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Creating a Diverse Faculty

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How to Do a Better Job of Searching for Diversity

By BETH MCMURTRIE

RANDY LYHUS FOR THE CHRONICLE

CORVALLIS, ORE.

As the members of the search committee gather for the first time, their goal seems straightforward: create a shortlist of finalists for the tenure-track position in their department. It's agreed that anyone receiving one or more "outstanding" votes will be considered for a phone interview, and the rest will be dropped.

Alice, a recently hired associate professor, really likes one candidate, but the other members tell her they've met him and he's "a disaster," with a "terrible personality." He's eliminated. Two postdoctoral fellows in the department have applied, but only one advances, because his mentor, Jane, is on the committee and vouches for him. A third candidate is held in reserve because someone heard she'd resigned from her job to follow her spouse, and the committee isn't sure it can close the deal with both of them. A candidate from a prestigious Ph.D. program is granted a phone interview despite having no teaching experience, while someone from a lesser university who has taught is put on the back burner.

Sound familiar? Anyone who has sat on a faculty-search committee knows how fraught the process can be, as this case study illustrates. It is often rife with personal biases, groupthink, power dynamics, rushed judgment, and potential conflicts of interest, while relying on imperfect measures of intelligence, experience, and ability.

The process may also be why the professoriate has a diversity problem. If whom you know, where you got your degree, and "fit" — a vague characteristic that often does little more than reflect how comfortable we feel about someone — are what get people in the door, where does that leave job seekers who are different from those who do the hiring?

The fact is that academe remains a predominantly white enclave for people with Ph.D.s, a situation that student protesters have drawn attention to in recent months. On average, out of every 100 full-time faculty members only five are black, four are Hispanic, and fewer than one is Native American. These figures barely changed from 2009 to 2013 (the latest year for which figures are available), even as the student body became more diverse.

That growing gap has driven a number of colleges to rethink the faculty-search process. After all, there is no other place on campus where a single hire can turn into a 30-year commitment. Some institutions train professors to avoid the kinds of implicit bias that lead to discounting experiences different from our own, they employ recruiters to help search committees cultivate a more diverse applicant pool, or they use data and internal reviews to examine hiring patterns down to the departmental level.

To be sure, creating a more racially and ethnically diverse faculty has serious structural challenges. Only 13 percent of people who earned doctorates in 2014 came from underrepresented groups. In science, technology, engineering, and math, the showing is often worse. How can you hire people who aren't there?

Yet colleges that have rethought the search process found that some of these barriers can be overcome through more-active recruiting combined with more openness toward nontraditional candidates. And while it may be hard to move the needle nationally, any one institution, they note, can do a lot to improve its numbers.

"There is a small pool, but we are building a community that will attract people to be a part of it," says Scott A. Ashford, dean of the College of Engineering at Oregon State University. "And if we develop that, then the small pool doesn't concern me, because we'll be the place people want to be."

Few institutions have embraced this rethinking as ambitiously as Oregon State, which created the position of "search advocate" about a decade ago to help hiring committees design a fair and inclusive process. The university has trained more than 800 people, or about 15 percent of the current faculty and staff, to become search advocates. While search advocacy is just one tool that Oregon State is using to improve hiring outcomes, it shows some promising early results. According to reviews of searches that took place in 2014-15, those with search advocates resulted in the hiring of candidates from underrepresented groups in 25 percent of the cases, compared with 11 percent for those without advocates.

The job of the search advocate is to slow things down, so that people have time to think carefully.

"We're seeing a groundswell of interest from deans and departments chairs," says Anne Gillies, the search-advocate program director, who created the program at Oregon State. "They have noticed that complaints about searches are mainly about those that do not have advocates on them."

One hot August morning, while the rest of the campus is in a summer lull, Ms. Gillies welcomes a new class of recruits to search-advocacy training. A mixture of faculty and staff members from Oregon State and Mount Hood Community College, longtime employees as well as new hires, have signed up. Some are here because their departments require search chairs to be trained; others simply have an interest in mak-

ing the campus more diverse.

The two-day program delves into the problems of implicit bias, the legal environment, and enhanced recruiting and screening strategies, among other things. It's also packed with research and data. Ms Gillies knows her audience: "Why would a faculty member agree to engage in the process," she asks, "without evidence to suggest that what they're doing may not be as effective as they think?"

One of her favorite tools is the case study, in which she asks the class to break down a real-life example — in this case the search with Alice, a professor she knows at another university. The group is quick to see the many ways in which this search failed to be either thoughtful or objective. The committee moved through applications too quickly. Candidates were rejected based on feelings or intuition. Others were advanced because of favoritism or bias toward elite institutions.

The search advocate, Ms. Gillies reminds participants throughout the workshop, is not there to criticize, judge, or steer committee members toward particular candidates. Rather, the advocate is there to help them test their thinking. Asking people why they value certain qualifications or how they will measure required skills, she says, can be a powerful tool for getting them to consider a broader set of options.

In the session and during breaks, participants talk about how hard it is to recruit racial and ethnic minorities to Corvallis. "Welcome to one of the palest places in America," jokes one participant. That is not an exaggeration. About 88 percent of Oregon residents are white, far above the national average, the legacy of racial-exclusion laws on the books as recently as the 1920s.

Oregon State remains challenged by those demographics and further limited by its rural location, a 90-minute drive from Portland. Yet both the state and the campus are changing, shaped by a growing number of Latino residents, international students, and first-generation collegegoers. Those changes have accelerated diversity and equity initiatives on campus, including the creation in 2014-15 of about 40 tenure-track positions designed to improve student success as well as faculty diversity.

When she ran her first workshop, in 2008, Ms. Gillies was greeted with suspicion: Was she training spies to report back to human resources? Since then the campus has warmed to the advocates' role, she and others say, particularly as the benefits of a diverse work force and an understanding of unconscious bias have entered into a national conversation.

Workshop participants are encouraged to take a series of online tests that measure implicit bias, to show that most of us absorb ideas that lead us to stereotype people based on the group they are in. Ms. Gillies segues into a discussion of two types of thinking: fast and slow. When

AMANDA L. SMITH PHOTO

"We are building a community that will attract people to be a part of it," says Scott Ashford, engineering dean at Oregon State.

Ingrid Arocho, an assistant professor of engineering at Oregon State, was introduced to people from different backgrounds during her interviews. The experience persuaded Ms. Arocho, who is from Puerto Rico, that she'd fit in.

AMANDA L. SMITH PHOTO

search-committee members are stressed, tired, or short on time, they often default to the more emotional, less neutral forms of judgment found in fast thinking. The job of the search advocate is to slow everything down, she says, so that people have time to think carefully.

At one point, Ms. Gillies flashes a series of grids on the screens around the room, outlining a detailed matrix against which a hypothetical search committee can measure each candidate's experience, credentials, and skills. By taking a methodical approach, she says, members are less likely to use superficial reasons for rejecting or advancing applicants.

"It's a messy process, it's difficult, it takes time," she says. "That's what a search is."

A 2008 report, "Breakthrough Advances in Faculty Diversity," by the academic-consulting firm EAB, concluded that many diversity efforts falter because colleges fail to drive a sense of ownership down into academic units. The report's recommendations for senior leaders echo those being tried by a number of colleges today: Engage faculty members, share data on how peer institutions are performing, prime the pump by creating networks of potential candidates, review the diversity of candidate pools as searches progress, and be prepared to respond to red flags.

"One of the things I've realized is it really doesn't seem to happen on its own," says Lee C. Bollinger, president of Columbia University, who has long led campus-diversity efforts. "Everybody says to themselves, We really want to have more diverse faculty, we think it's good for a variety of reasons ... and the fact is, very little happens. You have to wonder what it is that leads to that."

Mr. Bollinger and his former provost, Claude Steele, determined that the search process had to be more closely examined after they saw how "certain patterns and practices and outlooks and perspectives that people have lead to a replication of existing characteristics," Mr. Bollinger says. That's true not just of racial, gender, and ethnic diversity, he says, but of intellectual diversity as well. "You have to break down a lot of things about your thinking, and that turns out not to be an easy process for people — and it may be even harder for many people in the academy."

Columbia last year added $33 million to $30-million faculty-diversity efforts, including expanding pipeline programs into the professoriate and improving support systems for diversity in hiring.

The Faculty of Arts & Sciences, for example, recruited Susan Drange Lee from the University of California at Los Angeles as director of faculty development and diversity. She will work committee by committee, she says, to provide research and data to improve searches. That includes comparing the composition of applicant pools with national data that show the available number of candidates in a given field. At UCLA, she says, "that alone was very

eye-opening for many, if not most, of the faculty."

Rethinking the search process helps dismantle the add-on approach to diversity that has plagued academic hiring for so long, says Mary B. James, dean for institutional diversity and a professor of physics at Reed College. "A lot of search committees still think of diversity as this little pebble, and the 'real criteria' are separate," she says. "It's an extra thing you add at the end. When do I put the pebble on the scale? How big is the pebble if it's race? If it's gender?"

If colleges instead begin conversations about hiring long in advance of when positions come open, says Ms. James, not only will they start building networks of potential recruits, but they'll also be forward-thinking in their outlook. She works with search committees to develop a process similar to what Ms. Gillies recommends at Oregon State: Discuss your discipline's future, recruit widely, and agree on what you're measuring before you open up that first application. "It's the act of doing it that really changes you," she says.

Renee Baker, executive director for faculty recruitment at the Rochester Institute of Technology, says campuswide search training and monitoring is critical to success. "If you don't build the culture and prepare them for the people you're bringing in, you're going to have a revolving door" with minority hires, she says. "We have to deal with climate, repeatedly."

Job candidates say they can tell the difference. In every interview on six campuses, Matthew Anderson, an assistant professor in the department of microbiology at Ohio State University, gauged the institution's interest in diversity. His Eastern Cherokee heritage may not directly affect his research, he says, but he wanted to work in a place that welcomed him.

The search committee at Ohio State "did an amazing job" of introducing him to people involved in Native American issues, which enabled him to envision what it would be like to work there. The search committee at a similarly ranked campus, which he declines to name, deflected his questions on diversity and cultural life, telling him at one point that it didn't have time to fit that into his schedule. Ohio State isn't particularly diverse, he notes, but the openness he found signaled to him that it wanted to change. "Not only did they acknowledge it's part of who I am," he says, "it's part of what I do."

At Oregon State, search advocates are usually placed on committees in departments outside their professional fields, allowing them the freedom to ask a lot of questions. What are the emerging fields in a particular discipline? That opens the door for candidates whose research and teaching reflect America's changing interests and demographics. Can the job ad be written broadly and with a minimum of required qualifications? That can attract unconventional applicants, such as those who came up through the community-college system or transitioned from nonacademic careers. Do the venues where the department normally advertises attract a diverse set of schol-

AMANDA L. SMITH PHOTO

"You start with the job description," says Denise Lach, a search advocate at Oregon State U., "and try to take out hot-button words or words that look like code."

ars? That encourages faculty members to tap their professional networks and create new ones.

Denise Lach, director of the university's School of Public Policy and a search advocate, says that, for the most part, people enjoy being challenged. "You start with the job description," she says, "and try to take out hot-button words or words that look like code."

One search committee, for example, wanted candidates who had secured a particular kind of grant. Ms. Lach asked who typically gets that kind of financing. "So what it means is that they had a good mentor who is connected to the funding agency and is also a good grant writer," she says of the conversation that followed. "They were talking about it and started to realize that what they were doing was privileging the people who had already been privileged in their graduate program." The committee ended up writing a more general statement, in which candidates could reflect their resourcefulness in a variety of ways.

Oregon State is one of a growing number of colleges that ask applicants to demonstrate their own commitment to diversity and inclusion. But that can present a challenge. Linda Bruslind, a senior instructor in the department of microbiology, nods knowingly when Ms. Gillies says many candidates still ignore that requirement. Is it because they don't understand the request, Ms. Bruslind wonders, or that they don't take it seriously? She recalls one applicant's saying that the fact that he had moved the date of a department potluck dinner after he learned that it fell on a colleague's religious holiday showed he was committed to diversity.

Another challenge, search advocates say, is to get committees to think beyond past performance, toward future possibilities. "Invariably I see search committees have the problem of, Well, we have a recent Ph.D. with three publications compared to an associate professor with 30 publications. And they can't get beyond that," says Dan Edge, associate dean of the College of Agricultural Sciences. "You really need to focus on trying to glean the potential as opposed to what people have actually done. That's a tough one."

Still, Ms. Bruslind and other faculty members say they're seeing a culture shift. Part of that is Oregon State's increased commitment to hiring people interested in supporting diversity. And part of that is generational. Younger faculty members have come of age in a more diverse environment and are often quicker to understand why it's an important conversation to have with candidates. Seeking new hires who contribute to diversity, advocates say, also forces departments to reflect on their own actions.

"As we start the conversation about who we hire, it changes the conversation about who we are," says Ms. Lach. "How come we're not doing the kind of outreach to underrepresented communities that we expect new hires to do? In that way, we're training ourselves how to become better teachers, better mentors, better grant writers."

The university's work shows signs of paying off, with the number of members of underrepresented groups inching upward across the campus. About 15 percent of assistant professors come from underrepresented groups, compared with 9 percent of associate professors and 5 percent of full professors.

"The hardest part," says Mr. Ashford, dean of the engineering school, "is the constant involvement to enable this process to be successful. It takes the committee members, it takes the faculty to help recruit, it takes the school head to be engaged in the search. It takes me as the dean to be engaged in the search."

One chair, he says, was removed when he didn't go through search-advocacy training. A search was rejected because the committee hadn't asked candidates to submit diversity statements. Mr. Ashford, who recently appointed an associate dean for faculty advancement to help with this work, says that while diversifying the faculty has been a slow process, he's convinced that his college has become a more welcoming place.

Ingrid Arocho, a new assistant professor of civil and construction engineering, agrees. During her telephone interview, she says, "it was really obvious they cared about it."

"It wasn't enough for me to say I love diversity because I am diverse," says Ms. Arocho, who is from Puerto Rico. Instead, she talked about how it was important to encourage students to see that construction careers were possible for women and minorities. During her on-campus interviews, the search committee introduced her to professors and staff members from different backgrounds. The experience persuaded her that she'd fit in.

Now that she's begun participating in faculty searches, she sees what it's like on the other side of the table. If committee members want to reject a candidate, for example, they must clearly state why. "You can't go with, 'I don't feel it's the right person.' You have to justify it," she says. "Even though that sounds small, sometimes that's what you need to be open to someone who looks different."

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Questions to Ask to Help Create a Diverse Applicant Pool

Anne Gillies runs a professional-development program at Oregon State University that supports diversity in hiring. Here is an edited list of questions she compiled, at *The Chronicle*'s request, that search committees can ask in designing a more inclusive recruitment process.

BEFORE BEGINNING THE SEARCH

- Where do we want our department to be in 10 or 20 years?
- What new fields are emerging in this discipline?
- What perspectives and experiences are we missing?
- How will this position contribute to our goals of diversity, inclusion, and justice?
- Do we have resources to mentor faculty members who demonstrate potential but still need experience?

WRITING THE JOB AD

- What qualifications must the person have to succeed in this role?
- What qualifications might enhance their success and impact?
- Are there people who could succeed in this role but who wouldn't meet our qualifications?
- Are we reflecting a range of interests, backgrounds, and experiences in our description of the position, unit, and institution?
- Have we described the position's role, its impact, and how it contributes to diversity, inclusion, and justice?

WHEN RECRUITING

- What groups do we tend to miss attracting to our applicant pool, and where might we find them?
- Whom can we ask to recommend strong potential candidates interested in advancing diversity in research and teaching?
- Will each committee member contact colleagues seeking recommendations, and then personally invite those potential candidates to apply?
- Will we reach colleagues and candidates from demographically diverse institutions this way?

BEFORE INITIAL REVIEW OF CANDIDATES

- Does our applicant pool match the nationally available pool of recent Ph.D.s from underrepresented groups? If not, where or how can we reach those we've missed? Should we extend our deadline?
- Have we agreed on screening criteria for each qualification?
- Have we budgeted enough time to discuss each applicant thoroughly?
- Do we require factual job-related reasons when we reject a candidate?
- Have we agreed to build the case for advancing each qualified candidate before identifying deficits?

AFTER INITIAL REVIEW OF CANDIDATES

- What facts support our decisions to include or exclude a candidate? Where might we be speculating?
- How do the demographics of our shortlist compare with our qualified pool, and with the national pool of recent Ph.D.s?
- Have we generated an interview list with more than one minority finalist?
- If a high percentage of underrepresented candidates were weeded out, do we know why? Can we reconsider our pool with a more inclusive lens, or extend the search?

Originally published on September 11, 2016

The Invisible Labor of Minority Professors

By AUDREY WILLIAMS JUNE

The Rev. Joseph Brown, a professor of Africana studies at Southern Illinois U. at Carbondale, is sought out as a mentor by minority students. "You never know who's going to come through the door," he says. "It's like the oasis in the desert for students."

WHITNEY CURTIS FOR THE CHRONICLE

Rachel A. Griffin is used to students she doesn't know showing up for her office hours here at Southern Illinois University. Sometimes they come to see her on her first day of class for the semester.

The stories, by now, are familiar: Often a friend has taken a course from Ms. Griffin, associate professor in the department of communication studies, and thinks she'll have good advice. The student sits down and tearfully describes a problem he or she is counting on Ms. Griffin to help solve. Maybe it's how to make the transition to the campus or what to do about a much-needed financial-aid check that has yet to arrive.

"I'm clearly not a financial-aid adviser, but what do you do in that moment?" says Ms. Griffin. "You hand the student a Kleenex, and you get on the phone and see what you can do."

Ms. Griffin, who is biracial and identifies as black, knew when she came to Southern Illinois seven years ago that black students at the predominantly white institution would seek her out. While other professors, particularly women of any ethnicity, struggle to balance demands for mentorship and service work, faculty members of color say that their cultural, racial, or ethnic backgrounds mean they receive a disproportionate number of requests.

The hands-on attention that many minority professors willingly provide is an unheralded linchpin in institutional efforts to create an inclusive learning environment and to keep students enrolled. That invisible labor reflects what has been described as cultural taxation: the pressure faculty members of color feel to serve as role models, mentors, even surrogate parents to minority students, and to meet every institutional need for ethnic representation.

On many campuses, cultural taxation — a term coined in the 1990s by Amado M. Padilla, a professor of psychological studies in education at Stanford University — is exacerbated by a student population diversifying faster than the faculty. College-going rates have increased among minority groups, and demographic change is yielding more Hispanic high-school graduates. Meanwhile, the pipeline of minority Ph.D. students isn't as robust, and efforts to recruit and retain minority professors are uneven at best.

Among the largest minority groups enrolled at Southern Illinois are about 3,000 black undergraduate, graduate, and professional-school students. But there are just 31 black tenured or tenure-track professors — a ratio of 100 to 1, according to institutional research data. The university's 24 Hispanic professors who are tenured or on the tenure track are far outnumbered by the almost 1,300 Hispanic students. (Including the institution's full-time, non-tenure-track faculty members adds 56 black and Hispanic professors to the mix.)

Retention is a priority on many campuses these days, and technology tends to undergird those efforts, with data analysis identifying students at risk of dropping out. Such measures can help, but studies suggest that minority students who have faculty mentors they can relate to tend to stick around. In a paper that outlines a framework for retaining minority students in higher education, researchers note that "informal contact between faculty and students is more critical than ever" and that colleges need to work hard at hiring positive faculty role models.

Faculty members of color nationwide describe how frequently they advise current and former underrepresented-minority students and their friends, many of them first-generation students who need extra support to navigate college life. The professors intervene on behalf of students in sticky situations with other instructors and try to educate white colleagues on the nuances of race-related issues that impact the lives of minority students. Their offices feature tissue boxes and "crying chairs." And that's just the time spent with students. Those same faculty members are also tapped to serve on a seemingly endless stream of committees, for their "unique perspective."

A more diverse faculty could lessen the effects of cultural taxation, but administrators might not recognize how often minority professors can feel overburdened or tokenized, even when they want to do the work. When it comes to service commitments and mentorship, says Ms. Griffin, "I'm always stretched thin." And that work is unseen, she says. "Where does that get documented, in terms of what faculty of color do?"

On most campuses, it doesn't. That can make diversifying the faculty seem less urgent, and complicate the lives of minority professors already there. Mentorship and committee work may benefit institutions, but they don't count for tenure or promotion in the way research and publications do. Professors who carry heavy service loads do it at a risk to their careers.

José D. Najar keeps a small desk in his office next to his own, for the students, many black and Hispanic, who seek him out. "If they tell me they're doing poorly in class, I say, 'You come and sit here,'" says Mr. Najar, an assistant professor of history at Southern Illinois. "'You're doing your work, and I'm doing my work.'"

Some know him from programs through the campus's Hispanic/Latino Resource Center; he's also an adviser for the Latino Cultural Association. "I'm not required to help, but I come from where they come from," Mr. Najar says. "I know the struggles."

Angela J. Aguayo, an associate professor of cinema and digital culture here, is frequently asked to speak at diversity-related events. "I've hit points

where I thought, There's no way I can do all that I'm asked," she says. "So I have to make strategic choices."

After a recent panel for National Hispanic Heritage Month, three young women approached Ms. Aguayo, who identifies as Chicana. "I want to be like you," she remembers them saying. "They weren't even in my department. It brought me back to that place when I was so hungry for someone who looked like me and had made it."

The Rev. Joseph A. Brown's office in the Africana-studies department is a go-to place for minority students across Southern Illinois's campus. Father Brown, an 18-year veteran of the faculty, has been a steady presence here, mentoring countless students, not all in minority groups, some of whom have gone on to become professors themselves. He often counsels students with little family support on how to succeed in college. Sometimes he asks a student sitting in his office a question as simple as whether he's eaten today.

"You really do have to listen on two or three different levels," says Father Brown, a full professor. "You never know who's going to come through the door. It's like the oasis in the desert for students."

It feels "almost like a reunion," says Brione Lockett, a graduate assistant in the department. Mr. Lockett first met Father Brown as an undergraduate, and now he's pursuing a master's degree in public administration and public health. The faculty and other students in the department are a close-knit group, he says. "They make me feel like I've been there forever."

Students aren't the only ones who ask minority faculty members for their perspectives or guidance. Administrators, for a different purpose, do the same. They often request that faculty members of color serve on committees and task forces of various kinds.

When Mary Yu Danico was on the tenure track at California State Polytechnic University at Pomona, she once served on a half-dozen committees — in addition to those she volunteered for herself — at the invitation of the president or dean.

"You feel flattered that they're asking you to be on these committees," says Ms. Danico, who is Asian-American. "They say, 'We need your voice there, we really need your perspective.' But when you have so few people of color on campus, there's only so many people you can ask." A sociologist, Ms. Danico is now an associate dean in the College of Environmental Design. She says that later in her career, whenever she could determine that she had been asked to serve on a committee "just to be a name," she would step down.

Faculty members of color take extra commitments in stride even as they struggle to balance them. That's because, many say, they realize that if they don't step up, students may not ask for or get help elsewhere, or a committee might be all white.

WHITNEY CURTIS FOR THE CHRONICLE

José Najar, an assistant professor of history: "I'm not required to help, but I come from where they come from. I know the struggles."

"We know there's a need," says Ms. Danico. "We know what it's like not to be represented."

Faculty members across the country report being acutely aware of the importance of serving as role models, perhaps spurring minority students' interest in joining the professoriate.

"It absolutely matters" to black students "to have professors who look like you and are connected to the African-American experience," says Novotny Lawrence, a black man who is chair of the radio, television, and digital-media department here at Southern Illinois. "The mere presence is important, and so is being willing to listen and use your position to advocate for them."

Janice D. Hamlet quit her first academic job, she says, to escape the crushing weight of cultural taxation. More than 20 years later, as an associate professor of communication at Northern Illinois University, she finds her obligations more manageable, in part because her workplace is more diverse.

In Ms. Hamlet's first tenure-track job, at an institution she declines to name, she was the sole

How to Handle the Invisible Workload

Here's some advice on how to better manage teaching, research,and disproportionate amounts of mentoring and service work,from faculty members who have had to strike that balance.

Enlist the Help of an Ally

"I needed a way as a pre-tenure faculty member to say no if I needed to. My white, male department chair played an amazing role in protecting my time. He said, when people ask you to do things, say, 'I'm pre-tenure. Let me check in with my chair.' That was vital because it gave me a way to get off the hook."

—Rachel A. Griffin, associate professor of speech communication, Southern Illinois U.

Think of the Big Picture

"I tell junior faculty members, You don't have to do everything. In the long run, if you don't take care of yourself, you're not going to be here for the students you want to serve."

—Mary Yu Danico, associate dean, College of Environmental Design, California State Polytechnic U. at Pomona

Keep the Goal in Mind

"It's hard to say no — especially to students. My advice to young tenure-track faculty is to just balance everything out carefully because the service work isn't going to be of significantvalue when you go through the tenure process."

—Charles Toombs, department chair and associate professor of Africana studies, San Diego State U.

Don't Say Yes Right Away

"Have a discussion with whoever asked you to sit on a committee and say, 'I want to make sure I get my research done so that I'm prepared when I go up for tenure. If I do this, something else has to go. What do you suggest?'"

Make It Count for Them — and You

"Ask students to help you with your research. That's a way of interacting with them and having a mentoring relationship with them, while you get the work done that you need to."

—Janice D. Hamlet, associate professor of communication, Northern Illinois U.

minority faculty member. "When I was hired, the president of the college gave me a brief compliment on my credentials," she says. "Then she said, 'You have something extra,' and she kind of winked at me, and I learned that the 'extra' was my ethnicity." Ms. Hamlet is African-American.

Word spread to black and Hispanic students that she had been hired; sometimes they would walk by the classroom where she was teaching and wave at her through the window.

Ms. Hamlet found it increasingly difficult to mentor students and advocate for them while serving on numerous committees at the behest of administrators and teaching four courses. She was also finishing her dissertation at the time. She left the job after a year.

"I was naïve enough to think that I had been hired as an assistant professor," she says, "but I really was there to be a one-person minority-affairs office." Now, at a much larger institution, students have more places to turn, she says. "I can make my contributions to students of color, and all students for that matter, and there's not so much pressure."

Ms. Griffin, communication-studies professor at Southern Illinois, says she's gotten better at "effectively positioning myself as a bridge." That means setting limits. "I'm not saying that I don't want students to ask me for help, but I can't provide long-term emotional support for a student," says the professor, who earned tenure last year. She also now turns down requests for feedback on papers from students who aren't in her classes.

"My first couple of years, I didn't have that boundary," says Ms. Griffin, whose department chair gave her tips early on about how to deflect requests for her time. "If students asked me to read something, I would read it."

In his interviews here, says Mr. Najar, the history professor, administrators acknowledged that he could be faced with multiple service and mentoring opportunities.

"They all had one thing to say: We want to foster an environment where you can actually get tenure," he says. "I know I can always say no to things."

Open communication with administrators can help new faculty members especially balance their workload. "I encourage people who are faced with institutional service work to say, 'I'm interested in doing this, but here's what I have on my plate,'" says Richard J. Reddick, an associate professor of educational administration at the University of Texas at Austin whose research interests include cultural taxation. "We don't necessarily know we can negotiate."

For the most part, faculty members of color still struggle to get administrators to recognize cultural taxation and how it affects them. Recent action in the California State University system is an exception.

WHITNEY CURTIS FOR THE CHRONICLE

Rachel Griffin, an associate professor of communication studies: When it comes to service commitments and mentorship, "I'm always stretched thin." And that work is unseen, she says. "Where does that get documented, in terms of what faculty of color do?"

In 2014, Charles Toombs, chair of the Africana-studies department at San Diego State University and a member of the system's faculty union, joined colleagues at a Board of Trustees meeting to share a detailed account of what faculty members of color do to promote the success of minority students.

"It's a lot of work, but I willingly do it," Mr. Toombs, who is African-American, told the trustees. "It's one of the most rewarding parts of my professorship."

The appeal from Mr. Toombs and other faculty members for the system to acknowledge their extra workload paid off. The faculty union's most recent contract takes note of it and includes a new program through which any professor with "exceptional service commitments or excessive student-contact hours" can apply for "assigned time," which is a partial release from their regular duties.

At other institutions, pressure from students has pushed administrators to do more to recruit underrepresented-minority faculty members.

A black student group at the University of Cincinnati has demanded that it hire at least 16 black staff and senior faculty members over the next three years. Students at Yale University have been discussing the lack of faculty diversity there since one student put up a poster last month comparing the student and faculty populations. Last week Yale said it would spend more than $50 million over the next five years to expand the faculty's diversity. And at Ithaca College, a series of racially charged incidents led to student protests in recent weeks. The New York college has announced a new diversity plan that includes a goal to hire more minority faculty members.

At Southern Illinois, efforts to shift the makeup of the faculty revolve around a trio of approaches. There's a program designed to give underrepresented-minority professors access to seasoned faculty members who can guide them through the tenure and promotion process, a chancellor-provided "diversity opportunity hire" fund to recruit minority tenure-track professors, and a statewide program that awards fellowships to minority graduate students seeking degrees that lead to faculty or staff positions at an Illinois university.

Linda McCabe Smith, the associate chancellor for institutional diversity, knows how the workload can escalate for minority professors. She was a tenured faculty member at Southern Illinois before moving into administration.

"I have walked the walk," says Ms. Smith, an African-American. "I know it can be overwhelming."

She talks with deans and with the provost "so that we can work to keep these individuals protected as much as possible," she says.

Ms. Smith says diversifying the faculty is "an ongoing process." Ms. Griffin and other minority professors and students see limited progress. "More people available to serve the population that we have would help," Ms. Griffin says.

Though minority students often identify with professors who look like them, faculty members of color believe more white colleagues on their campuses could step up.

"Diversity is everybody's work," says Mr. Reddick, of the University of Texas. Sharing a racial or ethnic background with students isn't necessary to mentor them, he says. "White professors can connect at some level. Being someone who cares about a student is sufficient."

Still, many faculty members of color will probably continue to form a support system for minority students.

"I'm honored that someone trusts me enough to send a student to me," says Ms. Griffin. But, she says, "we need to have a more transparent dialogue about the implications of recruiting the number of students of color that we do.

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OPINION

What It Feels Like to Be a Black Professor

By JOHN L. JACKSON JR.

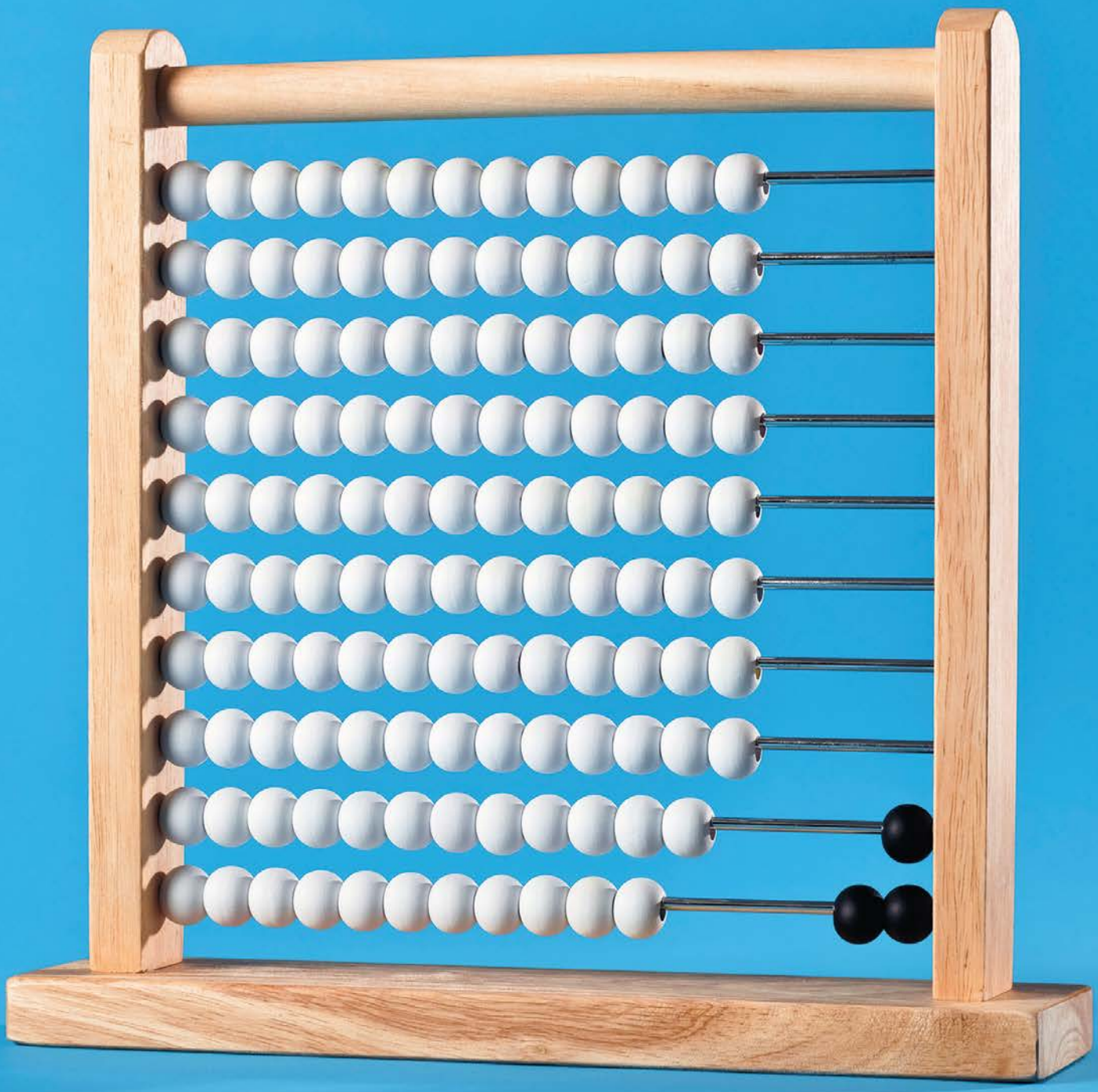

ILLUSTRATION BY KEVIN VAN AELST FOR THE CHRONICLE REVIEW

A young child scribbling on a blackboard perched atop an easel in the hallway of a two-bedroom Brooklyn apartment.

That's one of my earliest memories. I'm writing my ABCs and spelling out three-letter words, fingertips and palms caked white with chalk. For as long as I can remember, probably from about my second birthday, this was my afternoon routine, a ritual mandated by my stepfather, who would periodically make stops at the chalkboard on his way out the front door, or to the bathroom, just to confirm that I was demonstrating the kind of progress that he expected.

He was determined to make sure that I was better prepared for school than all the other kids on the block. More to the point, he had convinced himself that I already was. The man loved to pump me up with positive reinforcement about my intellectual abilities, my God-given gifts—only further enhanced by his judicious enforcement of my daily chalkboard regimen.

COURTESY OF JOHN L. JACKSON JR.

John L. Jackson Jr. in elementary school

By the time I started kindergarten, I was more than ready for public school. And I did well, both at the original elementary school I attended (with mostly Afro-Caribbean and African-American classmates) in East Flatbush and at the second one (with a majority of Jewish and Italian kids) just a 15-minute drive south in Canarsie. In junior high and high school, I read and read and read. When I scored in the 90s on a test or paper, I would hear tongue-in-cheek (mostly) questions about why I hadn't gotten the full 100. I got the point. I had to be the best. I needed to outcompete everybody in my classes. "What did the chiney girls get on the test?" my Trinidadian stepfather would ask.

We never really talked about racism in my house, and certainly not as the reason for why I had to do well. In fact, I never heard my parents talk about race at all. When we moved to Canarsie, a lower-middle-class neighborhood, there were ample opportunities for them to wax xenophobic—or at least frustrated and incredulous—about the ethnic whites in our housing project or in the coveted single-family brick houses just across the street. But if they did, I wasn't within earshot.

Many academics have written about the differences between how African-Americans and black immigrants from the West Indies or Africa deal with racism. They offer various theories for why those differences exist and how they affect black people's lives. Many of those scholars would find the lack of race-talk in my household predictable, given that my mother and stepfather were both from the Caribbean. But I grew up thinking of myself as an African-American, and not just because my biological father and his family were from the Deep South.

Most of the black kids I went to school with, West Indian or not, were raised on hip-hop. America was our reference point, and though our race-talk generally consisted of little more than retelling Eddie Murphy and Richard Pryor jokes about how blacks and whites behaved differently in similar circumstances, we read ourselves quite fully into the saga of America's sordid racial history.

Although my stepfather didn't talk about racism per se, he had a kind of natural fearlessness about him, an aura of invincibility, that I believed would have met racism—and any would-be racist—with a swift kick in the ass (or at least a couple of lashes from his belt). But he made it clear to me, even early on, that I didn't have the luxury of being mediocre. My stepfather couldn't intimidate some admissions officer into punching my ticket for college, and the strict mandate about studying hard and getting good grades must have been predicated on his assessment of the challenges that growing up a young black man in America would bring.

Some African-Americans still wax nostalgic about how much harder black people used to work. You know, "back in the day." It is a subplot in the story about segregation's golden age of black-on-black harmony and mutual benevolence. Racism was so awful and humiliating, they claim, that blacks had no choice but to stick together and give everything their all, to work as hard as they possibly could. Being unexceptional was the kiss of death for a black person in "a white man's world." Those who were exceptional might not get much

more than the white world's castoffs. Still, plodding along in uninspired mediocrity was hardly a fruitful alternative.

Of course, some black people would always be mediocre—and in a white-supremacist state, mediocre blacks "proved" the rule of racial inferiority. They made the race look bad. Mediocre whites were individual underachievers, but racism demanded that mediocre blacks stand in for the inherent, God-given limitations of their entire race. Plus, whites controlled most of the important social and economic institutions in the country, and the weaker members of their social networks could still benefit from those connections. Blacks didn't have the luxury of being average if they still wanted a chance to succeed.

We had to be—as the elders explained—"twice as good as whites" to get the jobs that whites didn't even want.

"Twice as good as whites" is about recognizing that America is a place where whites and blacks can do the exact same things and achieve very different results. That is one textbook definition of what racism looks like. "Twice as good" means that "average" portends different things for blacks and whites.

But there has long been another argument afoot in the black community—the "culture of poverty" theory. Some of its biggest proponents include various neo-cons like Thomas Sowell and celebrities like the comedian Bill Cosby, though the latter's touting of "respectability" seems ironic given the controversy now swirling around "America's dad." I hear versions of "the culture of poverty" whenever I speak to audiences about race in America, black or white audiences. The argument is simple and turns "twice as good" on its head.

There may have been a time when blacks championed high achievement, say the "culture of poverty" proponents. Blacks didn't have what they deserved, so they fought harder to get it. But now African-Americans have grown comfortable with having less, content as second-class citizens, less angry about their social marginalization. They once fought tooth-and-nail for equal rights; now they're resigned to their own inequality. They once protested and marched and faced down dogs for the right to vote. Now they've lost respect for the ballot, even though there are legislators who seem committed to making it harder for them to vote. The recent protests about police violence in Ferguson, New York City, and elsewhere seem like throwbacks to some bygone era, a temporary speed-bump of agitation along a lengthy highway of black apathy.

According to the "culture of poverty" crowd, blacks don't want to do much of anything. Instead, they think everything should be handed to them. Forget about being "twice as good"; for the 21st-century black person, "half as good" is more than good enough. While "twice as good" thinking is a critique of racism, culture-of-poverty partisans attack any talk of racism as little more than a justification for do-nothingism.

Those who believe that a "twice as good" ethos has been replaced by a "culture of poverty" mentality maintain that many black people are so busy fetishizing race and racism that they don't pull themselves up by their proverbial bootstraps and take responsibility for their lives.

Bill O'Reilly, the Fox News host, is only the most prominent figure who declares that the real "conversation on race" that liberals are afraid to have is a conversation about blacks being on the lookout for scapegoats, for external forces that explain away their own underachievement: I didn't get good grades because the test is biased. I didn't get the job because the employer must be prejudiced. The bank won't give me a loan because the loan officer is racist. It is raining in my neighborhood because the clouds are bigots. Someone or something is always out to get them.

Senior scholars of color described being ignored by administrators, maligned by others in their fields, and somewhat alienated from the centers of their disciplines

There are all kinds of statistical regressions demonstrating, other things being equal, the many ways in which racism does account for different social outcomes. Think of the audit studies where identical résumés have black-sounding versus white-sounding names at the top. The Biffs end up getting called in for job interviews much more often than the Leroys.

This argument—that blacks have gone from promoting the idea of "twice as good" to embracing

the idea that something closer to "half as good" is fine—is absurd and strategically brilliant at the same time.

First of all, it sets up a scenario wherein talking about racism at all is only ever a crutch. People who see racism must be the ones looking for handouts and celebrating their victimhood. Critical analysis and social critique be damned: To see race or racism is to be lazy—and racist. Period. It means kicking back on your heels and waiting for "the white man" to give you everything you want. "Why should I have to work hard?" the thought-bubble in black people's heads is supposed to be saying. "My forefathers built this country. They worked enough for all of their offspring. We are owed our reparations." They want their bling, the argument goes, and they want it handed to them on a silver platter.

This is exactly why there is such demonization of "the welfare state." Charles Murray, Lawrence Mead, and other "culture of poverty" theorists have convinced many lawmakers that food stamps and other government handouts are Trojan horses of psychological self-destruction. Here the "culture of poverty" argument closes: If blacks think they can get everything without doing anything and you combine that with Americans' penchant for lavishing praise on their children for mediocrity, the result is a perfect storm of racial underachievement, lowered expectations, and undeserved entitlement.

As I see it, blacks are not clamoring for half-as-good-opportunities. If anything, they feel like "twice as good" might get them less than it once did.

Take my own tribe: black academics. A few years ago, a series of odd coincidences and scheduling serendipities found me breaking bread with some of the most successful blacks in academe. They have each won all kinds of prestigious awards. Their work has been well cited within their disciplines and beyond. They are tenured at some of the most distinguished institutions in the county. And, down to a person, they felt underappreciated, disrespected, and dismissed as scholars. They had achieved everything, yet they felt that many of their white colleagues treated them with little more than contempt or utter indifference. It was disheartening to hear.

These senior scholars of color described being ignored by administrators, maligned by others in their fields, and somewhat alienated from the centers of their disciplines—even when they ostensibly constituted, by reasonable criteria, the very centers of those disciplines.

The first time I heard such a tale, over lunch at a coffee shop in California, I tried to dismiss it as an isolated incident, one person's idiosyncratic experience. Maybe he was hypersensitive. Maybe I had caught him on a bad day. But then I met other senior and very successful scholars (in Michigan and Massachusetts, in New York and North Carolina) with similar stories to tell about humiliating slights that they interpreted as race-based disrespect. I had to admit that something more was going on than thin-skinned bellyaching.

Most of these scholars were sharing their stories with me (their junior colleague) for my own good, in hopes of steeling me for a similar fate. Their point: No amount of publishing productivity or public acclaim will exempt you from the vulnerabilities and burdens that come from being black in the academy. Being "twice as good" wasn't enough to spare them the sting of race-based stigma.

These scholars weren't lamenting the stain of "affirmative action," the fear that people assumed their achievements were based on something other than purely meritocratic deservedness (the Clarence Thomas critique). Rather, they were arguing something close to the opposite: They had succeeded at a game stacked against them—most people in their fields knew and understood that—but the thanks they received were attempts to ignore them, to demean them with cool disinterest and a series of daily exclusions from important departmental discussions or leadership roles at their respective universities.

They were bitter and disheartened. Was I doomed for the same fate?

My stepfather might have given me my early taste of academic success, but my mother gave me my temperament. I have always tried to be a generous and empathetic interlocutor. I don't always succeed, but I try. Many faculty members reserve their empathy for students and colleagues who are just like them, based on ethnic affiliation, regional background, or any number of factors. They see themselves in those individuals and are, therefore, more than willing to give them the benefit of the doubt, in subtle ways, maybe without even realizing it. I have seen that at every place I've ever taught. It doesn't matter if the scholars are left-leaning or right-leaning, male or female, black or white. Everyone does it.

But only a small subset of scholars musters the same kind of empathy for (and investment in) people who differ from them in some substantial way. Clearly, race is one of those rubrics, but not the only one. Certain professors are less likely to go the extra mile for colleagues who are different from them, doing things "by the book" instead of thinking off-script in more humane and creative ways about what these people need—something they would be more likely to do with folks "just like them."

What modicum of professional success I might have is almost exclusively a function of the fact that I try (though don't always succeed) to take everyone I meet very seriously. It is an ethnographic

disposition, I tell myself. Everyone is a more than adequate ambassador of his or her cultural world. It doesn't matter how educated people are; if you listen long enough and carefully enough, a good ethnographer can always learn something important. If not, the failure is the ethnographer's, nobody else's. And often people respond generously to just being listened to.

I smile too much. I'm working on that. I wish I had more of my stepfather's cold stare. But I also realize that smiling, genuinely and warmly smiling, is a kind of magic bullet, especially for black men in the academy.

Not too long ago, I did a kind of experiment. I am constantly telling students that "everything is ethnography," that an anthropologist is always on the clock, seeking out new ways of spying on and interpreting cultural practices and processes. So as a kind of ethnographic investigation, I went against the grain of my general tendencies and tried not to smile. I wanted to see how it would affect my social interactions.

I conducted this little test as part of a job interview. I didn't really know anyone on the search committee, at least not very well, and I decided that I would actively try not to over-smile during my interview. I wasn't going to scowl, but I would stay, as much as I could, emotionally (and facially) neutral. I couldn't stop a smile from breaking out across my face for a few fleeting seconds at least once, but I tried to suppress it immediately. I did all I could to look "serious." I crossed my right leg over my left. I sat back calmly. I answered their questions soberly but substantively (I thought), and then I left.

I don't know how I was read, but I fear that I might have come across as arrogant. Maybe even a little standoffish and "uppity." Who knows?

It wasn't a controlled scientific experiment, so I can't isolate all the variables and search for some statistically significant correlation between my demeanor and the committee's decision that I wasn't a good "fit" for the job. But I imagined that I could feel their coolness during our conversation, and I wish that I had been able to go back into the interview room and test that first response against the one that my more smiley self might have garnered.

I want to think about my smiling as a sign of empathy and generosity, but maybe I am reading myself too kindly. At my most cynical and self-critical, I call it a postmodern version of "shucking and jiving": my trying to do whatever I can to put people at ease, to listen to what they have to say, to shower them with inviting (and unselfconscious) smiles. Is this the 21st-century equivalent of the yes man?

I must not have wanted that job if I was willing to do my little experiment during the interview. But it still stung when I didn't get the nod. When I was told that I wasn't right for the post, I thought of my senior black colleagues and the disrespect they'd talked about.

Like everyone else, regardless of race, my world is full of tiny and not-so-tiny slights, major and minor humiliations every single day: a barrage of looks, comments, emails, reactions, decisions, and personal or professional rejections—intended and inadvertent—that seem to belittle at every turn. At least it feels that way, as if my daily life is organized around the reeling dash from one disrespectful dismissal to another.

The world's playlist constantly ends on a version of the same tune: "John, don't believe your own hype. You're not as good as people pretend you are. And don't you ever forget it." That little ditty does battle with my stepfather's earlier accolades. It is probably an outgrowth of those very accolades, nurtured by my nasty little subconscious, my own idiosyncratic version of academic impostor syndrome.

I spent my 20s and 30s hoping that I could credentialize myself into a kind of protective cocoon against such onslaughts, the ones I try to deflect from others and the many more I inflict upon myself. I may not have been "twice as good" as anybody, but I was going to try my damnedest to reach my goals: B.A. M.A. Ph.D. Tenure. Named professorship.

None of it is foolproof though. And at the end of the day, success might simply be based on how often and easily one smiles, on whether someone is twice or half as good at that—yet another example of something universal that might be felt a little more acutely from a perch on one side of the racial tracks that divide us.

John L. Jackson Jr. is dean of the School of Social Policy & Practice and a professor of communication and anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. He is author of several books, including Thin Description: Ethnography and the African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem *(Harvard University Press, 2013). A version of this essay appears in* The Trouble With Post-Blackness, *edited by Houston A. Baker and K. Merinda Simmons (Columbia University Press, 2015).*

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Campus Diversity Efforts Ignore the Widest Gulf: Social Class

By DENIS O'HEARN

This spring my university distributed a report by a dean's committee on faculty diversity. The report was in many ways a fine one, with recommendations about supporting minority and women faculty; hiring; parental leave; and sensitivity training. It said nothing about social class.

I was interviewed for the report, and the first question I asked was, "Am I being interviewed as a minority or a faculty member?"

The interviewer fumbled through his notes and said that I was, indeed, "a minority."

A little explanation is in order. I am Native Alaskan. My grandmother died when my father was a child. My grandfather spent his short adult life in and out of tuberculosis sanitariums. My father and his sister were raised by "uncles" and "aunts" who provided a share of what little they had in poor Irish neighborhoods of Tacoma and Los Angeles, where the family slowly migrated from the island of Unalaska.

So I am a minority. I never claimed so on job applications, but several universities were pleasantly surprised when they hired me: They raised their "diversity" with respect to Native Alaskans by a huge amount. They got to "count" me.

Nobody ever seemed to care about my class background.

Here is what I told the diversity committee: I am technically a minority but was never disadvantaged because of it. But from the time I first applied to college I suffered from my class background. We were poor because my father was Native Alaskan and Irish. Although he was the most widely read man I ever met, he never finished high school and we had no sense of what college meant or how to apply to one.

Even though we have made some progress in class diversity among students, I do not see the same diversity among my faculty colleagues.

I applied to just two undergraduate institutions: the University of Notre Dame and the University of New Mexico (my home state). I was accepted to both, but because we didn't have the money for Notre Dame, I went to Albuquerque, where I got straight A's. Still naïve about how to rise in the academy, I applied to just one graduate school: the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, which accepted me. I was first alternate for an IREX fellowship, which would have made my life easier, but, alas, no one turned down their fellowship that year, so I went on my own dime. I survived graduate school by translat-

ing documents about the Soviet economy and taking out student loans.

One day I accidentally saw my admission file. The head of the IREX selection committee had written, "Excellent record from mediocre school!" It was my second lesson in real-world economics: You don't get any help if you're poor. No one knew I was Native Alaskan, but I had to attend a "mediocre school" because my father was Native Alaskan and poor.

At Michigan, I suffered from a lack of confidence, meaning I was reluctant to speak up in seminars and depended on the strength of my written work. My dissertation and publications got me a tenure-track job at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. My new colleagues were delighted to discover they had unwittingly made a minority hire, and a rather exotic one at that.

Being a minority had no impact on my time at Wisconsin. Coming from a poor, working-class background did. I got early tenure but always felt like an outsider, waiting to be "found out" as an impostor who did not belong at such a prestigious university. I compensated by living in a neighborhood that was not fashionable to faculty, among working people with little sense of entitlement.

Today, I still feel that my current university is a foreign country. I have little in common with most colleagues. I still live in a part of town where few academics live. Two of my dearest friends are in solitary confinement at a supermax prison in Ohio.

Another is an activist, the banished Yale professor Staughton Lynd, who was coordinator of the Mississippi Freedom Schools in 1964. He witnessed racism in what most people consider its rawest form. Yet he has often told me that the African-Americans he meets today in Youngstown, Ohio, are far worse off than the young people he knew in Mississippi in 1964. Young blacks then had hope. They lived in communities that included doctors and teachers. The future looked better, despite killings and overt racism.

African-Americans or even whites in poor areas today have little hope. Colleges once pulled the best and brightest out of the ghetto. Today they do not have to reach into those communities because there are plenty of talented women and people of color from the middle classes.

Even though we have made some progress in class diversity among students, I do not see the same diversity among my faculty colleagues.

I asked the authors of our diversity report why it did not mention class. They said that their remit was to study only race and gender.

College departments remain alien patches of privilege that pretend they can teach young people about poverty even though few professors have actually experienced it. Yes, we hire more women and people of color; there is more diversity of sexual orientation.

Yet how can we claim to be serious about diversity when we produce reports that cover race and gender but not class, nor the intersection of class with race and gender? What kind of diversity efforts focus on luring the "right kind" of women and minorities while doing nothing to attract poor women and minorities onto our faculties?

And who represents people like me, who live as oddities in institutions where we do not feel like we belong and where we meet few people with life experiences we recognize?

To look at me, you would consider me white. To look at my job, you would consider me a successful professional from the great middle class. Yet I still feel more at home with working-class friends. I can talk to them about life because they have lived it. I would love to be able to talk to more university colleagues that way. That would be my definition of diversity.

Denis O'Hearn is professor and chair of the sociology department at Binghamton University.

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To Diversify the Faculty, Start Here

How one university is changing a sink-or-swim culture to broaden the appeal of a Ph.D.

By BETH MCMURTRIE

D.L. ANDERSON FOR THE CHRONICLE

Monica Gutierrez, in her fourth year of doctoral study in biomedicine at Duke U., hopes eventually to both conduct research and mentor students.

When Monica Gutierrez arrived at Duke University to enter a biomedical Ph.D. program, she met few people like her.

An immigrant from Colombia, she had taken a path through community college and the University of South Florida to get here. She enrolled with only a general sense of what it would take to become a scientist. She was hesitant to ask questions in class and embarrassed to admit that she did not always understand the material.

Concerned that people like Ms. Gutierrez — who are from groups underrepresented in Ph.D. programs and in faculty ranks — too often lose their way or achieve less than they are able, Duke's School of Medicine sought to bolster its support systems. Taking an unusually holistic and aggressive approach, the university has created an Office of Biomedical Graduate Diversity to get more minority students in the door and through to a doctorate as active participants in the community. The office has broadened recruiting strategies, sought to demystify the graduate experience, and created a web of support to reduce feelings of isolation and inadequacy.

If the nation's colleges are going to succeed at creating a diverse faculty, work has to be done here, at this crucial point in the pipeline. It's a concern commonly cited by students and others demanding that their campuses improve their climate on race: Even as the student body grows more diverse, the faculty has remained stubbornly white. Only about 12 percent of full-time faculty members are black, Hispanic, or Native American.

At its core, Duke's efforts — which have shown early signs of success — are about creating a sense of belonging, taking concrete action to support students and counteract a sink-or-swim mentality.

For Ms. Gutierrez, who is now in her fourth year, professors, staff members, and students involved with the diversity office helped break down the graduate-student experience into manageable steps, offering guidance along the way. With help from a monthslong preparation process run in part by older students, she aced her preliminary exams. With the encouragement of professors, she applied for and received a fellowship from the National Institutes of Health. And she has been invited to speak at conferences for minority students about biomedical research. Her success has cemented her belief that she's an important part of the future of science.

"I don't feel like I'm alone," says Ms. Gutierrez, sitting at a desk in her lab, where she studies DNA replication in yeast. "These are people like me."

Duke began its diversity office not with a grand plan, but with a pragmatic one: to hold onto its funding from the National Institutes of Health. The percentage of students from underrepresented groups in its biomedical doctoral programs had hovered around 7 percent for years, while the NIH expects to see representation closer to 12 percent for institutional recipients of

Sherilynn Black directs Duke U.'s Office of Biomedical Graduate Diversity. "When we created support systems around the students," she says, "the performance was great."

D.L. ANDERSON FOR THE CHRONICLE

its training grants.

Leading Duke's effort is Sherilynn Black, who earned a Ph.D. in neurobiology here in 2008. Since she opened the office, in 2010, the number of students from underrepresented groups applying to the university's biomedical Ph.D. programs has nearly doubled, from an average of 60 per year to 115. And the proportion of new students from underrepresented groups has risen from 7 percent to 13 percent. Professors and students report that the outlook and experiences of minority students have improved. Compared with earlier cohorts of students, they take on more leadership and outreach positions, are more engaged in the classroom and in laboratories, feel more included, and pursue more fellowships and other external funding.

"The larger issue was not that they were not academically prepared," says Ms. Black. "It was that they needed an environment they could thrive in, where the cohorts were not so small that they felt they were losing their identity. When we created support systems around the students, the performance was great."

"The larger issue was not that they were not academically prepared. It was that they needed an environment they could thrive in."

To be sure, many Ph.D. students, regardless of race or ethnicity, find graduate school isolating, experience impostor syndrome — the feeling of being a fraud despite a record of high achievement — or conclude that academic life is unappealing. But those feelings are more common among minority students. Compared with white and Asian men, scholars from underrepresented minority groups were substantially less likely to say they were highly interested in an academic career at a research university, according to a recent study of biomedical Ph.D.s.

Researchers say these problems reflect, in part, the approach found in many doctoral programs, particularly at highly competitive universities, putting at risk students who may feel they don't belong or are less familiar with the steps they need to take to get through the system.

A study by the Council of Graduate Schools found that few institutions offer comprehensive programs focused on minority recruitment and retention in doctoral programs in the STEM fields: science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. Fewer than half of the 21 universities in the study engaged in targeted recruitment of underrepresented minorities, just over one-third offered targeted and peer mentoring, and only 9 percent had an organization for minority graduate students. While some agencies, most notably the National Science Foundation and the NIH, have long supported efforts to diversify the scientific work force, many university interventions remain "informal and ambiguous," the report found.

Universities that do offer comprehensive programming include elements similar to Duke's. The University of California at Berkeley, for example, began an invitation-only conference in 2000 to attract high-achieving minority students in STEM fields from institutions that don't normally feed into its pipeline, such as historically black colleges and campuses in the California State University system. Berkeley's math, physical-sciences, and engineering programs are already very diverse — about 20 to 30 percent of their students come from underrepresented groups. But intensive mentoring — including a summer session that gets students on campus 10 weeks early, monthly lunches where more-senior students discuss their research, and widespread participation by faculty members in events like an annual retreat focused on professional development — has fostered a sense of community, says Colette Patt, director of science diversity programs in the College of Letters & Science at Berkeley.

Promise: Maryland's Alliance for Graduate Education and the Professoriate is another holistic program focused on diversifying STEM fields. Begun in 2002, it is now on 14 campuses, offering personal- and professional-development seminars, summer programming to give students from underrepresented groups a head start, and an intensive weekend workshop, known as Dissertation House, to prepare students for the final stage of graduate school.

At the University of Maryland-Baltimore County, enrollment in master's and Ph.D. programs in STEM fields rose from 160 in 2005 to 220 in 2015, says Renetta G. Tull, associate vice provost for graduate-student development and postdoctoral affairs at UMBC, who directs the Promise program. "We put a lot of family structure in these programs. We took down a lot of cold boundaries of academic walls."

Gregory Gedman (left) works toward a Ph.D. at Duke with his mentor, Erich Jarvis, a neurobiologist.

D.L. ANDERSON FOR THE CHRONICLE

When Ms. Black began her work at Duke, she knew the challenges she faced were interconnected, so she sought money and allies. She helped win a five-year grant of nearly $2-million from the NIH to start the Biosciences Collaborative for Research Engagement, or BioCoRE, which supports about 20 graduate students each year and 10 undergraduates at the university's graduate school, medical school, engineering school, and college of arts and sciences. She works with the development office to bring in corporate donations, and she received money from Duke to hire a postdoctoral researcher and an administrative assistant. The NIH grant paid for a program director.

It turned out that many professors at Duke were concerned about the lack of diversity, Ms. Black says, but unsure of what they should do. Younger professors in particular have embraced the mission of her office.

Amanda Hargrove, an assistant professor of chemistry, got involved shortly after she arrived at Duke. As a woman in a male-dominated discipline, she says, she is familiar with "this feeling of this secret rule book that everyone else has but you don't."

She recalls debate among some faculty members, who asked, Do we really need a diversity program? It's not that they didn't care about diversity, she says, but that they "didn't realize all of the tangible things that could be done."

Participating in the program helped Ms. Hargrove see how daunting graduate school must be for some students. They must take the initiative to find the right professor, the right lab, the right research project.

She and several colleagues advocated for changes within the chemistry department designed to create a more-inclusive environment. They set up a rotation system so that students can try out different labs soon after they arrive at Duke. That enables them to "become an instant member of a community," she says, connecting with researchers early in their programs and finding the lab that works best for them. They've also begun training sessions to teach members of the department about research on implicit bias and how to overcome it.

Students who work with the diversity office can participate in sessions on topics such as mental-health issues in graduate school, how to apply for grant funding, and how to prepare for different careers. Much of what is offered is organized and run by students, including "prelim prep," a program that begins a few months before students take the preliminary qualifying exam, which marks their transition to doctoral candidate.

The programs run by the Office of Biomedical Graduate Diversity draw a range of students who might otherwise feel they don't fit in, including international, lesbian and gay, and first-generation

students. One Chinese student was directed there, Ms. Black says, after asking where she could find "family."

Students describe Ms. Black as part cheerleader, part coach. She tells them to celebrate their differences rather than try to assimilate. Some came from colleges with few resources, so they became resourceful at figuring out how to get their lab work done. Others succeeded despite a lack of family or academic support, or they bridged cultural differences. Many want to tie their scientific work to the communities they came from to solve problems like disease or hunger, or simply to become a role model for others. "These students will often have a unique way of looking at science," says Ms. Black.

She also helps students and professors work through conflicts. Ms. Gutierrez recalls the time a researcher she worked with told her he assumed that, as a minority-group member, she could get funding for his lab. It made her feel that he didn't consider her an equal so much as a source of money, she says. Ms. Black talked with both her and the professor about the experience and helped Ms. Gutierrez think through her options, which resulted in her switching to a lab that did have funding.

Ms. Black says she tells students not to assume that an insensitive comment means that a professor is dismissive of their scientific abilities. She works with professors to show them why such remarks are hurtful, talk through better ways to express the original intent of the comment, and discuss how to move forward. She says the professor whom Ms. Gutierrez worked with "felt horrible" that he had upset her.

Ms. Black surveys faculty members and students to find out what's working and what isn't. After noticing, for example, that faculty members weren't mingling with students at mixers, she learned they needed more structure. She paired professors and students in smaller groups and gave them discussion topics. And she created opportunities for professors to share mentoring strategies, something they said they needed. "I'm a scientist, so I treated this scientifically," she says. "I collected data and designed interventions that went with that data."

Gregory Gedman, a first-generation college student who started in the graduate program at Duke in 2014, was thrown off stride at first by the culture he found within the neurobiology department, where, he says, students were expected to figure everything out themselves, and many professors worked nights and weekends. He recalls one guest speaker telling students: If you're not in the lab 80 hours a week, you're not going to be successful. "I looked around, and it was a 60-40 mix of nods and looks of sheer terror," he says. "I was in the latter group."

BioCoRE programs filled in the gaps in his knowledge of graduate school by breaking things down: how to manage your time, how to handle conflict in the lab, how to impress your adviser. And they ask the big question, Mr. Gedman says: What kind of career do you want for yourself?

He met his mentor, Erich Jarvis, a neurobiologist who studies bird song, through a speaker series run by the diversity office called "What Makes Me a Scientist." Hearing about Mr. Jarvis's unconventional path to success as one of a handful of black scientists in the medical school helped Mr. Gedman find his niche. He now works in Mr. Jarvis's lab.

A sense of connection is something that minority students here talk about a lot. Many of them may be the only black or Latino student in their lab, but they have a network of friends across the medical school who look like them or understand what it's like to be the first in their family to go to college.

A sense of connection is something that minority students at Duke talk about a lot. Many of them may be the only black or Latino student in their lab.

Those ties often end up bringing other parts of the medical school together, too. "When you look across departments, BioCoRE is often the connector," says Victoria Deneke, a graduate student from El Salvador who is studying cell biology.

She and another student, Kwabena Badu-Nkansah, whom she met during her first weeks on campus, created a group called Inspire, which invites students to discuss issues "outside of the lab," like bioethics and science policy. The club is a reflection of what a number of minority students say is important to them in school and beyond: finding social value in their work.

For Ms. Gutierrez, that means speaking to young Latino students to let them know that they, too, can become scientists. Mr. Gedman, who has spoken to local fourth- and fifth-grade classes, imagines becoming a science writer, describing research and discoveries in a way that "average working-class Americans," like his parents, understand.

Today about 100 students, of whom about 80 are members of underrepresented minorities, work with Duke's diversity office, out of 500 students in the biomedical doctoral programs. About 180 faculty members participate in the program, helping recruit, advise, and mentor students. Duke partners with other universities in North Carolina and elsewhere, including five historically black colleges, to further develop its networks of professors and widen the pipeline. Professors from historically black colleges have visited Duke to talk about their approaches to teaching and mentoring, a particular strength of minority-serving institutions.

As the share of students from underrepresented groups has risen, Ms. Black says, she has seen a greater appreciation among professors that top students can come from a wide range of backgrounds and experiences, and that mind-set and resilience are as important as classwork and test scores. "If you had to be resourceful on how to get from point A to point B in your life," she says, "that has a direct correlation with how you view challenges in the lab."

Raphael H. Valdivia, vice dean for basic science at Duke's medical school, echoes that point. For a diversity program to succeed, professors must focus more on the idea that "life experience sets you up for success rather than perfect GREs or GPAs. … There's a certain amount of grit that comes from taking the nontraditional path."

Duke is just now graduating its first class of doctoral candidates, who began when the diversity office opened, six years ago. Most are going into postdoctoral programs and, while it is too early to say how many will choose to stay in higher education, Ms. Black says she has noticed a "more persistent curiosity about the possibility" of becoming a professor among minority students.

But getting minority students from earning Ph.D.s to wanting to become professors remains a challenge. Several graduate students in the BioCoRE program say they don't see how working at a large research university best aligns with their interests and values. For example, many want to find work that connects back to the communities they come from or that focuses on teaching. And a negative postdoctoral experience, in which there is little mentoring or appreciation of students' backgrounds and experiences, could sour minority students on the professoriate, Ms. Black says. "If you want to attract students to academia, there has to be a full culture shift where the environments are inclusive, engaging, and embracing," she says. "These programs are not enough."

As for Ms. Gutierrez, she no longer doubts that she belongs in science. Whether that means she'll become a professor, she's not so sure. She would like to have a career like Ms. Black's, in which she can both mentor students and conduct research.

If she does go on to teach, she's more interested in going to a small college, where she can work with undergraduates. "I feel very powerful," she says, "and think I can be a voice for people like me out there."

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JAMES FRYER FOR THE CHRONICLE

ADVICE

How and Why We Built a Majority-Minority Faculty

Professors tend to replicate themselves, and diverse hiring committees tend to replicate their own diversity

By KEVIN R. JOHNSON

In the summer of 1989, the law school at the University of California at Davis added three new faculty members: two Latino men and an African-American woman. I was one of the Latinos, and I didn't know until I read it in the local paper that the new arrivals were the only people of color on a previously all-white faculty.

I wasn't surprised. At that time, the faculty at every top-tier American law school was overwhelmingly white and predominantly male. There was nothing unusual about the situation on my new campus, nor about the law school's apparent intention to diversify.

What has proved unusual is that we succeeded. Today I am dean of the law school, and our faculty diversity is broad: gay and straight, white, Latino, African-American, and Asian. On

a faculty of 36 tenured and tenure-track scholars, we have Filipino-, Iranian-, Indian-, and Algerian-Americans, as well as Korean-, Japanese-, and Chinese-Americans. With our most recent hires, we now have a faculty that is 47 percent female and 56 percent minority.

Unfortunately, that is still far from the norm at American law schools. It appears that we are the only law school among the top 30 in U.S. News & World Report's rankings to have a majority-minority faculty. Indeed, except for law schools affiliated with historically black institutions, or those in Puerto Rico, we are not aware of any other American law school with a majority-minority faculty. At a time when diversity is an elusive goal — from Harvard to Hollywood — it is worth noting how we got here.

Law schools tend to rely on elite credentials in hiring professors. Some of those elite credentials are rarely found among many minority candidates.

In short: We got here one hire at a time, through sustained effort over many years. It wasn't easy. As a public university in California, we are bound by Proposition 209, passed by the voters in 1996, that bars the consideration of race or gender in hiring decisions. We don't have quotas, and we have never had special positions reserved for minority or female professors, but we have always had diverse cohorts of applicants. Our commitment to diversity has reinforced itself over time, as the hiring of top scholars of color has helped recruit other minority scholars and students. Here are some of the factors that helped us along the way.

Support from the higher-ups. My experience as a law student crystallized my thinking about diversity in legal education. I had grown up in California, where I got used to seeing people of all stripes. When I got to Harvard Law School, I found a homogenous population of students, faculty, and community. The minority representation was small, and the lack of socioeconomic diversity was like nothing I had ever seen.

Years later, when I took the job at Davis, the students were a little more diverse than at most law schools, but the faculty was still nearly all white. However, I was pleased to find a strong interest in changing that. One of the things I'm most proud of now is that our faculty is actually more diverse than our students, which is unheard of for a law school.

Much credit goes to Rex R. Perschbacher, who strived during his 10-year tenure as dean to ensure the hiring of excellent scholars from a mix of backgrounds. Having a dean, as well as a chancellor and a provost, who conveys to the faculty that hiring excellent and diverse faculty is a top priority has proved crucial to our hiring success.

The law-school dean and associate dean at Davis traditionally have participated in meetings of the faculty-appointments committee. They help to provide institutional memory, ensure a robust and diverse pool of candidates (and finalists), and guide successful searches.

Diverse appointment committees. Search committees including women and people of color can help minimize the potential for implicit biases — a major impediment to diversity in hiring. Faculty members tend to replicate themselves, and diverse faculty members tend to replicate their own diversity. When candidates see a mixed group of people on the hiring committee, that tells them something fundamentally important about the character of a law school.

Not long ago, I put together a search committee and was surprised when someone pointed out that everyone on it was Asian-American. I had been seeking only to appoint the best available people. Fortunately, all of our faculty members have been attentive to the diversity of our applicants. If you don't interview people from mixed backgrounds, you're not going to hire them.

Law schools tend to rely on elite credentials in hiring professors. Some of those elite credentials are rarely found among many minority candidates.

Diverse shortlists. It's not easy to identify and interview a mixed pool of top candidates. Each year, relatively few faculty candidates of color can be found in the national pool. Data from the Association of American Law Schools about candidates who participated in its formal hiring market in 2015-16 show that women made up only 39 percent of the pool; blacks, 8 percent; Asian-Americans, 7 percent; Latinos and Latinas, 5 percent; and Native Americans, 1 percent.

Law schools tend to rely on elite credentials in

hiring professors. Some of those elite credentials — even if "race neutral" — are rarely found among many minority candidates. For example, law faculties often covet former Supreme Court clerks, but few minorities have the opportunity to serve in those positions. Only a handful of people of Mexican ancestry, for example, have ever served as Supreme Court clerks.

More generally, law schools must take care to avoid reliance upon elite, overly restrictive hiring criteria that artificially narrow the pool and disproportionately disqualify people of color.

The population of the United States will only grow more diverse. A positive, peaceful future for all of us requires that we, as educators, embrace that diversity and make it a powerful weapon for good.

To help identify promising scholars of color, we have networked with fellowship programs that develop such scholars. In the past two years, three of our hires — an African-American woman, an Asian-American man, and a Latina — had participated in a mentoring program for minority candidates at Duke Law School.

Retention of minority faculty. A fair and transparent tenure process is crucial to recruiting all candidates but especially important to minority scholars. Junior faculty members of color have heard horror stories about law schools' mistreating people during the tenure process, and may be worried that something like that could happen to them. Having a structured, impartial, and relatively open tenure process helps recruit excellent entry-level candidates (who tend to be more diverse than midcareer and senior candidates).

To that end, we assign every junior hire a tenure committee — perhaps better called a "mentoring" committee. It's made up of three faculty members who shepherd the candidate through the promotion process. The committee reports to the entire faculty each year on the candidate's progress toward tenure, which usually helps us avoid unpleasant surprises. Candidates feel that they have a say in the process, and that it is fair and transparent.

Sensitivity to the concerns of minority faculty members on hiring and promotion is critical. Failing to keep these scholars has a ripple effect that makes it difficult to recruit and retain other candidates of color.

Law schools also can show their commitment on this front by funding and sponsoring the conferences of minority scholars, such as that of critical Latina/o theory or the Conference of Asian Pacific American Law Faculty (held this year at our law school).

Climate matters. The city of Davis, Cal., is a welcoming place, but applicants are often aware that it is not as diverse as other parts of the state. As part of our recruiting process, we have answered questions about the location of the nearest Hindu temple, set up a meeting between African-American alumni and an applicant who wanted to know what it's really like for black people in the community, and answered numerous other questions from minority candidates about life here. Often the most important thing has been to let applicants know we take their concerns seriously.

The population of the United States will only grow more diverse. A positive, peaceful future for all of us requires that we, as educators, embrace that diversity and make it a powerful weapon for good.

Kevin R. Johnson is dean and a professor of public-interest law and Chicano/a studies at the law school of the University of California at Davis.

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Now Yale Faces the Hard Part: Turning $50 Million Into Faculty Diversity

By SARAH BROWN

Yale university's plan to spend $50 million to diversify its faculty over the next five years has pleased professors on the campus who say the investment is a critical step forward. What remains to be seen is the extent to which money — even a substantial amount — can create such diversity.

The eye-catching amount includes $25 million from Yale's faculty-development fund, which will match the money provided by individual schools to support salaries for new hires over three years. The money will also pay half of the salaries of up to 10 visiting professors each year.

The plan is, in many ways, "a continuation of what we've done in the past," said Richard G. Bribiescas, deputy provost for faculty development and diversity and a professor of anthropology. "You really can't reaffirm a commitment without showing that there are some resources behind this."

Many parts of the new effort were already underway, Mr. Bribiescas said, such as a push to improve the academic pipeline for scholars from underrepresented groups by increasing support for graduate students and postdoctoral fellows. Now those tactics will simply become more formalized, he said.

Still, several faculty members said they were surprised by the announcement. Jacqueline Goldsby, chair of the department of African-American studies, had "no idea this was coming down the pike."

But Ms. Goldsby said she was encouraged by the $50-million commitment. That level of funding signals dedication from Yale's leaders to tackle a crucial problem, she said, and it puts the university ahead of many of its peers on faculty diversity. "So many of my colleagues have been laboring for this kind of commitment for decades," she said.

Targeting diversity with substantial funding is "tremendous," said Frances M. Rosenbluth, a political-science professor who was formerly deputy provost for faculty development and diversity. Otherwise, it is difficult to make faculty-diversity efforts concrete, she said, because "it's something everyone cares about but takes real resources to get done."

Yale has learned that from several prior efforts to increase the number of women and racial minorities on its faculty. The most recent such effort, which set out quantitative goals for new hires, concluded two years ago with mixed results. While the university hired 86 professors in underrepresented groups from 2006 to 2011, more than half of those faculty members had left the campus by November 2011. (Yale officials said the campaign had been stalled by the recession.)

This time around, Mr. Bribiescas said, some of Yale's strategies will change. He cited one goal in particular: bringing more visiting professors to the campus. "We want to expose more scholars to the Yale experience," he said.

Improving the pipeline is the most important objective of the new effort, Ms. Rosenbluth said. It's also the hardest because "it has the least direct benefits to Yale." Some graduate students and postdoctoral fellows who take advantage of Yale's ramped-up support and mentoring will eventually take positions at other colleges. In a sense, though, Yale would be providing a public good for institutions that don't have as many resources as it does, she said.

CONCERNS ABOUT CLIMATE

In trying to attract more-diverse scholars to its ranks, Yale may be able to draw lessons from other elite institutions that have made major pledges. Columbia University set aside $30 million in 2012 for a faculty-diversification effort, and so far 30 female and minority scholars have committed to joining the faculty. Officials there announced in April that they would add $33 million to that fund.

The University of Pennsylvania committed $100 million over five years in 2011. Anita L. Allen, a law and philosophy professor who is Penn's vice provost for faculty, said departments' audits of their spending on faculty diversity had revealed

that the university is on track to spend more than $100 million by next year.

Where does all that money go? Penn has awarded several distinguished professorships to minority scholars, created additional predoctoral and postdoctoral fellowships for aspiring academics from underrepresented groups, and funded more research on diversity-related topics. The university also began requiring that a senior faculty member serve as a diversity adviser on every search committee, Ms. Allen said.

The funding has yielded some tangible results: Women now make up nearly half of new hires, compared with 39 percent four years ago. And preliminary numbers indicate that, as of this year, 23 percent of faculty members are racial minorities, compared with less than one-fifth in 2011. "The overall percentage is pretty modest," Ms. Allen said, though she pointed out that Penn's faculty isn't growing much over all, making the increase more meaningful.

Still, for institutions that spend big to diversify their faculties, hiring inclusively is only the first step, said Kathleen Wong(Lau), director of the National Conference for Race and Ethnicity in American Higher Education. Money is important as "an accelerator" to "get the right people in place," said Ms. Wong(Lau), who serves as a consultant for colleges on diversity. But "just because you are inclusive doesn't mean you understand systemic inequities," she said. "Institutional policies and practices need to change as well."

"No matter how much money there is, if you don't create a climate that is supportive, diversity will not happen."

Ms. Allen said Penn had also substantially increased the number of minorities in senior leadership positions. "No matter how much money there is, if you don't create a climate that is supportive, diversity will not happen," she said.

Some professors at Yale have criticized the university's poor climate for minority and female faculty members, and they have called out Yale leaders and hiring committees for not doing enough. A poster put up on the campus last month drew attention to the much-higher representation of racial minorities among undergraduates than among professors. Tamar S. Gendler, dean of Yale's Faculty of Arts and Sciences, said at the time that nearly a third of incoming faculty members at Yale in 2014-15 were members of racial minority groups.

Two faculty members affiliated with the African-American-studies department have said that the culture had contributed to their decision to leave Yale at the end of the academic year.

Ms. Goldsby, the department chair, said she could recall being one of the few women of color on the campus while working toward her Ph.D., in the 1990s, adding that she understood the concerns. She estimated that just a dozen of the 1,000 professors in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences were women of color. "That's tough," she said.

She believes that the climate for minority scholars at Yale has progressed over the last three decades. However, she said, a big obstacle remains: the university's promotion structure. Associate professors there do not automatically receive tenure, but most female and minority faculty members that Yale would seek to hire are associate professors, with tenure, at other institutions. It isn't easy to recruit them to a position that doesn't offer the same job security, she said.

She said she hoped that conversations centered on reforming that process would begin as part of the diversity plan.

Ms. Goldsby also questions the logistics: How will individual departments develop strategies for hiring scholars from more-diverse backgrounds? How will the cost-sharing agreement for salaries work? "If the university is pledging to cover three years of recruited faculties' salaries," she asked, "what happens in Year 4, and all the years that come after?"

Mr. Bribiescas said he was aware that funding alone won't buy diversity at Yale. "This plan is not simply, Here's a bunch of money; go find faculty," he said. The university intends to reform its search process and pay more attention to the faculty experience for women and minorities, he said.

"If faculty leave because they feel like they didn't receive the proper mentoring, or if they feel that the climate in their department or school wasn't encouraging," he said, "those are things that we find completely unacceptable."

Kate Stoltzfus contributed reporting to this article.

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With Faculty Diversity on Everyone's Radar, HBCUs Worry About Losing Scholars

STEPHEN B. THORNTON FOR THE CHRONICLE

"There will be pressure for some schools to raid HBCUs for everything — students, faculty, staff, even presidents," says Walter M. Kimbrough, president of Dillard U., in New Orleans. But what institutions like his lack in wealth and resources, he says, they make up for "in quality of life, service to community, and an appeal to serving those with the most need."

By KATHERINE MANGAN

If a predominantly white university with a stepped-up diversity agenda comes trolling for talent, Walter M. Kimbrough knows he may have trouble competing with the money it can offer.

But as president of Dillard University, a historically black institution in New Orleans, he says he can make a convincing case for his faculty members to stick around. In fact, he thinks the protests that have swept campuses across the nation, calling attention to the lack of diversity and the chilly racial climates at many universities, could work in his favor.

It's likely that one of the most lasting effects of the protests will be the commitments many institutions have made to significantly expand their minority-faculty ranks. Student activists on many campuses put diversifying the faculty toward the

top of their lists of demands.

Given the paltry production of new black doctoral recipients, that means many colleges will be competing for scholars on other campuses. "There will be pressure for some schools to raid HBCUs for everything — students, faculty, staff, even presidents," Mr. Kimbrough wrote in an email.

But what they lack in wealth and resources, HBCUs like his make up for "in quality of life, service to community, and an appeal to serving those with the most need," he wrote.

It's unlikely that Ivy League institutions, which tend to hire professors with similar pedigrees, will be recruiting heavily at historically black colleges and universities.

But as the pressure to diversify extends through the ranks of higher education, poaching at HBCUs could be an "unintended but predictable consequence," according to Johnny C. Taylor Jr., president and chief executive officer of the Thurgood Marshall College Fund, which represents public HBCUs.

"There are more than 5,000 higher-education institutions in the U.S., of which only 100 are HBCUs," Mr. Taylor wrote in an email. "If just 10 percent of the majority institutions decided to aggressively recruit minority faculty, the HBCU community could be decimated, particularly when it comes to young scholars."

MOVES IN BOTH DIRECTIONS?

Some of the splashiest new commitments to diversity are coming from the wealthiest universities.

Last month Yale University announced plans to put $50 million toward diversifying its faculty over the next five years. Brown University plans to spend $100 million over the next 10 years on diversity efforts that it expects will double its proportion of minority and other underrepresented faculty members, from 9 percent to 18 percent, by 2025. Following a student-led sit-in, Brandeis University announced plans that it expects will double its number of underrepresented-minority faculty members by 2021.

Public universities are also feeling the pressure to hire more minority professors, and to hang on to the ones they have.

After seven years at the State University of New York at Binghamton, Robert T. Palmer joined Howard University, a predominantly black institution, in August, as an associate professor of educational leadership and policy studies.

"For me and some of my colleagues, working at a predominantly white institution can be quite stressful, dealing with microaggressions and feeling invisible to my colleagues and students," said Mr. Palmer, who studies minority-student access and retention, especially at historically black colleges. "After a while, those things take a psychological toll on you."

At Howard, he said, "I feel like I matter. I feel like my research matters. That's something you can't put a price on."

Other high-profile black scholars have bailed out recently from their predominantly white institutions. They include:

- Fred A. Bonner II, a noted education scholar whose research focuses on black men, left Rutgers University to join the faculty at Prairie View A&M University. The Texas institution gave him an endowed chair and a center on minority achievement.
- Marc Lamont Hill, a high-profile black scholar and television commentator, left Columbia University last year for Morehouse College, where he is a distinguished professor of African-American studies.

The attention to concerns about campus racial climates, Mr. Kimbrough said, creates an opportunity "for HBCUs to become poachers too."

News accounts have described how, much like their students, black professors have experienced racism, "be it the subtle comments from white students surprised they are the professor or that they possess a Ph.D., to the more blatant name calling and the like," he wrote. "So are they being set up to go into hostile environments of colleagues and students who think they are simply quota hires?"

Shuffling scholars is a short-term solution to a long-term problem, according to Bernard J. Milano, president of the PhD Project, which encourages students to pursue doctorates in business-related fields and helps connect them with programs. "We're trying to increase the applicant pool to doctoral programs," he said. "If you don't do that, you're in a zero-sum game."

He said he would be interested to see whether some universities that have announced plans to bring on minority faculty members as visiting professors end up extending many tenure-track offers. Otherwise, he said, what they're doing "has been likened to renting diversity."

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