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## Monitoring Faculty Diversity: The Need for a More Granular Approach

The importance of employing a racially and ethnically diverse faculty and ways for achieving that diversity have been well documented in the literature in recent years (Allen, Epps, Guillory, Suh, Bonous-Hammarth, & Stassen, 2000; Antonio, 2002; Gordon, 2004; Harleston & Knowles, 1997; Milem, 2000; Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005; Moody, 2004; Smith, Turner, Osei-Kofi, & Richards, 2004; Smith, Wolf, & Busenberg, 1996; Trower & Chait, 2002; Turner, 2002a, 2002b; Turner, Myers, & Creswell, 1999). Despite this attention, however, according to data from the U.S. Department of Education National Center of Educational Statistics: National Study of Postsecondary Faculty, the percentage of Black (which includes African American), Hispanic (which includes Latino/a), and American Indian/Alaskan Native full-time instructional faculty that define the set of so-called underrepresented minorities (URM) has remained low, increasing by only 1.4% between 1998 and 2003, from approximately 9.1% to 10.5% (see Table 1, under all program areas). From a perspective that considers educational attainment by degree status, one may argue that because, as illustrated in Table 2, Black and Hispanic representation at the PhD level is not on par with total population figures, this slow growth in faculty diversity is not surprising. Blacks comprise 12.2% of the total population, yet they comprise only 5.9% of the population of PhDs. A similar differential may be

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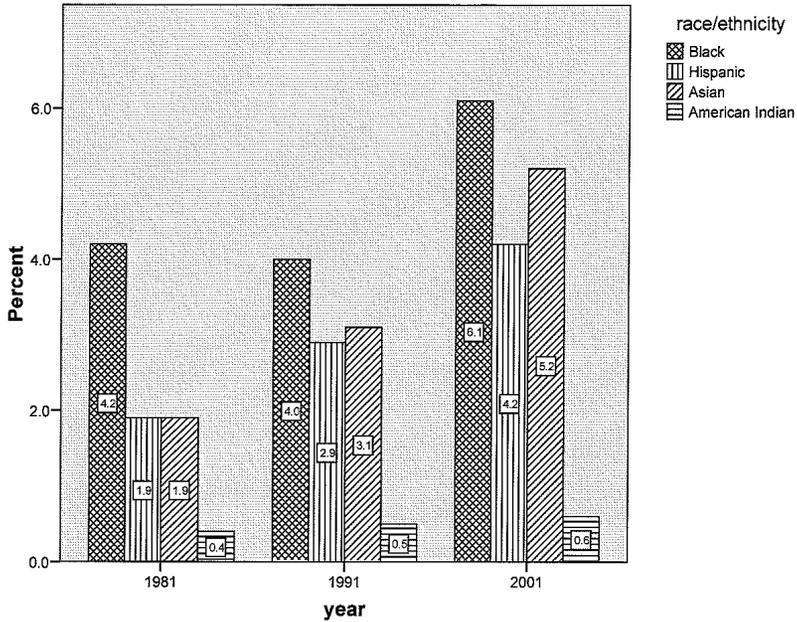
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observed in Table 2 for Hispanics. Hispanics comprise 12.1% of the total population, yet they comprise only 4.1% of the population of PhDs. By contrast, Whites comprise 71% of the total population, yet they comprise 84.3% of the population of PhDs.

When viewed across time, however, the data on educational attainment by degree status argue for greater progress toward faculty diversity at the college and university levels. According to Figure 1, the percent of Black and Hispanic U.S. citizens who receive doctoral degrees from U.S. universities has been increasing relative to Whites. In particular, over the 20 years from 1981 to 2001, the percentage of Black PhDs has grown from 4.2% to 6.1%; the percentage of Hispanics has likewise grown from 1.9% to 4.2%; and the percentage of Whites correspondingly has declined from 91.6% to 83.9%. This positive trend, at least with respect to Blacks, is addressed in a 2006 article in the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education (JBHE)* that reports the number of doctorates awarded to Blacks to be at its all-time high. It is also addressed by an earlier special report in the *JBHE* (2002) in which 26 of this country's top universities are ranked in terms of their success in attracting, enrolling, and graduating Black students and in growing the number of Black tenured and tenure-track faculty within their ranks. Measuring progress in terms of the observed pattern of growth in the percentage of each institution's tenured and tenure-track Black faculty over the 5-year period from 1997 to 2002, some universities showed significant growth compared to others, but the vast majority showed little or no growth at all. In some cases, in fact, there was negative growth. As Table 1 suggests, even in the cases where there was significant positive growth, the magnitude of the percentages remained small. As a result, the *JBHE* (2002) and other studies agree that with the exception of historically Black colleges and universities, Black faculty remain significantly underrepresented in colleges and universities (Allen, Epps, Guillory, Suh, & Bonous-Hammarath, 2000; Allen, Epps, Guillory, Suh, Bonous-Hammarath, & Stassen, 2000; Kulis, Shaw, & Chong, 2000; Turner et al., 1999). Given this state of affairs, it is reasonable to question whether universities are fulfilling their missions toward achieving faculty diversity. This question becomes even more pressing when one considers the new legal justification for diversity recently adopted by the Supreme Court in its 2003 decision *Grutter v. Bollinger*.

#### *A Changing Diversity Rationale: From Bakke to Grutter*

The Supreme Court decisions *University of California v. Bakke* in 1978 and *Grutter v. Bollinger* in 2003 affirmed the importance of racial



	1981	1991	2001
<b>Black</b>	4.2%	4.0%	6.1%
<b>Hispanic</b>	1.9%	2.9%	4.2%
<b>Asian</b>	1.9%	3.1%	5.2%
<b>Amer. Indian</b>	0.4%	0.5%	0.6%
<b>White</b>	91.6%	89.5%	83.9%

FIG. 1. Nationwide Percentage Distributions by Year for U.S. University Doctoral Recipients.  
 SOURCE: National Opinion Research Council, Doctorate Records File

and ethnic diversity in higher education and in each case provided a diversity rationale upon which their decision was rendered. In 1978, Justice Powell’s plurality opinion conceptualized the diversity rationale as encompassing the educational benefits of diversity—that is, the contribution of a variety of viewpoints to the “robust exchange of ideas” in the university setting. As such, and as noted by Edwards, Justice Powell’s plurality opinion in *Bakke* “was narrow: he valued racial and ethnic diversity only to the degree that it brought about a diversity of ‘experiences, outlooks, and ideas’” (Edwards, 2004, p. 964). This narrow view has been subject to criticism in that it stereotypes students by assuming

TABLE 1  
 Percentage Distributions of Full-time Instructional Faculty and Staff in Degree-granting Institutions by Race/Ethnicity and by Program Area: Fall 1998 and Fall 2003

Program area and year	Race/Ethnicity <sup>a</sup>				
	American Indian/ Alaska Native	Asian/Pacific Islander	Black	Hispanic non-Hispanic	White non-Hispanic
1998					
All program areas <sup>b</sup>	0.7	5.8	5.1	3.3	85.1
Agriculture/home economics	1.0	2.9	4.0	1.3	90.7
Business	1.3	5.2	5.3	1.7	86.7
Communications	0.3	3.8	5.4	3.1	87.5
Education	1.8	3.6	8.6	3.2	83.8
Engineering	0.6	16.1	2.4	3.9	77.0
Fine arts	0.6	2.4	6.7	1.2	89.2
Health sciences	0.8	6.2	4.4	3.3	85.5
Humanities	0.3	4.7	4.5	6.5	83.9
Law	1.3	2.4	4.9	1.3	90.0
Natural sciences	0.3	8.1	3.1	2.9	85.6
Social sciences	1.3	5.0	6.7	3.0	84.0
All other fields	0.4	4.2	7.0	2.1	85.6
2003					
All program areas	1.4	9.1	5.6	3.5	80.3
Agriculture/home economics	1.0	6.4	2.3	2.5	87.8
Business	1.7	12.2	4.5	2.3	79.4
Communications	2.0	2.5	5.3	3.4	86.8
Education	2.2	4.8	7.9	4.7	80.5
Engineering	1.0	20.1	5.4	2.6	70.9
Fine arts	1.5	2.9	6.0	3.3	86.4
Health sciences	1.7	10.7	5.0	3.0	79.7
Humanities	1.8	5.8	5.0	5.1	82.3

TABLE 1 (Continued)  
 Percentage Distributions of Full-time Instructional Faculty and Staff in Degree-granting Institutions by Race/Ethnicity and by Program Area: Fall 1998 and Fall 2003

Program area and year	Race/Ethnicity <sup>a</sup>				
	American Indian/ Alaska Native	Asian/Pacific Islander	Black	Hispanic non-Hispanic	White non-Hispanic
Law	0.2	4.8	7.3	3.3	84.4
Natural sciences	0.9	14.5	4.0	2.9	87.6
Social sciences	1.5	5.3	7.8	4.3	81.2
All other fields	1.3	7.9	9.1	2.9	78.7

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1999 and 2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF: 99; NSOPF: 04).  
 NOTE: This table includes only faculty and staff with instructional responsibilities for credit (e.g., teaching one or more classes for credit or advising students' academic activities). Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

<sup>a</sup>Black includes African American; Asian/Pacific Islander includes Native Hawaiian; Hispanic includes Latino/a.

<sup>b</sup>All public and private not-for-profit Title IV degree-granting institutions in the 50 states and the District of Columbia are represented

that they had certain ideas because of their race and cannot explain the need for diversity in the so-called objective fields such as the natural sciences or mathematics. In addition, this view cannot easily account for the need to have diversity within disciplines and not merely university-wide, except perhaps for the important reality that the vast majority of White students would not otherwise experience diversity in the faculty. While explicitly endorsing the educational benefits of diversity as noted in *Bakke*, *Grutter* extends the diversity rationale provided in *Bakke* and presents a more expansive, leadership-centered view. In particular, in rendering the *Grutter* decision, the Supreme Court states that “universities, and in particular, law schools, represent the training ground for a large number of our Nation’s leaders.” It goes on to say that “[i]n order to cultivate a set of leaders with legitimacy in the eyes of the citizenry, it is necessary that the path to leadership be visibly open to talented and qualified individuals of every race and ethnicity.” It concludes with the notion that diversity in admissions is, therefore, vital because it ensures that “all members of our heterogeneous society may participate in the educational institutions that provide the training and education necessary to succeed in America.” While the *Grutter* decision is focused on admissions, one may extrapolate the argument to faculty, who like students, as citizens of our nation, can be expected to benefit from a diversity of thought and experience. This shift in emphasis from *Bakke* to *Grutter* to include a commitment to democracy and leadership as part of a broader conception of diversity’s benefits provides a solid foundation for the view that diversity within all disciplines—and indeed in all professions and fields that could be deemed part of the nation’s “leadership”—is important.

This view is not new; rather, as noted by Moses and Chang, it “has its roots in a long and distinguished tradition of philosophical thought” beginning with Aristotle (2006, p. 9). In his treatises, Aristotle (1962, 2000) acknowledged that democracy is made stronger by multiple viewpoints heard in response to conflict. And, like Aristotle, John Stuart Mill believed that “the interests of truth require a diversity of opinion,” (1859/1974, p. 114), which researchers recently have shown to be related empirically to differences in race/ethnicity (Chang, 2002, 2003). Like those before them, Dewey (1916, 1927, 1939) and Nussbaum (1997) reflect the conception cited in the *Grutter* majority opinion that through diversity of thought and curriculum, an educational setting enhances an individual’s “ability to participate as a citizen of the world” (Moses & Chang, 2006, p. 9). As described in *Grutter*, the newly embraced conceptualization of diversity as “diversity within all disciplines” requires a renewed effort on the part of educators to determine whether universities are fulfilling their missions of achieving faculty di-

iversity. A related and equally important question is whether current approaches for monitoring and measuring faculty diversity in our higher educational settings have the capacity to assess progress toward diversity within all disciplines deemed to be part of the nation's citizenry. If not, are there new approaches that may be useful in illuminating how institutions can be more effective in addressing faculty diversity, as now conceived, post-*Grutter*?

Following a review of current approaches for monitoring faculty diversity, including federally recommended utilization analyses, I propose a new approach and demonstrated its applicability on real data from a university setting. I then compare results from the new approach to results from a series of utilization analyses. The comparison reveals limitations of the utilization analysis approach under certain conditions; it also shows the need for an expanded scope of outreach and other programs to attract precollege students to major and pursue careers in underrepresented areas to ultimately increase the available pool of candidates for faculty positions in these areas. In the last two sections of this article, I offer possible explanations for the results along with prospects for the future.

#### *Current Approaches for Monitoring and Measuring Faculty Diversity at the National Level*

To date, the preponderance of data collected by colleges, universities, and national agencies to measure faculty diversity is in the form of the percentage of faculty at each college or university that is from each ethnic group, relative to the faculty at that college or university as a whole. Accordingly, annual reports from the IPEDS-S and the U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics (NCES): National Studies of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPSF) convey national information on the respective average percentages of Black, Hispanic, Asian, American Indian, and White (Non-Hispanic) faculty based on the respective numbers of each ethnic group relative to the total number of faculty for each college or university included in their national samples. As shown in Table 1, some of these studies (e.g., the NCES) also convey this information broken down by program area, including, for example, agriculture, business, communication, education, engineering, fine arts, health sciences, humanities (English and literature, foreign languages, history, philosophy), law, natural sciences (biological sciences, physical sciences, mathematics, computer sciences), and social sciences (economics, political science, psychology, sociology, and other social sciences). According to these often-quoted reports, and as shown in Table 1, the vast majority of full-time faculty is White (non-Hispanic). In particular, over all program areas, 85% of full-time faculty were White in

1998, and 80% were White in 2003. Furthermore, according to Table 1, Black (non-Hispanic) full-time faculty, for example, made up 5.1% of all such instructional faculty in 1998 over all program areas and made up 5.6% in 2003, suggesting an overall increase of approximately 10% or 0.5 percentage points over this 6-year interval. Yet, if one looks separately at the shifts in the percentages of Black full-time instructional faculty from 1998 to 2003 within the three disciplines of the humanities, natural sciences, and social sciences, one observes variation across these disciplines.

In particular, the 11% increase in Black full-time faculty in the humanities (from 4.5% to 5.0%), the 18% increase in the social sciences (from 6.7% to 7.8%), and the 29% increase in the natural sciences (from 3.1% to 4.0%) suggest that the true status of faculty diversity cannot be gleaned from broadly aggregated figures such as those based on university-wide data. In addition, these program area categories are overly broad themselves; as I discuss later in this article, a more granular approach that goes beyond these categories is needed to determine whether the precepts of *Grutter* are being achieved.

Consistent with a recent suggestion by Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, and Teraguchi (2006) to establish a clear framework for a more appropriate monitoring of efforts to increase faculty diversity, I propose a new analytic approach for monitoring and measuring faculty diversity. This new approach defines the department as the unit of analysis and evaluates faculty diversity in more granular fashion than is possible by the current approach based on university-wide aggregated data. The approach thus has the potential, by uncovering the way in which racial diversity is practiced in higher education, to enable institutions to reach the standard of diversity set recently by *Grutter*.

To that end, an evaluation of the way in which racial diversity is practiced at a particular university must take into account the extent to which the distribution of faculty characteristics at that institution is representative of the broader distribution of such characteristics based on national pool data by academic field. Federal guidelines for conducting such evaluations are called "utilization analyses" and are viewed by the federal government and, in particular, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) as part of an institution's acceptable affirmative action plan. Such analyses are described in the next section.

#### *Utilization Analyses: An Approach to Evaluating Underrepresentation*

As stipulated by the federal government, utilization analyses compare the expected to the actual number of minority faculty in each department

or area. Expected values are based on relevant national pool availability data collected by, for example, the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago, the American Bar Association, the American Dental Association, the American Library Association, and others to determine whether underutilization exists. While a variety of methods may be used to define relevant national pools upon which expected values are based, for the particular series of utilization analyses employed in this study, expected percentages are based on annually collected NORC data regarding the number and percentage of newly minted PhDs from U.S. institutions of higher learning, organized by field and ethnicity/race. Underutilization is defined by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) as “having fewer minorities or women in a particular group than would *reasonably* be expected by their availability” (emphasis added). The OFCCP offers a “four-fifths” rule in defining underutilization as fewer than would be reasonably expected; that is, as “an employment level that is less than 80% of calculated availability.” The comparison of actual versus expected distributions of URM faculty in such utilization analyses is viewed by the OFCCP as a useful guide for determining where additional initiatives are needed for the achievement of parity with the workforce and may be useful in identifying areas within the university that are deficient in the utilization of URM faculty.

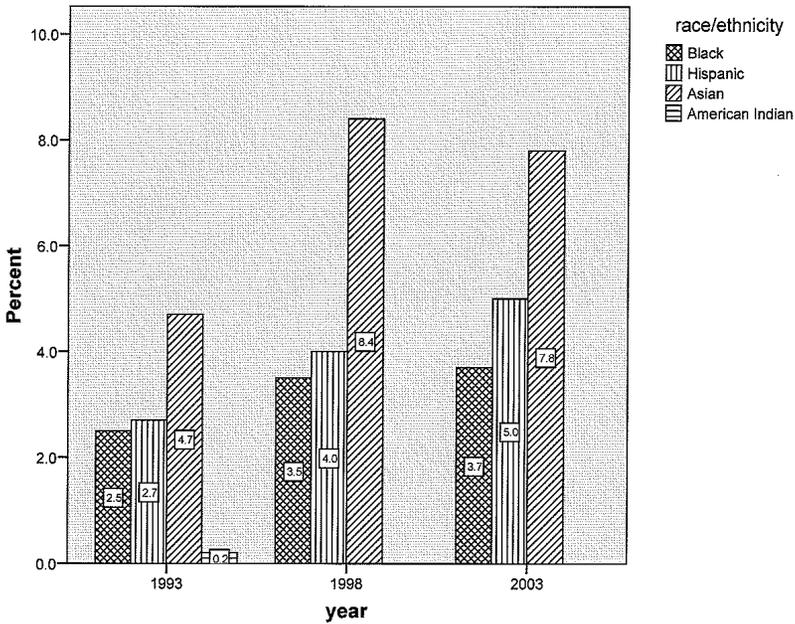
Restricting the pool distributions for this normative analysis to newly minted PhDs purposefully omits those existing URM faculty at other universities who may at some point in their careers be considered as lateral hires. From a systemic view, the practice of hiring URM faculty laterally by any single university would not help grow the number of URM faculty in higher education overall, and within an analysis framework, it could serve to obscure real progress toward diversity systemwide. Because opportunities in government and private industry may have greater appeal to some, one cannot expect all newly minted PhDs to join the ranks of academia. In addition to the possible greater appeal of government and private industry, as reported by Smith et al., “many candidates in the sciences were quite concerned about finding jobs, and others had already left academe for industry because of their inability to find academic positions” (1996, p. 135). Cole and Arias estimate that “only about 40 percent of African-American Ph.D.’s and 48 percent of Latino Ph.D.’s end up working in academia” (2004, p. 294). Thus, the percentages in the national pool distributions of all newly minted PhDs by URM categories and fields must be viewed as upper bounds to the numbers of newly minted PhDs who desire academic appointments.

*The New Granular Approach: An Application to Real Data*

Data from a large urban private research university located in the northeast are used to demonstrate the value of assessing faculty diversity in a different, more granular way. Results from this approach are compared with those from a series of utilization analyses at the department level. The particular university chosen for demonstration purposes is appropriate for a variety of reasons. It is comprised of a wide array of departments both within and across disciplines, it has a large full-time faculty body, and it is located in an urban area that appeals to a broad constituency. Furthermore, because the value of the approach is demonstrated most effectively in the case of Black full-time faculty in the humanities departments located in this university's School of Arts and Science, results related to this group are presented here. When considering the entire array of humanities departments as a whole, the percentage of Black faculty is consistent with relevant national pool data; however, when the analysis digs deeper and becomes more granular, one observes a clustering effect—namely, Black faculty are found in only a small proportion of humanities departments at this university.

Based on national data, Table 1, along with studies cited earlier in this paper, attests to the slow progress of Blacks in the quest for racial parity in full-time faculty positions in institutions of higher education. Figure 2 suggests overall growth in the representation of full-time minority faculty in the university's School of Arts and Sciences over the 10-year period from 1993 to 2003, with a leveling of that growth from 1998 to 2003. In particular, from 1993 to 2003 Black full-time faculty have grown from 2.5% to 3.7%, Hispanic full-time faculty have grown from 2.7% to 5%, while White full-time faculty have correspondingly declined from 89.8% to 83.6%.

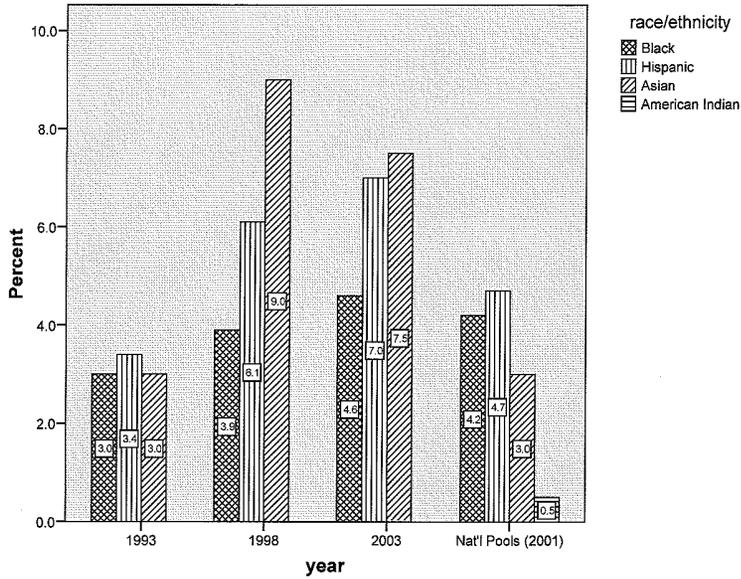
Digging more deeply to the discipline level, Figure 3 suggests that on the surface, in the humanities, Black and Hispanic full-time faculty appear to be well represented relative to their respective national pools. Simply put, the percentage of Black humanities full-time faculty in the School of Arts and Sciences (4.6%) exceeds the corresponding 2001 national pool (4.2%); the percentage of Hispanic full-time faculty (7.0%) exceeds the corresponding 2001 national pool (4.7%). However, an analysis at the level of the department reveals a clustering effect that is masked by these aggregate figures. In particular, of the 15 departments in the humanities with six or more full-time faculty members (extremely small departments are excluded from this analysis), only 5 have Black full-time members on their faculties. Of the five that do, in order of mag-



	1993	1998	2003
<b>Black</b>	2.5%	3.5%	3.7%
<b>Hispanic</b>	2.7%	4.0%	5.0%
<b>Asian</b>	4.7%	8.4%	7.8%
<b>Amer. Indian</b>	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>White</b>	89.8%	84.1%	83.6%

FIG. 2. Schoolwide Percentage Distributions by Year for Full-time Faculty in the School of Arts and Science at a Private Research University.

nitude of department, they are: history, comparative literature, English, music, and Spanish & Portuguese language and literature. None of the remaining 10 humanities departments has a single full-time faculty member who is Black (see Table 3 for a listing of those departments). Moreover, when one digs even deeper, one finds that the Black faculty in the five departments in which they are represented predominantly teach courses in ethnic content, such as Black history within the history department, Caribbean literature within the Spanish department, and jazz within the music department.



	1993	1998	2003	Humanities Nat'l Pools (2001)
<b>Black</b>	3.0%	3.9%	4.6%	4.2%
<b>Hispanic</b>	3.4%	6.1%	7.0%	4.7%
<b>Asian</b>	3.0%	9.0%	7.5%	3.0%
<b>Amer. Indian</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
<b>White</b>	91.0%	81.0%	81.0%	86.0%
<b>Other</b>	0%	0%	0%	1.3%

FIG. 3. Discipline-wide Percentage Distributions by Year of Full-time Faculty in the Humanities at a Private Research University.

SOURCE: National Pools for the Humanities: National Opinion Research Council, 2001

This situation is not unique to this private research university. Similar observations have been made elsewhere as they relate to other top-tier universities. Cross (1994) linked the sluggish growth in faculty diversity explicitly to the uneven distribution of minority faculty across departments and the absence of minority faculty in some departments. According to Cross,

The depth of the problem affecting all of our great universities comes into sharp view when one examines particular departments. For example, in the

TABLE 2

Total U.S. Population and Doctoral Degree Attainment: Percentage Distributions by Race/Ethnicity

	Total U.S. Population	PhDs
Black	12.2%	5.9%
Hispanic	12.1%	4.1%
Asian	4.0%	5.1%
Amer. Indian	0.7%	0.6%
White	71.0%	84.3%

SOURCE: Total Population—U.S. Census 2000: Population Division

SOURCE: PhDs—National Opinion Research Council, Doctorate Records File, 2000

natural sciences (chemistry, physics, biology, mathematics, and computer science) consisting of 181 faculty members, there is no black person on the Harvard faculty. (Cross, 1994, p. 43).

Yet, by contrast, Blacks have greatest representation in departments of history (*JBHE*, 1999). Of the history departments at the nation's 28 highest-ranking universities, a survey conducted by *JBHE* found 57 Black faculty members, comprising "6.3 percent of the 904 faculty members at these institutions" (*JBHE*, 1999, p. 17).

Going back to our example, while the overall percentage of Black full-time faculty in the humanities at this private research university is approximately 4.6%, the variation arising from this clustering effect is not captured by that figure. Accordingly, a more complete analysis also should take note of (a) the minimum and maximum departmental percentages of Black (or other minority or URM) faculty within each discipline, (b) the median of all such departmental percentages, and (c) the percentage of departments whose percentages of Black (or other minority) full-time faculty exceeds some small value, say 2.5%. For the example at hand, the minimum percentage of Black full-time faculty within a department in the humanities is 0% (as noted earlier), the maximum such percentage is 16.28% (in history), the median percentage is 0%, and the percentage of humanities departments with greater than 2.5% Black full-time faculty is 33.33%, suggesting that Black full-time faculty are located in no more than approximately one third of the departments in the humanities at this university. It should be noted that by designating the unit of analysis as the department and, accordingly, by not weighting each department by its respective size, this approach may be said to be more sensitive than the aggregate approach to the question of whether there is a "critical mass" or simply a Black (or URM) faculty

presence within each department. The value of the cut-off percentage, in this case 2.5%, alternatively could be set to some other value to reflect the minimally desired critical mass threshold of Black (or other URM) full-time faculty within each department. If one were to illustrate visually the extent of clustering using, for example, a bar graph, boxplot, or stem-and-leaf display, in general, greater clustering would be reflected by displays with greater skew.

Figure 4 displays a bar graph for the data at hand that is positively skewed given an ordering of humanities departments along the horizontal axis in terms of their percentage of Black full-time faculty. Of the 15 departments in the humanities at this private university with six or more faculty, only those that contain one or more Black full-time faculty are pictured. The remaining 10 departments with zero Black full-time faculty are not. Given the present state of affairs, a student majoring in, for example, classics, fine arts, French, Italian, Middle Eastern and Islamic studies, or philosophy would appear to have little likelihood of being exposed to a Black full-time member of the faculty during his or her entire college experience.

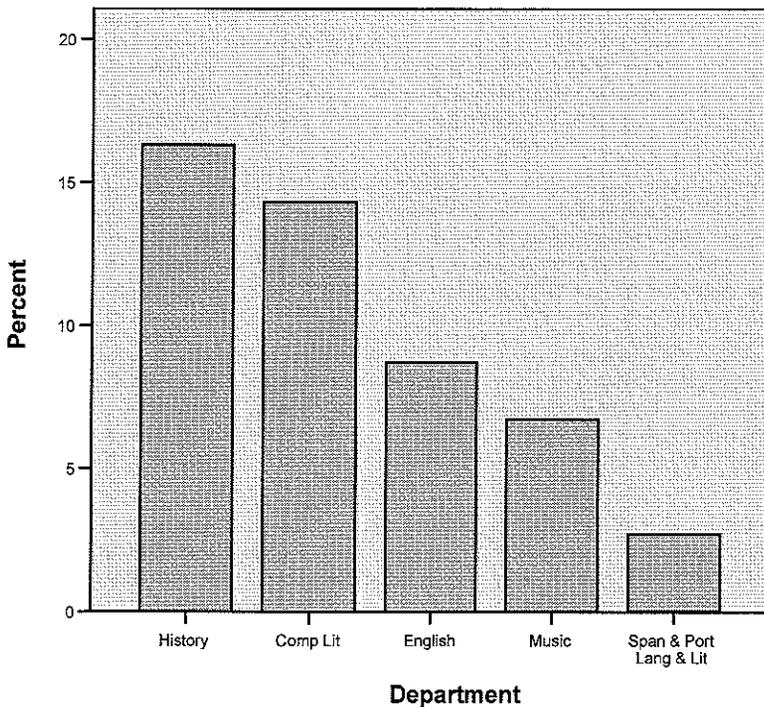


FIG. 4. Department-wide Percentages of Black Full-time Faculty in the Humanities.

In addition to this approach, one may employ a measurement approach that incorporates the number of student majors for each department as a way to assess the extent to which, overall, students' learning experiences at a particular university are exposed to a diverse faculty. In particular, given information on the number of non-Black students enrolled in each course taught by a Black full-time faculty member and the number of all students enrolled in all courses offered by a particular department, one could compute for each course and each department or even each discipline the likelihood that a student at a particular university will, in general, be taught by a Black full-time faculty member over, say, a 4-year period.

#### *Underutilization and National Pool Availability*

The five humanities departments at this university that contain Black faculty members (those shown in the graph of Figure 4) are not flagged as instances of underutilization, because the actual percentage of Black faculty in each department exceeds the respective expected percentage of Black faculty based on national pool data, even though the departments themselves each contain a small absolute percentage of Black faculty. Even when the number of Black full-time faculty in a department is not merely low but zero, as is the case at this university for the departments of classics, East Asian studies, fine arts, French, Germanic language/literature, and philosophy, underutilization may not be found to exist using the above-described utilization analysis when the expected percentage of Black faculty for that department based on national pool data is small. In such cases, the expected number of Black faculty for that department also may be zero, producing a designation of no underutilization using this methodology. When, however, the actual number of Black full-time faculty in a department is zero, but the expected number of Black faculty in that department is relatively large based on national pool data, there will be underutilization. For example, in the case of French, there is underutilization with respect to Blacks. While the actual number of Black faculty is zero for this department, the expected percentage based on the NORC data is high enough to produce an expected number of two Black full-time faculty for this department. Table 3 contains the results of these utilization analyses for all 15 departments in the humanities. Because the pattern of the actual distribution of Black faculty across departmental fields follows what would be expected based on national pool data, with the exception of the department of French, these utilization analyses fail to identify the absence of Black full-time faculty in the humanities at this institution as instances of underutiliza-

tion. In other words, based on these utilization analyses, there is an expectation that there should be at least one Black faculty member in only 6 of the 15 departments in the humanities. Because we as educators cannot be satisfied by a faculty where racial minorities are relegated to a small number of departments where “minority viewpoints” are deemed salient, it is reasonable to argue that utilization analyses are particularly useful in identifying areas of underutilization only when there are relevant pools of candidates available in those areas. When a finding of no underutilization is the result of a limited pool of available candidates and a relatively small department, an institution must be careful not to use that finding per se to condone its status quo vis-à-vis its achievement of faculty diversity as conceptualized in *Grutter*. Instead, it should use the component elements of the utilization analysis (namely, the expected and actual percentages of URM faculty in each department) to build an awareness of the particular areas or departments on which to focus its diversity efforts, including, of course, those areas or departments shown to be underutilized. In particular, in such instances, the institution should redouble its search for appropriate candidates that previously had been overlooked in these limited pools and should develop programs to cultivate scholars of color in these areas,

TABLE 3

Utilization Analyses for Black Full-time Faculty in the Humanities at a Private Research University (AY 2003-2004)

	Actual		Expected	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. Classics	0	0.00%	0	1.47%
2. Comparative Literature	2	14.29%	1	5.74%
3. East Asian Studies	0	0.00%	0	1.35%
4. English	4	8.70%	1	2.32%
5. Fine Arts	0	0.00%	0	1.81%
6. French	0	0.00%	2	5.51%
7. Germanic Languages/Literature	0	0.00%	0	1.39%
8. Hebrew & Judaic Studies	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
9. History	7	16.28%	2	3.56%
10. Italian	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
11. Middle Eastern Studies	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
12. Music	1	6.67%	1	4.07%
13. Philosophy	0	0.00%	0	0.66%
14. Slavic Languages & Literature	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
15. Spanish & Portuguese Lang/Lit	1	2.70%	1	2.11%

since one may infer from these results that clustering by race/ethnicity is a function of the fields in which Blacks are choosing to enroll for doctoral study.

A host of outreach programs currently exist to assist precollege students in their pursuit of a college degree and subsequent career. Many of them are directed at the “at risk” population, creating opportunities to help students successfully make the transition from middle school to high school and college and, in general, to make college accessible to more students of color and/or those from low-income families. Others, however, are focused more particularly on encouraging individuals to pursue studies in specific subject areas. For example, one program at the University of California at Davis (2007) has as its mission “to motivate the most creative minds of the new generation of prospective scientists, engineers, and mathematicians who will become leaders for California, the nation and the world.” Like this outreach program, many are established to attract individuals from underrepresented groups, including women, to major in and then pursue careers in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) fields. And, by the relative budgets allotted to the federal agencies largely responsible for supporting such programs,<sup>1</sup> one may surmise that far fewer such outreach programs exist for the humanities. While it is well known that women and URM continue to be underrepresented in the STEM fields as students and as faculty, based on the data presented here, we know that Blacks are underrepresented in particular areas in the humanities as well, as faculty and students, as they are essentially not represented in national pool data of available applicants for faculty positions. Additional analysis is likely to uncover still other particular subject areas in, for example, the social sciences, in which there is an absence of URM faculty in higher education partly because of an absence of an available pool of candidates in these areas. If the diversity rationale as conceptualized in *Grutter* is to be upheld, pools of Black and other URM PhDs must be developed in a broad range of fields to eliminate the clustering effects observed and reported here. To achieve this goal, funding opportunities in areas in addition to STEM need to be established, and universities must become more proactive in developing outreach and other programs that target URM high school/precollege students to foster their interests in underrepresented areas of study that include not only STEM but also the humanities and other areas.

In the next section, I address why, for the data analyzed in this article, some fields of study in the humanities appear to be more attractive than others to Blacks and why, therefore, there is a clustering phenomenon by race/ethnicity at the faculty level in higher education.

*Why Clustering by Race/Ethnicity Exists: Some Possible Explanations*

One may speculate that clustering occurs because Blacks are attracted to study those fields in which ethnic-related courses are taught and for which the demand for a Black “viewpoint” is greatest. From the literature, for example, we know that through their hiring practices, some humanities departments, notably history, send a message to prospective Black graduate students that a fertile area of specialization in the humanities is history. In one such article, Weems reports that the University of Missouri–Columbia (MU) history department “has demonstrated a special sensitivity to issues regarding faculty diversity” (2003, p. 109) by employing five Black faculty members, who are all tenured, relative to a base of 29 full-time faculty. Weems (2003) further notes, “Yet, to be both accurate and blunt, the History Department at MU is atypical of the overall Black faculty experience at MU (or most predominantly White institutions of higher learning)” (2003, p. 110). Others have observed that, on the one hand, within the field of history, “there appears to be a prevailing racial view that black people are best, and perhaps uniquely, qualified to teach that part of the history of our country that relates to blacks” (*JBHE*, 1999, p. 18). On the other hand, when left to choose a major and career path, the message “for historians who are black is clear: If you want to publish in historical journals and if you want to entertain hopes of a good appointment in the history department of a strong university, your best bet is to pursue a field of historical study that relates to your skin color” (*JBHE*, 1999, p. 18).

In addition, an article in the *JBHE* (1997) notes,

Just as corporations traditionally hire Blacks to serve as equal employment opportunity officers or urban affairs executives, universities tend to engage black faculty members almost exclusively to do research and to teach courses on race relations. It seems that black scholars are somewhat like designated hitters in baseball. Their assigned courses are black history, race relations, and urban sociology. . . . In history departments black scholars at the nation’s leading universities almost always specialize in African-American history, slave studies, the civil rights movement, or the history of the South. (1997, p. 40)

The occurrence of a clustering by race/ethnicity effect in the humanities for Blacks also may be explained in more theoretical terms as a developmental dialogic process proposed by Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain (2003). As they note, a person’s identity and agency are formed in reference to specific “practices and activities situated in historically contingent, socially enacted, culturally constructed ‘worlds’: recognized fields or frames of social life, such as . . . academia” (2003, p. 7). As a

cultural or “figured” world, the practices and activities of academia can serve to “supply the contexts of meaning for actions, . . . for the understandings that people come to make of themselves, and for the capabilities that people develop to direct their own behavior in these worlds” (p. 60). In the dialogic process, “the person ‘makes’ herself over into an actor in [that] cultural world . . . [and] can significantly reorient [her] own behavior, and can even participate in the creation of new figured worlds and their possibilities for new selves” (p. 282). According to this theory, in response to the power of culture as defined generally by the academic world, and more particularly, for example, by the “figured” world of history and other departments in which Blacks have been shown to be clustered, the relative prevalence of teaching positions occupied by Blacks within that world may help to establish an internalized cultural logic. When mediated by that person’s senses of self, that logic may encourage that person to develop those capabilities that would allow him or her to orient, or even, reorient himself or herself as a participant in that world, producing the noted clustering of Black faculty in only a subset of the departments in the humanities. While for certain of these departments, notably history, early hiring of Black faculty in the late 1960s (*JBHE*, 1997) established a “figured” world that continues today, in other departments in the humanities (e.g., classics, philosophy) and in the social and natural sciences, such was and is not the case. In the language of Holland et al. (2003), these departments are without a “figured” or cultural world to signal the beginning of a dialogic process that could supply, as it has for history and other such departments, a context of meanings for action toward becoming an actor, a participant, in that world.

*Eliminating Clustering by Race/Ethnicity: Prospects for the Future*

Looking toward the future, a recent study by Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, and Teraguchi (2006) suggests, unfortunately, that given current practice, prospects appear slim for universities to effect an increase in the number of “figured” worlds across departments. Of the 27 colleges and universities studied, the authors identified URM faculty turnover as a factor in mitigating progress toward diversity. In particular, they reported that “58% of all URM new hires were replacement hires—nearly three out of every five URM core faculty hired simply took the place of URM faculty who had left the institutions” (p. 11). As noted by the authors, such “revolving door” hiring serves to undercut proactive attempts to diversify a faculty with respect to race/ethnicity. Without a greater push on the part of all higher education institutions to cultivate

scholars of color in all fields and to hire, retain, and promote a diverse faculty, our nation's universities can expect to remain a collection of racially segregated communities and, as such, to be at odds with the Supreme Court's broader conception that diversity is important in all academic disciplines, and indeed in all professions and fields, that could be deemed part of the nation's "leadership."

While it has been noted previously that an estimated 40% of African American PhDs currently end up in academia, when one considers only those Black college seniors who have approximately a 4.0 GPA, Cole and Arias report that "fully 22 percent of African-Americans wanted to be college professors, and it was the *most* popular occupation among the top five (followed by medicine with about 16 percent)" (2004, p. 295). Since their research shows also that "initial career choice is the single strongest predictor of career choice by [college] seniors" (p. 295), they ask an appropriate follow-up question, "[w]hat can be done to increase the proportion of high achieving African-American and Latino students who select academia as their first-choice career to a level higher than what it is now and higher than it is for white students?" (p. 284). Based on the more granular analysis presented in this article, a more nuanced and appropriate question would focus particularly on increasing those proportions of Blacks and URM, in general, in those disciplines and departments within disciplines in which there currently is an absence or paucity of such faculty. Policymakers need to bring to the attention of the public the concern that has been raised here regarding the existence of a form of segregation within our institutions of higher education, and they need to take seriously the notion that funding streams in a broad range of areas need to be established for the development of outreach and other programs for URM precollege students. Without programs within all levels of education, prospects for counteracting the observed clustering effect will likely remain slim.

A number of policy recommendations are offered by Cole and Barber (2003) for increasing the numbers of URM college graduates who choose academic careers. In addition to the recommendations on their list (e.g., educating minority students about the availability of careers in academia and the heavy demand for underrepresented minorities, creating resources to help minority students keep up with their studies and perform well), universities need to help jumpstart that part of the dialogic process (Holland et al., 2003) that connects to creating and sustaining "figured" worlds by becoming even more proactive in creating environments that are increasingly welcoming and supportive of URM faculty. The theoretical framework of Holland et al. (2003) suggests that the creation of "figured" worlds in those fields that lack them will provide a greater pull for attracting underrepresented

minorities to academia and, in turn, increase the numbers of minority college graduates who select academia as a career.

### Conclusion

This study makes amply clear the need for all institutions of higher learning to establish a framework for monitoring progress toward diversity that is more granular and nuanced than the current approach, based simply on the aggregate percentage of URM faculty at the institution-wide level or in broad academic categories. The approach recommended is consistent with the diversity rationale put forth by the Supreme Court's *Grutter* decision and is sensitive to the variability that has been shown to exist at the department level.

In sum, the approach I have proposed should be considered a critical addition to the repertoire of currently used tools for analyzing and reporting progress toward faculty diversity university-wide. In failing to use this approach, universities are unwittingly endorsing and even promoting a form of segregation within their ranks. They also are failing in their responsibilities as educational institutions to respond to the Supreme Court's broader conceptualization of a diversity rationale that supports the notion that diversity within all disciplines and departments, and indeed within all professions and fields that could be deemed part of the nation's "leadership," is an important component in the educational experience of our students, one that the vast majority of our students do not now receive.

### Note

<sup>1</sup>The federal government spent approximately \$2.8 billion in fiscal year 2004 to fund over 200 programs designed to increase the numbers of students in STEM fields and employees in STEM occupations and to improve related educational programs (Ashby, 2006). For that same year, it allotted only \$256.3 million to the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), the two agencies that provide federal funds for the majority of arts and humanities programs, a component of which is outreach (Boren, 2005).

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