond that we expected departments to create climates that were welcoming and in which everybody could feel that they were included in the department.

Work with the dean's office to ensure equitable treatment of all departments within a college or school. The dean's office plays a critical role in how resources are distributed, including faculty lines, research opportunities, and incentives. The dean can provide the necessary support for the chair's efforts to formulate a progressive diversity agenda. Yet when disparities exist in how certain departments are treated, perceptions of inequity can hinder the full participation of women and minority chairs in college-wide decision making.

For example, a White female chair in a private southern research university observed that the dean's office in her institution reflects a male-dominated perspective that can cause women in the college to be taken less seriously:

My discipline, and therefore my department, is female dominated. However, the dean's office is very male dominated. While not overt, it feels as though the women in the college are taken less seriously.

We shall explore further dimensions of the chair's relationship with the dean in chapter 4. Given the crucial socioeconomic framework shared in this chapter and its implications for higher education, in the next chapter we will examine the external, internal, and disciplinary factors that impact the chair's role as diversity change agent within the campus environment.

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THE CHAIR'S LEADERSHIP ROLE IN FORMAL AND INFORMAL ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESSES

If equality of opportunity is the bedrock on which the United States was built, diversity is the litmus test of whether this equality is being truly achieved.

—Princeton University, *Report of the Trustee Ad Hoc Committee on Diversity* (2013, p. 7)

What actions can department chairs take to foster team-based, collaborative environments in which the contributions of all members of the department are nurtured and valued? And how do chairs help ensure equitable outcomes for diverse faculty in formal processes of hiring, tenure, evaluation, and promotion? In search of these answers, we first explore the chair's leadership role in surmounting informal behavioral barriers that preclude the creation of an inclusive departmental climate. Next we examine key formal processes that impact faculty diversity and share forward-looking strategies chairs have adopted to diversify the academic department and provide instrumental support for diverse faculty in the complex pathway to tenure.

We do not wish to overstate the impact of a single position in changing departmental dynamics, although it may be considerable. As the chapter unfolds, the narratives reveal the difficulties faced by chairs who may be a singular voice attempting to persuade resistant colleagues. We also share the perspectives of individuals who represent the first female and the first African American chair in their departments. The insights of courageous and insightful chairs illuminate the subtle skill set and nuanced understanding of the mechanisms of workplace inequality needed to ensure equity in formal

processes and promote the inclusion of diverse faculty and staff in the working environment. In addition, these efforts are strengthened by partnerships with the dean, provost, and chief diversity officer, as well as alignment with overall institutional diversity objectives.

Our focus on both informal and formal processes in this chapter is based on how inequality in the workplace transpires in the workplace today. Subtle, cumulative forms of discrimination that find expression in the behaviors, interactions, and dynamics of employment processes have replaced the egregious forms of blatant discrimination addressed through civil rights legislation more than half a century ago. The covert, cumulative nature of contemporary discrimination makes it hard to pinpoint and even more complex to litigate (see Chun & Evans, 2012, for review). Instances of second-generation discrimination are often hidden, difficult to document, and easily overlooked or explained away by third parties or bystanders. Yet in the narratives of chairs in the study we also see forms of overt discrimination that can go unchecked if not addressed. And both covert and overt discrimination have serious and long-lasting effects that can create chronic stress and increase the risk for stress-related diseases (see Chun & Evans, 2012, for review).

In cultures of power within the university, patterns of exclusion in everyday work reinforce existing hierarchies, resulting in outcomes that are often beyond the control of members of subordinate groups who may be the subjects or targets (Chun & Evans, 2012; Kivel, 2004; Roscigno, 2007; Roscigno, Garcia, & Bobbitt-Zeher, 2007). We shall see an example of this later in the chapter in terms of what one chair described as the “turnstile” effect that occurs through subtle mechanisms such as student evaluations that can be used to drive individuals from the workplace. A process-based perspective will alert us to patterns that strengthen privilege through acts of social closure by dominant group members and to the counter efforts of nondominant groups to resist such stratification (Roscigno, 2007).

Chairs as leaders with positional authority can identify and take active steps to eradicate exclusionary practices so that those individuals who are at the margins are not the only ones challenging the status quo (Hale, 2004). In the course of this chapter, we shall see examples of chairs who are willing to leverage their credibility and status to insist on equity within the academic department.

Psychological and Behavioral Barriers to Diversity in the Academic Department

In the view of Santa Ono, the first Asian American president of the University of Cincinnati, because of the assumption of meritocracy in academic institutions, “unconscious bias might, perversely, be harder to

address where intellectual rigor and fairness are already presumed to be in place” (Ono, 2013, p. B27). Nonetheless, as Ono reminds us, social and psychological barriers “are the more imposing for being invisible” (Ono, 2013, p. B27).

In essence, discrimination can occur through the intersection and interdependence of institutional (“macro”) forms of exclusion and individual (“micro”) acts of marginalization and discrimination (Feagin & Feagin, 2012). From an individually mediated perspective, the emergence of microinequities has been called the new scaffolding for discrimination in the twenty-first century (Rowe, 2008). Microinequities are small micro-incursions that undermine individuals and send devaluating messages that can hinder performance and erode the targets’ self-esteem (Young, 2003). A comprehensive taxonomy of microinequities identifies microassaults, microinsults, and microinvalidations as the ways in which microinequities are delivered and reproduced in the workplace (Sue, 2010).

In this regard, DiTomaso’s (2013) interview study of 225 participants is particularly relevant in uncovering how subtle acts of discrimination transpire through behavioral interactions. DiTomaso argued that the mechanism for reproducing racial inequality essentially transpires through acts of opportunity hoarding and favoritism. Such acts or exchanges of social and cultural capital among White actors represent the principal mechanism by which racial inequality is transmitted through the exchange of social capital and contributes to continued inequality (DiTomaso, 2013). The exchange of social capital involves social solidarity in terms of who is likely to help whom and the use of social resources that include social, cultural, and economic capital to confer advantage (DiTomaso, 2013).

In substantiation of this theory, a White female professor of international programs in a private religiously affiliated western university shared how the “old boys’ network” in her college has been perpetuated by the selection of White male faculty for leadership positions. This opportunity hoarding among the White male network has been noticed by the female faculty, who find it relatively easy to predict who will be offered the next award or will be groomed to be the chair or director:

Even though it is very sort of understated, there is still sort of an old boys’ network that works at the university, so if there are any challenges, there are still enough people who don’t think diversity is a problem or issue that we need to think or talk about. . . . Definitely, I see some evidence that there is a guys’ club, and they watch out for each other, and they put each other up for awards or for particular offices, or they groom them to be the next chair or the next director of a program. I think that [network] in some ways makes it more difficult for women and faculty of color. There is kind of a

core group of White men who take care of each other in the next generation, and there's definitely evidence of that in who is the next person to be director of the honors program. . . . They are grooming the next generation, and it's pretty obvious to women in particular in the college in terms of moving into leadership positions or things like that sometimes.

Because the chair role is the typical pipeline to a deanship, the notable absence of diverse department chairs indicates the continuing existence of legacies of inequality in the academic hierarchy. Furthermore, when diverse department chairs assume leadership roles, their leadership and that of their majority counterparts may be evaluated differently. For example, four research studies involving undergraduates, MBA students, and graduate students in situations revealed that Whites are viewed as more prototypical leaders and evaluated more favorably than racial minority leaders (Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008). When vague conditions surround the evaluation of leaders, negative bias against racial minorities is more likely to occur, particularly when evaluations stemming from negative stereotypes can be rationalized or justified (see Rosette et al., 2008, for review).

Although some may question whether subtle acts of discrimination still occur in academe, consider the findings of an independent investigative study at the University of California, Los Angeles. This study was conducted by an external review team based on interviews with 18 faculty members in individual interviews and 10 written statements submitted after a town hall meeting found instances of discrimination and bias in two academic departments (Moreno, Jackson-Triche, Nash, Rice, & Suzuki, 2013).

Allegations of systematic exclusion of minority and female faculty in "Department A" ranged from comments made to junior faculty of color about how they would not attain tenure, to discriminatory remarks such as "I thought Asian women were supposed to be submissive" (Moreno et al., 2013). A White faculty member who was tenured and subsequently left the department indicated that he had spoken out against such conduct and been retaliated against by the department chair through a recommendation against a merit increase in pay; he then retired rather than continue in that atmosphere (Moreno et al., 2013).

In "Department B" two faculty members alleged that the department was divided along racial lines, indicating that they had experienced incidents of bias or discrimination by other faculty members, including senior faculty. One faculty member indicated what he perceived to be a clique of Caucasian male professors who ran the department, and he said he had personally witnessed senior faculty use racially or ethnically insensitive language (Moreno et al., 2013).

And faculty from nondominant groups may feel that they must portray themselves as positive and nonthreatening and engage in what has been called "smile work" in their relations with White faculty in order to be successful (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996, p. 85). Marginalized individuals may only be able to function on terms that are unfavorable and determined at others' discretion, hiding who they are to participate in the predominant culture (Kivel, 2004). Women and minorities may experience pressure to falsify or disguise their identities and be more accommodating, agreeable, and even submissive in order to fit in (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). Such pressure can lead to feelings of powerlessness and loss of self-confidence (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). In this regard, a White male psychology professor from a midwestern liberal arts college described the price paid by a minority faculty member by being "doggedly reassuring" in order to gain the cooperation of other White faculty in his administrative role:

In our department one of the African American faculty members was highly, highly regarded, and he was not chair yet, but he had a number of administrative roles. And I think he had the cooperation of the people. But I think the price of that was that he was everybody's friend. He had positions, strong positions . . . but he was just doggedly nonthreatening, and whereas the other admin leaders had sharp edges, John had none, so I guess he had earned the role. . . . The price . . . was to sort of constantly be the Black man who is reassuring the White faculty.

He emphasized the cost of such efforts: "Chairs of color have been able to join the club, but I would imagine at a very high personal price, the price of anxiety and pressure."

An African American male history chair in a midwestern religiously affiliated university described his journey as the first African American chair in his institution and only one of a few African American faculty members in the university. He endured 10 years of mistreatment by a White faculty member in religious studies who resented his hiring from an adjunct to a full-time professor. The White faculty member refused to speak to him for a decade, even though their offices were adjacent to each other. Only when the African American faculty member later became chair did the White faculty member have to respond to him, when asked a question in a departmental meeting. As he explained,

There was a man who retired now, a religious studies professor, which is kind of odd. His office is right next door to mine. He didn't talk to me for 10 years, not a word. . . . He didn't believe I was qualified, he didn't believe that I was a real intellectual, I was only hired so that the university could say

that we had Black professors. This is somebody who would engage in those kinds of conversations . . . with the door open right next to my office. . . . That's when I started closing my door. . . . Near the end, I became chair just before he retired, so then he had to say something, because then I could sit in a meeting and actually ask him a question. He had to engage me. I always made the subject diversity, and he always made the answer, "I think we're already diverse." Needless to say, I wasn't invited to his retirement dinner.

The chair noted that as the first African American chair in his institution, his presence in diversifying the all-White hierarchy and his research and stance on social justice have had a discernible, informal impact on the climate in his department. As he explained,

I think it helps just by my mere presence. I am the first African American department chair at this university. So in an institutional context, I think that matters. I think my research on Dr. King, my own commitment to social justice, racial justice, and racial equality, and so on impact at least tangentially and informally the discussions which we have in the department. I think the people that were here when I got here, the people who were hired on before I became chair, and the ones I was able to hire as chair through those searches, all the faculty truly believe in what the true ideal of diversity and inclusiveness means. There is an implicit understanding in our own dialogue within the department of the importance of this issue.

Take the case of a White female history department chair who was the first female to hold that position in her department in a western religiously affiliated liberal arts college. She persistently sought to overcome misrepresentation of her statements in the faculty assembly and to participate democratically in that body. She pointed out the difficulties she faced in being taken seriously as both a female faculty member and the first woman chair of her department:

I think it was very difficult for me to be chair the first time I was chair. Six years ago, I was the first woman chair. . . . I think people inadvertently . . . it was difficult for them to take me as seriously as previous male chairs of the department. . . . It's hard to separate out being chair from the general situation of being a female faculty member when there just aren't that many on campus. And my experience of that is you have to be on every committee, but no one really cares what you say once you get there. You're not taken seriously when you make comments, for instance, in faculty assembly. I am frequently misquoted in the minutes of faculty assembly and have to kind of go back and say, "That's not what I said."

The female history chair noted that she was often the sole voice advocating for a particular course of action and could be outvoted by her department:

I frequently found myself the only voice in the department advocating for a particular course of action, and of course, I was outvoted whether I am chair or not. I don't feel like it was deliberate; people don't look at gender and say, "You're a woman; I don't care what you think." It's not something that people are aware of doing, but I think when your opinion is different from everybody else's, it just doesn't weigh as much.

Given these observations of the roadblocks still faced by minority and female chairs within academe, ranging from dismissal of their views to outright exclusion, we now consider progressive approaches that both dominant and nondominant chairs in our study have undertaken to strengthen the day-to-day climate and interactions within their departments.

Building Inclusive Departmental Climates

Chairs in our study, on average, rated the climate for diversity in their departments as 4 on a scale of 5. Despite this generally favorable rating, the perspectives of our interview sample reflected a more nuanced and much more complex picture. Consider the perspective of a White female chair of computer science in a predominantly White midwestern university who identified the difficulty of building passion around diversity when individuals have not experienced discrimination directly themselves. Like other chairs in the study, she reported a kind of inertia around diversity issues that perpetuates the status quo. With the impact of workload pressures, faculty may have little time or energy to devote to diversity efforts and will fail to see diversity as their top priority. As the chair observed,

Where philosophically, ethically, people may believe in diversity, they may see it as an important issue, they may want to be supportive. And then when the time pressures of what they have to do on a day-to-day basis come into play, then it can't be their job. . . .

Just philosophically speaking, I think that people who have not themselves experienced discrimination can sometimes understand it intellectually but have a harder time building a significant passion around it because they have not experienced it. And until you have been put in a situation where you at least recognize that you could be discriminated against because you are a minority . . . sometimes it just becomes a stark reality: I'm in a different set of circumstances. I think it can be really hard to imagine what that feels like.

In response to this predominant departmental viewpoint, the chair actively pursues the creation of a *culture of conversation* in which all voices are both heard and included whether in discussion of routine business matters or in the formal processes of promotion and tenure review:

What a department chair could do, if they wanted to take it seriously, I think it's just one of building a culture of conversation, making sure that as you conduct routine business, everybody's voice is heard equally. That doesn't mean that you single out that candidate and say, "You speak up now for the diverse people."

You treat them the same as everybody else in the room when you are having discussions about research or funding or curriculum or whatever the issue is. You treat them as one of the larger group, and everybody is on equal footing. To me that is the ultimate goal: We're all equal. Giving people positives or negatives can sometimes work negatively in the long run. I think you have to establish that environment of everybody is valued and everybody's opinion is important and everybody is treated the same when it comes to promotion review, tenure review, those types of things. I'm not saying that's easy to do, but I think that has to be your goal.

Other department chairs in the study emphasized the importance of surfacing difficult diversity issues as part of their leadership role, despite the controversy this may entail. Take the forthright approach of a White female chair of higher education in a western public research university who actively counters faculty pushback against searching for diverse candidates in the hiring process with an insistence on responding to the demographics of the student population:

The challenge is in working with faculty who have pretty traditional ideas, and I think the progress is just having those conversations. Just recently we were hiring for a temporary faculty position, and all the likely suspects were White males who were in the latter part of their careers. And I said, "All right that's great, but that's not the students we are trying to recruit, so why is it that we would only look at those faculty?" And then people write back, "Well they're the only people that are available." And [I was] trying to say, "Well what if I told you that we can't hire until we find someone? You will find somebody." Just trying to push the envelope a little bit.

A significant, covert barrier that chairs can face in building an inclusive climate is the existence of cliques of veteran faculty that can exert powerful influence over departmental direction. In chapter 4, we shared accounts of the intradepartmental tug-of-war that can occur between factions of senior

faculty and newer faculty and the lack of leverage the chair may be able to exert to overcome these divisions. An African American male department chair of sociology in a private southern research university shared his strategy of creating social events that require faculty attendance and offer informal opportunities for faculty to mingle and learn more about each other on both a social level and a professional level. He noted the subtle ways in which exclusion can take place through party invitations and other social interactions:

Those veterans . . . go to lunch together; they meet after work for cocktails, gossip. New people claim that they're never invited over to these peoples' home after work or on weekends; the kids have birthday parties . . . and their kids aren't invited; somebody might put a picture on their door of the party and you see all these people and you're not there; vegetable time, people have gardens, they leave bags of tomatoes or zucchini . . . on certain peoples' doors and not on other peoples' doors. You can't make people get along.

To counteract these subtle forms of exclusion, the chair created departmental social meetings off campus with attendance required of all faculty:

So what I've done . . . is we have all department social meetings, off campus. It could be that you close shop early on a Monday afternoon or a Friday . . . and it's mandatory just like a department meeting, so people can't say, "Oh well, I can't make it, I have to take my dog to the salon" or whatever. It's similar to a department meeting; it's not for business, it's for a social hour. We've had it where we cordoned off a room, and new faculty would take 15 minutes to talk about their research so that people can't say, "I've been in the department 3 years, and I don't know what they do."

Furthermore, the department chair can set explicit and clear expectations for departmental civility that address the treatment of both faculty and staff. In this regard, a White male chair of economics in a southwestern public research university indicated that he made it clear that he expected civility in interactions within the department, despite the fact that people did not agree on all subjects. His efforts were also directed toward how the faculty interacted with staff and, in particular, with the tendency of male faculty to treat female staff with a lack of respect "as if they were personal assistants rather than professional personnel with job descriptions." As he observed,

The women were expected to keep a fresh pot of coffee, keep the refrigerator stocked with water and soft drinks, run minor errands, etc. And several of the men were simply rude and arrogant when dealing with staff.

As a result, the economics chair held a number of “tense conversations” with faculty and also encouraged the staff to share any incidents of concern with him. He was willing to shoulder the burden of negative criticism and openly advocate the need for respect and civility in the day-to-day working environment.

The examples shared here reveal the decidedly activist approaches of department chairs in our study as they strive to create a culture of conversation that surfaces underlying assumptions about diversity, challenge behaviors that undermine inclusion, and instigate change in formal processes. From this perspective, the chair role offers people the opportunity to break the logjams of incivility and unequal opportunity. Chairs can seek to build a more representative critical mass of faculty within the department that will help offset regressive factions. Through the channel of social events and intergroup activities, the department chair can promote collegial interpersonal interactions that help offset the formation of cliques and promote an environment of cooperation and mutual professional respect. A White female chair of journalism in a western undergraduate university summed up the leadership role of the chair in setting the tone for the departmental culture:

The chair has to lead and set the tone for what is important. . . . Your department has to decide what its culture is going to be like. If [the department] is not willing to embrace diversity or support recruitment for other [diverse] faculty, it's going to fail. If you don't have retention, it doesn't matter.

In support of this perspective, an African American chair of kinesiology, sport, and leisure studies in a historically Black southern university emphasized the importance of the chair's inclusive approach in framing the department's goals and what it is trying to achieve:

It all depends on the administrator: What is the administrator's style? Is it charismatic, is it laissez-faire, is it autocratic, is it democratic, and is it inclusive? It helps to have a style that entails all of them, depending on what the situation is. One of the things I think that drives away faculty is to be firm and always autocratic. The more I sell what it is the department is about trying to become, the better the opportunity is for buy in on the part of the faculty.

Recruitment and Hiring: The Crucial Avenue to Diverse Faculty Representation

With several notable exceptions (see, e.g., Buller, 2012; Tucker, 1993), most departmental chair guides devote little attention to one of the most

important and challenging roles of the department chair: recruiting and hiring a demographically diverse faculty. By contrast, our interviews revealed that hiring is at the forefront of chairs' consideration in terms of addressing the underrepresentation of women and minorities. Yet, as noted earlier, many chairs described situations of dwindling budgetary resources, lack of senior faculty turnover, and limited opportunities to recruit new faculty as the principal barriers to building a diverse faculty. Hiring opportunities are especially rare in small departments in liberal arts colleges, and departments can go for years without additional lines being added.

In addition, chairs cannot assume that the vacancy of a faculty member in their department means that they have the right to fill it, especially in eras of budget cutting or when the position is reallocated to a more favored department or one with a presumed greater need (Tucker, 1993). And if needed vacancies are not filled, departmental faculty may have to assume heavier teaching loads, and sections can be canceled (Tucker, 1993). As budgets tighten, adjunct or part-time faculty positions are usually the first to be cut.

Nineteen of our 98 survey participants (19.4%) indicated that their department does not use any resources to ensure a diverse applicant pool. This surprising response may be tied to a number of factors that include budgetary constraints, institutional recruitment practices, and the lack of new faculty lines. The majority of the survey participants indicated a reliance on multiple avenues for diversity recruitment that include disciplinary conferences, specialized websites, referrals, use of lists of recent minority doctoral recipients, ads mailed to doctoral departments, and recruitment from institutions with a high percentage of diverse graduates. Principal barriers to hiring diverse faculty identified by survey participants include the following:

- *No new faculty lines.* We noted in chapter 3 how constricting budgets have limited the ability of chairs to diversify their departments. Examples cited by chairs from public and private institutions in our study include not having new lines for the past 6 or 7 years. One department chair in a private university has been requesting a faculty line with a specialization that would draw diverse candidates for 6 years and was given only a postdoctoral line contingent on a retirement in another department. Other departments in public institutions have found it difficult to compete with more well-funded institutions in attracting diverse candidates.
- *Lack of qualified diverse candidates.* This barrier was cited by a number of survey participants in different disciplines in private and public institutions. Some of the fields cited were highly specialized, whereas other fields included the humanities (communication,

English literature, psychology, philosophy), education (educational leadership), business (management), and STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) fields (biological sciences, engineering, and pharmacy). Chairs of physicians' assistants and occupational therapy departments also cited difficulties in finding diverse candidates.

- *Administrative practices.* Several survey respondents identified barriers in their institution's administrative practices that including the timing of the release of the university/college budget late in the hiring cycle, limitations that prevent departments from running their own ads, insistence on boilerplate diversity language without allowing customization to departmental needs, and not permitting the use of specialized agencies or services with experience in diversity recruitment.
- *Compensation.* Faculty salaries were cited as one of the most significant obstacles to the hiring of diverse faculty in a wide variety of geographical locations, institutional types, and disciplines. High faculty workload was also cited as a deterrent. One chair described bidding wars at his selective public research university for qualified diverse candidates.
- *Need for recruiting resources.* A number of survey participants identified the lack of funding for recruiting and diverse outreach as a significant barrier to attracting and interviewing diverse faculty candidates.
- *Lack of collegial support and a supportive campus climate.* Factors of climate and the absence of collegial support were cited by a number of chairs from dominant and nondominant groups at different institutions. As a White male economics chair in a southwestern public research university observed, "Some (not all) senior faculty give only lip service to enhancing diversity." And a White female chair of education in a private western master's-level university noted, "The university has not committed to seeking out diverse candidates."
- *Geographic location.* This factor was seen as an obstacle by a number of participants in more rural and/or less diverse areas of the midwest, south, and west. By contrast, a chair from the Boston area noted that the diversity of the metropolis made it relatively easy to attract diverse candidates. Yet a White female chair of educational leadership in a western public research university commented, "I think the university sometimes falls back on the 'we can't hire people of color because of our location' argument too frequently."
- *Failure to see the difference between international diversity and domestic diversity.* Another factor raised was the failure to recognize the

importance of domestic diversity and the tendency to overemphasize international faculty as satisfying diversity requirements.

A number of respondents in different disciplines in both urban and rural settings indicated, in contrast to those factors cited as barriers in our survey sample, that they are not having difficulty in recruiting diverse candidates in disciplines that include the pharmaceutical sciences, cardiopulmonary sciences, mathematics, counseling and special education, graduate studies, and urban education.

Lack of Qualified Candidates: Myth or Reality?

How do we account for the variance between the reported difficulty of finding qualified, diverse candidates and the experiences of minority scholars who are unable to find faculty positions? Clearly, disciplinary factors may make a difference, particularly in more specialized fields that have fewer diverse doctoral recipients. Yet as Daryl Smith pointed out, many diverse candidates for faculty positions, as well as postdoctoral fellows and minority administrators, do not see themselves as subjects of bidding wars and, in fact, have trouble landing tenure-track positions (D. G. Smith, 2000; see D. G. Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004, for review). She noted this disjuncture of perception as a "schizoid condition" in the discourse of diversity, with each side supplying "competing anecdotes" (D. G. Smith, 2000, p. 48). In support of this perspective, a study of 299 recipients of prestigious Ford, Mellon, and Spencer fellowships conducted in 1996 revealed, for example, that only 11% of the minority scholars were recruited for a faculty post and encouraged to apply ((D. G. Smith, 2000; E. Smith, 1996).

As shown in Table 5.1, the question of the scarcity of diverse candidates finds only mixed support based on 2011–2012 doctoral graduation data. Minorities are well represented in certain fields such as education, with 15.4% Black or African American graduates, 6.5% Hispanic or Latino graduates, and 3.4% Asian graduates. In biological and biomedical sciences, Asian doctoral recipients represent 8.5% of doctorates, Hispanics or Latinos represent 4.1%, and Blacks or African Americans represent 3.5%. In business management, Asian Americans represent 6.3% of doctoral recipients, Blacks or African Americans represent 6.2%, and Hispanics or Latinos represent 2.8%. In English literature, Hispanic or Latino graduates represent 4.5% of doctoral recipients, followed by Blacks or African Americans at 4.1% and Asians at 2.9%.

Fields with smaller percentages of diverse candidates include economics, with 5.2% Asian doctoral recipients and only 1.2% Black or African

TABLE 5.1
Doctoral Recipients by Race (Percentages), 2011–2012

Demographic	Business Management, Marketing, and Related Support Services			Biological and Biomedical Sciences			English Language and Literature/Letters			Education		
	Public (n = 907)	Private (n = 642)	Total (N = 1,549)	Public (n = 5,289)	Private (n = 2,635)	Total (N = 7,924)	Public (n = 1,084)	Private (n = 343)	Total (N = 1,427)	Public (n = 5,379)	Private (n = 2,911)	Total (N = 8,290)
American Indian or Alaska Native	0.6	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.3	0.7
Asian	6.5	6.1	6.3	7.3	11.0	8.5	2.9	3.2	2.9	3.3	3.5	3.4
Black or African American	3.0	10.7	6.2	2.9	4.6	3.5	4.0	4.4	4.1	14.8	16.6	15.4
Hispanic or Latino/a	2.3	3.6	2.8	4.0	4.3	4.1	4.7	3.8	4.5	5.8	7.9	6.5
White	37.7	43.6	40.2	49.8	49.4	49.7	70.2	63.8	68.7	62.4	57.2	60.6
Two or more races	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.6	1.1	0.7	0.5	1.2	0.6	0.5	1.1	0.7

Source: U.S. Department of Education, 2012, Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education System. Analysis by authors.

American recipients and 1.3% Latino recipients, and chemistry, with 6.2% Asian American doctoral recipients followed by significantly smaller percentages of Hispanic or Latino graduates (2.6%) and Black or African American graduates (2.2%).

These statistics reveal that minority doctoral graduates typically represent a range of approximately 10% to 20% of doctoral recipients in many fields, with larger percentages in certain disciplines. Although attracting qualified minority applicants may require more creative and extensive search and outreach processes, the data suggest that diverse applicants are available.

The culture and practices associated with faculty hiring may be one of the principal reasons for the failure to diversify (Gordon, 2004). Because faculty hiring represents one of the most privileged processes governed by the faculty who demand the right to select their colleagues, the allegiances of faculty are to their discipline without necessarily considering the implications for life in the academy (Gordon, 2004). And given the negative correlation between rank and race/ethnicity, the predominance of White males on the search committee may make it difficult for a lone woman or minority member to advance a different perspective (Gordon, 2004). Because research suggests that how institutions handle hiring processes is more important than the pipeline issue, departments need to transform their search processes and substitute talk about diversity with substantive approaches to change (D. G. Smith, 2000).

Sixteen chairs in our sample identified search committee processes as a barrier to diversifying the department. For example, a Black chair of Hispanic ethnicity in a private southern research university noted that the “Black male chair faces challenges of hiring other non-White faculty; are they qualified?” Contrary to the principle of inclusive excellence, this question is often presented in an oppositional manner, as if diversity and quality are antithetical.

On the other hand, partnerships of the faculty hiring committee with the dean increase the likelihood of attaining diverse faculty representation (Gordon, 2004). A study of 689 searches from three large public research universities found that special-hiring interventions explained most hiring of underrepresented faculty of color at predominantly White institutions (D. G. Smith et al., 2004). Such institutional interventions were more likely to result in hiring of diverse faculty when the traditional search process was bypassed or enhanced (D. G. Smith et al., 2004). Underrepresented minority faculty were also more likely to be hired when a diversity indicator was included in the job description or when institutional resources allowed for special hires of talented individuals identified during the search (D. G. Smith et al., 2004).

As noted earlier, a number of institutions have developed recruitment programs that provide institutional incentives for diversity hiring. When the

president and provost foreground faculty diversity as key objectives in the institutional and divisional strategic plans, such clear institutional direction can result in both allocation of resources and increased accountability at the department or school level. For example, a White male chair of political science at a private midwestern university described the impact of a new provost and president on diversity efforts:

We need more resources to recruit candidates of color for faculty positions. There is new commitment to this by our provost and president who started at the university in the past year; the provost has developed short-term plans to increase faculty diversity. The president incorporated inclusion as one of four primary objectives in the new strategic plan.

Or take the Action Plan for Faculty Diversity and Excellence at the University of Pennsylvania, sponsored by President Amy Gutmann and Provost Vincent Price (*Penn's Action Plan for Faculty Diversity and Excellence*, 2011). This plan requires each school and all departments in larger schools to develop their own plans to increase faculty diversity, with allocation of substantial resources to support the plan (*Penn's Action Plan for Faculty Diversity and Excellence*, 2011). Because affirmative action reviews tend to take place too late in the hiring process to affect the applicant pool, in partnership with deans, the university has committed to developing more effective methods of assessing hiring patterns and holding colleagues accountable (*Penn's Action Plan for Faculty Diversity and Excellence*, 2011). Centralized bridge funding for faculty hires is also provided through a Faculty Opportunity Fund for up to 5 years until a retirement can free new resources (*Penn's Action Plan for Faculty Diversity and Excellence*, 2011).

Broader job descriptions are commonly cited as a strategy that will allow diverse candidates from different subspecialties within a discipline the opportunity to apply. Because of the underrepresentation of minorities in certain fields of study, a White male psychology chair in an urban research university asks his faculty to exercise intellectual flexibility in the field of specialization to allow the potential for consideration of underrepresented individuals. As he explained,

One of the things that the research shows because minorities are, by definition, a smaller number, the odds just of finding a person who is underrepresented who studies exactly what you might set out to find statistically is just less because there are fewer people. So if we, for example . . . wanted to hire a cognitive psychology professor who studies reading . . . we might find plenty of individuals who study that, but the odds of finding an underrepresented minority who studies that particular topic are going to be less

statistically. You might find someone who studies not reading but psychology of language comprehension. So I would argue that's close enough to what we're interested in: We need to be flexible about the topics. So maybe we find someone who studies language comprehension but not necessarily in a reading setting.

Some faculty would make arguments like, "Well now we're changing what we want to hire just so we can hire a minority. We have someone who studies the psychology of reading, so that's what we should be hiring and not changing our goals just to accommodate this particular hire." I argue that's a lack of intellectual flexibility and that we need to take into account that just simply the odds of finding someone who is underrepresented is smaller. That's what underrepresented means. That's the kind of pushback I would get.

We also noted a troubling tendency to dismiss Asian American males as not representative of diversity, particularly in the STEM fields. This tendency arises from conflating foreign Asian scholars and students who have immigrated to the United States for graduate study with Asian Americans (U.S. citizens or permanent residents of Asian descent) (Goel, 2006). In contrast with recent Asian immigrants, Asian Americans have experienced growing up as a visibly distinct minority group in the United States and continue to face substantive racial discrimination (Goel, 2006). The model minority myth has reinforced the misconception of Asian Americans as a problem-free minority (Goel, 2006). And perpetuation of this myth has often resulted in the exclusion of Asian Americans from consideration in university diversity hiring initiatives.

Another barrier to hiring diverse faculty is the tendency to view graduates from prestigious universities as preferable to candidates from public research universities or state universities. Essentially, the Ivy League dominates the pinnacle of the pyramid of prestige, with eight private universities located in the Northeast: Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, and Yale (Mullen, 2010). Graduates from the Ivy League are offered disparate rewards, including higher salaries, more prestigious occupations, high-status positions, and higher levels of life satisfaction (see Mullen, 2010, for review). And the student bodies at these highly selective institutions are heavily weighted toward the upper classes in terms of income, with lower percentages of Hispanic and African American students in comparison to the general population (Mullen, 2010). Because of a university's tendency to want to hire from the most selective institutions, minority PhDs from less prestigious institutions may have fewer opportunities for faculty positions, particularly in more highly ranked institutions.

The Road to Tenure

Department chairs play a critical role in assisting junior faculty in the process of attaining tenure. Not only do they hold a key vote on tenure committees on which they yield substantive influence, but they also can extend research opportunities, provide valuable mentoring support, and offer scholarly advice and professional encouragement. Chairs sometimes do not know their own power and need to recognize that junior faculty are fearful about asking for help, because chairs can make decisions that affect their careers (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). And they can play an instrumental role in helping diverse faculty learn the written and unwritten rules and practices that pertain to tenure and the benchmarks used to assess progress (Stanley, 2006). We share here some of the principal areas in which chairs in our study have assisted diverse faculty in the tenure process.

Mentoring. The importance of mentoring in the pretenure process has been emphasized throughout the research literature. Yet minorities and women in predominantly White institutions often experience difficulty in obtaining instrumental and social support in the workplace (see Ibarra, 1995; Stanley & Lincoln, 2005, for review). Because of the male-dominated nature of organizations, minorities are more likely to be in diversified mentoring relationships with individuals who reflect differing group membership associated with power differences (such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation) (see Ragins, 1997, for review). In such relationships, cross-race mentoring is an opportunity for majority faculty to serve as agents of change in building a more inclusive academic community (Stanley & Lincoln, 2005).

Consider the mentoring approaches offered by several chairs in the study who seek to offset political pressures and level the playing field for diverse faculty. A White female professor of special education in a western public research university described the creation of mentoring committees for pretenure faculty in her department. Each committee has three individuals on it, and one of them is the designated mentor for the junior faculty member. The committees are not intended to be advocacy systems but in place to help junior faculty navigate the institution and its requirements for tenure. The chair indicated that she wants individuals to serve as mentors who are helpful, realistic, and not patronizing. Recognizing that the process of teaching observations can be politicized, the chair tries to select "the right people" to ensure that junior faculty are evaluated in a fair way.

An Asian chair of periodontics in a midwestern public research university created a "junior faculty club" composed of tenure-track faculty who get together to review their progress and discuss topics of interest. The group has

since "taken on a life of its own," yet as the originator of the group, the chair now serves as a consultant on an as-needed basis. The chair further described his role in overseeing the tenure-review committees in the three divisions he oversees. He outlined the specific steps that a chair needs to take to ensure that tenure review is not driven by personalities:

I think (a) make sure that the faculty who are on the tenure track are aware of what the requirements are, and (b) during the annual review sessions, try to be as forthright as possible in setting goals for the year to come and review all the achievements of the year or the years past. Make sure the midterm review committee is informed and composed of people who have achieved obviously the status of being tenured but are also willing to be helpful. So the chair can control these committees that have been appointed to review progress. But the chair also reviews the progress of the pretenure faculty every year and tries to keep them informed. So I think the same steps apply for not only minority but any faculty. . . . Making sure that the faculty know what the expectations are for promotion and tenure, so that the process is followed, and it doesn't become a personality outcome if you will.

A White female chair of sociology in a public southwestern research university emphasized the relation of departmental climate to the way the tenure process is administered. She emphasized the need to hold all pretenure faculty to the same standard, hold frank discussions and demand accountability, and have discussions about the kind of advice to be offered to junior faculty.

Informal mentoring can also provide important psychosocial support and protection to diverse faculty. Consider the observations of a lesbian female department chair of kinesiology:

Being gay has definitely impacted being able to offer resources to candidates. We have also had faculty who have gone up for promotion and tenure who felt like that might be an issue. I talked about my own experience with them, and that helped them.

A White male chair of internal medicine in a southwestern public research university described the active support he provided to an African American faculty member when she relayed experiences that might reflect discriminatory treatment in her clinical work in the community:

She was a division chief, and I gave her a lot of freedom to make decisions and always tried to be as supportive as I could in every way possible. She did communicate sometimes reactions that she thought might be negative based on her race and/or sex. I did wonder at times if the treatment she

received could be partially due to our rural location and the very skewed demographics (predominantly White) of our region. We would meet and talk through the situation. "Do you think this was really the person's reaction, or could it be the fact that you asked them to do something that they really didn't want to do?" We tried to confront that. After she shared her experiences at least once, I met with the party that she had felt slighted by to discuss their responses. It was outside the university. Within the university we never had any problems. This division chief was an excellent leader and innovator and applied many of the concepts she brought back from attending the Executive Leaders in Academic Medicine (ELAM) course in her work in the community and in the university.

Student evaluations. A number of chairs in our study identified student evaluations as an instrument that can be used differentially to undermine a woman or minority faculty member in the tenure review process. The use of discretionary judgment that pertains to soft skills can result in differential and discriminatory impact on diverse faculty (Rosignano, 2007). Given the reliance on student evaluations as a tool for evaluating teaching, women and minorities must often contend with the subconscious biases of students that reflect role expectations often based on race and gender stereotypes (Lazos, 2012).

In a striking commentary, an African American chair of sociology in a private southern research university described the stereotypical student evaluations of women and minorities and explained how cherry-picking these evaluations can be used to run a faculty member out of the department:

In terms of student evaluations . . . you get 30 evaluations in a class; 5 of them might say you are the dumbest person they ever met. Now 25 others are OK. What do they bring to the table? The 5. As a department chair, I resent student evaluations. First of all, they are never used to do anything. . . . My position was, and I had done some research on this, that women get certain types of evaluations and faculty of color get certain types of evaluations. Women if they're too short, they get this type, or if they're heavy, they get that type. . . . Faculty of color generally get an evaluation saying, "I can't understand them," "They don't speak English," or "They try to use big words." There are certain pieces on the evaluation that are the same. If it's a Likert scale, and it's one to five with three being average, you say, what do these things really mean? Are they even normed? Have they been pretested? . . . Chairs that don't have any statistical abilities whatsoever, they just find the ones where the students say . . . "I didn't like the book they chose for the course" or "I went to their office, and they weren't there." You say, "Were they supposed to be there? We have office hours, and they're not here every day."

Faculty of color in the research on student evaluations really get slammed; women faculty really get slammed. And if you want to do a

faculty member in, you just drag out the evaluations. You can kill a faculty member with any one particular class evaluation. And if you have four or five classes over a year, you can cherry-pick the evaluations to say, "You know, the norm in this department, the score is 4, and you get a 3.6; you're under par." Under par for what? It's a game, it's a real bad game. . . . That's what I said about the turnstile: You can run somebody in for year one, year two, and run them out in year three, and the governance usually is, you don't have to have an explanation. Underperforming.

On the basis of her personal experience, a White female chair of urban education in a midwestern regional university described "the web of discrimination" she encountered in academe and described how student evaluations were used in a negative way against her in the tenure process:

But I have to say . . . as far as student reviews and hanging on to the one bad comment, those are things that I was up against also. I think that you can get lost in that battle, or you can stay in there and hold firm, and you gotta be a pretty strong person to do that. The first two women in our department that were successful were able to do that, but interestingly we both came from city management backgrounds and had been at the negotiation table before. Again we were never quite prepared for the complexity of the web of discrimination that comes about in academia.

A White male chair of sociology in a private midwestern liberal arts college indicated that student evaluations of faculty of color are likely to be lower and that minority faculty may be expected to "carry the torch" in various groups or activities that don't count for tenure or they may be viewed as unmotivated. He noted that such subtle differential treatment is more difficult to combat:

I think the student evaluations of faculty of color are certainly likely to be lower. Although no student or very few people will attribute it to that, it will be symbolic statements, like "lacks credibility," "is not forceful," or "is too forceful," or stuff like that.

Likewise, I think what I have observed is the new diverse faculty member is really expected to carry the torch for whatever their group is, in terms of student advising and programming and stuff like that, and if you don't do that, you are likely to be labeled as unmotivated or not active. But none of that stuff is going to count very much in terms of tenure. And therefore it becomes more difficult. . . . I think in my experience the frequent problem has been subtle and therefore more difficult to address or even combat.

The tax of service and devaluation of diversity-related scholarship. The tendency of minority faculty to be expected to devote time to serve as mentors

and advisers to diverse students and serve on committees as a diversity representative has been well documented in the research literature. Although fulfilling, such work may be the least rewarded in the tenure process and can detract from the time needed to pursue scholarly research. In addition, the pursuit of diversity-related research has been discounted, discouraged, and devalued by some departments in the tenure process. In this regard, a White female chair of international programs in a private religiously affiliated western university has helped minority faculty say “no” to the many demands placed on them that do not contribute to tenure attainment so they will not be burned out:

They are left to do a lot of work on campus that doesn't get kind of valued in the tenure process. Even though they may be very productive scholars, sometimes that kind of work is not valued in the same way. . . . One of the main ways that a faculty department chair has to help faculty of color is to help them to say “no.” . . . I did that constantly with my faculty who wanted to do everything that they were asked to do. Just to help them realize that they are going to burn candle at both ends, and at some point they are going to be burned out, even if they make it through the tenure process.

One of the things I have learned from my position in faculty development is that . . . tenured faculty can be the most disgruntled faculty, and once they've gone through that horrible process, they are just worn out: “Now I'm tenured, now what?” . . . I think helping people have a plan, a realistic plan, and to say “no” to a lot, and to realize that they don't have to do everything in the 6 years.

A White female chair of kinesiology in a southern public research university sees it as part of her role not only to have conversations about the value of the diversity-related research agenda with the promotion and tenure committee but also to promote the recognition such research has attained in professional associations and to discuss its contributions in her annual progress letter. She explained,

There is just more of an appreciation for what they would call scientific research as opposed to social science research, first of all . . . as much as I have tried to have conversations about that. . . . And then just the valuing of the diversity research agenda, clearly it is not as valued. I think it comes down to method as much as anything, but that is a vicious circle. Because the way you study diversity is different than measuring your blood pressure. The certainty for scientists sometimes in basic science is a false certainty, but they don't perceive it at all in diversity-related research; there is not a valuing of it. So in the tenure process, I think the chair has to have a conversation about it.

The insightful strategies shared in this chapter highlight the chair's critical role in furthering the success of diverse faculty in formal processes and

in navigating the informal complexities of institutional and departmental culture. Because tenure review processes directly affect the future of junior faculty, chairs have the ability to overcome tendencies toward politicization by exercising control over both the composition and the processes of tenure review committees. They can help ensure equity in the review of student evaluations and teaching observations and create a climate of mentorship that equips diverse faculty with the knowledge and psychosocial support that facilitates their advancement and inclusion.

The White female chair of international programs cited earlier summed it up by advising diverse faculty to build relationships broadly across the university, especially because the chair of the department may not be chair when he or she comes up for tenure:

One of the things that is also important is to make them realize that whoever is chair now might not be the chair when they come up for tenure, so they have to make relationships more broadly in the department and across the college and not kind of hide away. I think it is really important for people to have allies, mentors across the college and even the university.

Recalling the political dynamics involved in her own tenure review, she urged pretenure faculty to be politically savvy in “playing the game” and not give others ammunition to use against them in the tenure process:

I think that really helps me because there had been some really ugly stuff that happened in my department before I came up for tenure, which actually ended up helping me. Because two women left before I even came up for tenure, because the department was kind of seen as an old guys' network by the college rank and tenure committee . . . even though I was definitely tenurable and my file was great, it provided me with a buffer. . . . They didn't dare touch me at that point because their hands had been slapped once before. . . . So I think just helping faculty to be politically savvy is really important and to realize they can't do everything. . . . There is a certain level of playing the game. . . . It's really important that you're getting your ducks in a row and that you don't give people ammunition.

Concluding Perspectives: Strategies for Recruiting and Retaining Diverse Faculty

As we conclude this chapter, we offer a number of concrete strategies drawn from the observations of chairs in our study that will help facilitate the recruitment and retention of diverse faculty.

Keep the conversation going about diversity. Throughout the chapter, we have seen examples of chairs who are willing to challenge the status quo and to create a continuous culture of conversation around diversity. A White female chair of educational leadership in a public western research university observed,

To truly advance diversity in American colleges and universities, we have to have really critical conversations about racism, sexism, and homophobia, and people don't want to have those conversations because they tend to refuse to believe that they are racist or sexist or homophobic. . . . The big thing as a chair is to keep the conversation going and bring it up over and over and over again.

An African American male chair of history in a midwestern religiously affiliated university emphasized the need for self-examination and for generating conversations about difference:

An important thing for chairs, any chair, is to sit down and really look in the mirror and ask themselves, "What do you really know and what do you really believe about people who don't look like you?" And take it upon themselves to do some reading and have some conversations about race. They need to have some conversations about gender equality. They need to have some conversations with people about alternative lifestyles, because a chair can be a very influential position in an institution. And if you're chair and you're closed minded, ignorant, worst of all willfully ignorant on these kinds of issues, I think you can do a lot of damage.

Cast a wide net in faculty searches. A Black male chair of Hispanic ethnicity in an elite private research university commented on the need to cast a wide net in recruiting new faculty, because "otherwise White colleagues look at very few people as 'qualified' for the job." In addition, as recommended by many chairs in the study, pursue multiple avenues and include contacts with other institutions with diverse graduates, review minority doctoral recipient data banks, use referrals and community outreach, and consult with the offices of human resources, diversity, and affirmative action.

Expand recruiting beyond conventional networks to consider recent minority doctoral recipients at "less prestigious" institutions, including those that may have assumed temporary, visiting, part-time, and postdoctoral positions. Consider recently hired diverse faculty at less selective institutions with significant scholarly, research, and teaching potential.

Increase education regarding community resources that can be shared with diverse faculty in the interview process. A White female chair of kinesiology in

a public southern research university emphasized the importance of sharing available community resources with diverse candidates in recruiting efforts:

I don't think as a department or university we have been successful at saying, "What are the community resources?" We kind of walk on tiptoes a bit; we are afraid to say this may be available to you because that might be perceived as an assumption. So educating everybody about that. I feel comfortable, but I don't think that all faculty members do. . . . We have several White males in the department, and I don't [think] there is any ill intention. But I think there is a lack of education on presenting an array of resources versus those that they are familiar with. By resources [I mean] different churches, the LGBT community, etc. We have had a couple of candidates who have been interested in resources of that nature and have asked me directly about those resources. I know that we have faculty members that could assist me in giving more information. . . . What is it like to live here when you're African American? What is it like to live here when you're a gay or lesbian faculty member? Those kinds of conversations probably don't occur, and I think it hampers our recruiting efforts.

Look at curricular offerings and ask what courses would attract women and minority candidates. A White male chair of economics in a southwestern research university noted the general tendency of faculty to want to hire the best and brightest that will put the department on the map. By contrast, he emphasized the need to shift the conversation and ask questions about the kinds of courses that would attract diverse candidates.

When overcoming objections to hiring diverse candidates, focus on the value that diversity brings to group decision making. A White male psychology chair in a midwestern urban university has advanced consideration of diversity in recruitment by focusing on the value that diversity brings to group decision making. As he explained,

In terms of hiring, a common approach that people adopt is to pursue the best scholar. And I was pushing us to consider the importance of diversity, and one of the things that I did was I actually gave our faculty research to show that groups that are diverse actually make more effective decisions than groups that are not diverse, to actually promote diversity as a positive attribute that's value added. It's not just diversity for diversity's sake. Making your faculty more diverse will improve the quality of faculty; it will improve the quality of decision making of the group.

Defeat the common myths about hiring and diversity such as "diversity means a compromise in quality" and "few qualified women or minority candidates are available."

Support the people you hire through a variety of means, including mentoring, pedagogical coaching, and "going to bat" for them. In the course of the chapter, we have seen how activist chairs have provided support in the tenure process in a range of areas from mentoring to student evaluations. In this regard, a White male chair of mathematics, physics, and computer science in an eastern private liberal arts college emphasized the importance of not only bringing in people of diverse backgrounds but also supporting the faculty that he hires. This responsibility, in his view, rests not only with the chair but also with the whole department. In his words, "Unless the whole department contributes, then the person will not feel included." For example, in his mentoring of international faculty, he works on pedagogical issues to suggest visual and graphical approaches that combat linguistic issues. He also sees it as his role to "go to bat" for faculty when student evaluations raise issues regarding language barriers and difficulty in communication.

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BRIDGE BUILDING

The Chair's Role in Fostering Diversity Learning Outcomes and Student Identity Development

To create effective learning environments, we educators must begin by asking just what images are being reflected in the mirror of our institutions. Does that reflection affirm the identities of all our students or just a few? Every student should be able to see important parts of himself or herself reflected in some way. All should be able to find themselves in the faces of other students and among the faculty and staff. They should also see their images reflected in the curriculum as well as in cocurricular programming to avoid feelings of invisibility or marginality that can undermine student success.

—Beverly Daniel Tatum (1999, p. 550)

In this chapter, we consider the chair's role in student learning about diversity through what Beverly Tatum called "the mirror of our institutions" (Tatum, 1999, p. 550). How do academic departments create a learning environment for students that deepens their understanding of diversity, strengthens cultural competency and awareness, provides opportunities for interaction with diverse others, and affirms their identity? All these avenues represent critical pathways for students, leading toward greater self-understanding and ultimately preparing them with the knowledge and skills needed for careers in a culturally rich, global society.

Yet once again, few, if any, chair resources cover this important topic, and most of the existing literature focuses almost exclusively on the administrative aspects of the chair role. Perhaps the chair's role can be seen as bridge-work for diversity that connects ideas, individuals, and institutions across both internal and external boundaries for the good of the students and for purposes of social justice (see Brooks, 2012, for review). And the concept of intentionality is critical to the creation of a departmental culture that nurtures and sustains diversity (Park, 2013). In this chapter, we share intentional practices that chairs have undertaken in the area of student diversity that