

Predictors of Diversification of Journalism & Mass Communication Faculties 1989-1998

LEE B. BECKER, JISU HUH AND TUDOR VLAD

The percentage of faculty in journalism and mass communication programs who are women is increasing, but the change is so gradual that, at the present rate, it will be around the year 2035 before the faculty looks like the students enrolled in journalism and mass communication programs today in terms of gender.

The situation is much the same in terms of race and ethnicity. Growth in the percentage of faculty who are not white is such that, at the present rate, it will be at least 2035 before the faculty is as diverse as today's students. The target is moving, however, and by 2035, the percentage of students who are members of racial and ethnic minorities is likely to be higher than it

is today. This means that if today's rate of change in journalism and mass communication faculty continues, in 2035 there still will be a gap between the characteristics of the faculty and the students.

From 1989 to 1998 — the period for which data on the characteristics of faculty in journalism and mass communication are available—the amount of change averaged across faculties in the country represented the addition of three-fourths of a woman to the faculty. In terms of minorities, the average change was an increase of half a faculty member.

Yet some journalism and mass communication programs have made strides in diversifying their faculties,

Lee B. Becker (LBBECKER@UGA.EDU) is a professor in the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication and director of the James M. Cox Jr. Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research at the University of Georgia. Jisu Huh (JHUH@ARCHES.UGA.EDU) is a doctoral student and research assistant in the Cox Center. Tudor Vlad (tvlad@uga.edu) is assistant director of the center. Preparation of this report was made possible by a grant from the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation.

both in terms of gender and race. For example, one journalism program added thirteen women to its faculty from 1989 to 1998, and one added six faculty members who are members of racial or ethnic minorities.

What explains that variation? Why have some journalism and mass communication programs enjoyed more success than others in diversifying their faculties? This article examines three different factors that could explain the variability: the characteristics of the region in which the journalism program is located, the characteristics of the university that houses the program, and the characteristics of the journalism program itself.

Interviews and observational data are used to answer questions about the forces that explain variability in diversification outcomes.

Literature Review

Systematic research on the determinants of diversification in journalism and mass communication programs has not been undertaken to date. The review of basic data on the status of women and minorities in journalism education by Manning-Miller and Dunlap¹ in this journal offered a sound springboard for study of the topic.

Much has been written generally about diversity issues in higher education, with current literature focusing on the impact of affirmative action on student enrollments and the consequences of that enrollment. Bowen and Bok, in their study of students at selective colleges and universities, found that black students performed well in those institutions,

graduated at rates higher than the national average, and were successful in their careers after college.² Cole and Barber, however, reported that black students did less well at selective than at less selective institutions.³

The "Top 10 percent" plan used in Texas as an alternative to affirmative action has been shown to be ineffective in returning minority enrollment levels to their level under affirmative action at the state's two most selective public universities.⁴ Renner has noted that, while access to higher education has increased for all Americans in the last thirty years, the biggest gains have been made by whites, not by Hispanics or blacks, resulting in an increasing gap between the races.⁵

In general, research has shown that having appropriate faculty role models at institutions improves such affirmative action goals as improved enrollment and retention rates. Blackwell,⁶ for example, found that the best predictor of black student enrollment in professional schools and graduation from those programs was the number of Black faculty in that school. Kaugler-Love⁷ conducted in-depth interviews with seven female faculty members at two universities in Oklahoma to determine how mentoring affects retention of female minority students. The female faculty who participated in this research said that their mentoring not only increased the number of female minority students but also was key for the purposes of recruiting and retaining qualified and diverse candidates through to graduation. Cole and Barber, however, found that role model's race and gender made virtually no difference on student career decisions once they are in the university.⁸

While Reskin⁹ shows that there is generally support for the principles of affirmative action in the general public, at least one study of university faculty and administrators has shown limitations to that support. Miller¹⁰ found in a study at one urban college that those not targeted for affirmative action tend to show negative perceptions based on the view that those hired by the affirmative action program are less competent than others. Those against affirmative action said that diversification initiatives ignore merit, seek quotas, and lowers standards of quality.¹¹

Research has shown the importance of administrative leadership in hiring more diversified faculty. Hill¹² conducted interviews with departmental leaders and search committee chairs in two public doctoral granting universities and showed that how a search committee defines affirmative action depended largely on how the department chair defines the term. Smith¹³ studied minority doctoral degree recipients and showed that a close working relationship between the search committee and the administration contributed to the success of the search and the hiring of minority faculty. Hitt, Keats, and Purdum¹⁴ surveyed personnel and affirmative action officers of colleges and universities in a southwestern state. These experts also identified commitment from higher administration and a receptive attitude on the part of key university personnel as the two most critical factors that contributed to effective affirmative action programs. Reskin¹⁵ has concluded, based on her review of research in the workplace generally, that an organization whose leaders

support affirmative action is likely to implement substantive programs, and substantive programs translate affirmative action policies into nondiscriminatory practices.

An essential part of affirmative action in the workplace, according to Reskin,¹⁶ is the replacement of subjective and biased hiring procedures with practices that treat all prospective and actual employees uniformly through job posting, open recruitment methods, and standardized evaluations. Smith¹⁷ has argued that approaching the search procedure in the usual ways would not increase diversification. Mickelson and Oliver¹⁸ found that institutional differences are less important than individual attributes in predicting how black students will perform in graduate studies. They concluded that the traditional way in which qualified candidates for academic positions are identified, screened, and selected for the short list has hindered affirmative action programs from achieving significant changes in universities. In the hiring process, search committees often rely on so-called proven categories of evaluation such as ranking of a candidate's graduate department and the recommendations of prestigious scholars. These traditional screening criteria disadvantage many minority applicants, who may have attended less prestigious programs due to various reasons other than talent, and may have not had opportunities to work with prominent scholars because of lack of support and mentoring for minority students.

The research evidence is that narrowness of the search network is a barrier to diversification.

Administrators at prestigious universities interviewed by Knowles and Harleston¹⁹ said that unfamiliarity with the work of minority scholars and a failure to note minority scholars' achievements or accomplishments limits searches for faculty. Many assume that minority scholars excel only in minority subjects, thus narrowing the scope of recruitment, the administrators said. Smith²⁰ concluded, based on her interviews with doctoral degree recipients, that institutions must be more active in search for minority faculty by developing personal connections or networking with diverse scholars. She also concluded that universities must have diverse search committees to access and evaluate candidates from underrepresented groups.

Tradition and the status quo on many campuses have been found to be an obstacle to diversification of faculties, contributing to the stress level of women and minority faculty members. Smith,²¹ who interviewed 299 minority Ford, Mellon and Spencer Fellowship recipients who had earned their degrees between 1989 and 1995, found that isolation, lack of appreciation, institutional disinterest in diversity, racism, and sexism created an unsupportive climate on campuses, making it hard for many minority faculties to earn tenure. Burroughs,²² who conducted interviews with female faculty members at a major research university in Texas, found that female faculties perceived the organizational culture of the university as patriarchal and unsupportive for women. Turner and Myers²³ interviewed 55 minority faculty members in institutions that were members of the Midwestern

Higher Education Commission. The faculty members reported a "chilly climate" in many universities and unsupportive work environment.

Aisenberg and Harrington,²⁴ based on interviews with 62 women, including widely recognized scholars and successful teachers as well as those who have left the university, reported that women faculty members engage in teaching more often than in research and that they are less satisfied with their positions than their male counterparts. Iacona²⁵ surveyed more than 1,300 faculty members in 372 different universities and colleges and found that female faculty were significantly less satisfied with their present positions, current salary, and departmental structure than males, and the likelihood to leave academia was greater for women and minorities than for the white male majority. Mason and Goulden,²⁶ based on data from 1973-1999 from the National Science Foundation research on doctoral degree recipients, found a consistent and large gap in achieving tenure between women and men who had children early in their careers. In sciences and engineering, for example, the gap between men and women was 24 %, with women being lower. Nabinet²⁷ found in a survey of 649 faculty in three state research universities that black and Hispanic faculty spent a disproportionate amount of time in community-related activities, on and off campus, therefore limiting available time and energies for academic research.

Administrators of higher education institutions report that the pool of job applicants has made it difficult for them to diversify their faculties.²⁸ In fact, according to the

most recent NSF Survey of Earned Doctorates, in 2001 females received 44.0 % of all doctorates, which is the highest percentage of women ever recorded by the survey. A total of 4,254 members of U.S. racial minority groups were awarded doctorates, representing 16.1 % of the U.S. citizens earning research doctorates in 2001. The percentage represents an increase from 15.8 % in 2000, and is the highest percentage yet recorded in the survey. Blacks earned the most doctorates (1,604) of the four main U.S. minority populations in 2001, followed by Asians (1,382), Hispanics (1,116), and American Indians (149).

Rai and Critzer examined data from forty-one states in an effort to determine which social and political factors predicted success in achieving faculty diversification at both public and private institutions.²⁹ They found little evidence that the political ideology of state leaders had an impact. Level of industrialization, urbanization and income in the state also did not make a difference. What did matter was the minority groups' percentage within a state. Public institutions also were more diverse than private ones.

Expectations

This literature provides a perspective for analyzing the outcome of efforts to increase the diversity of faculties of journalism and mass communication around the country. It suggests that forces outside the individual university — that is, the characteristics of the region in which the journalism program is located — might have impact. It also suggests that characteristics of the university that houses the program may make a

difference. Finally, the literature suggests that the characteristics of the journalism program itself, such as the nature of its leadership, may be important.

Methodology

To examine the forces at work in determining success of journalism and mass communication programs in creating diverse faculties, data were taken from a number of sources. One source was the *Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments*, conducted in the James M. Cox Jr. Center for International Mass Communication Training and Research, a unit of the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Georgia.³⁰

Schools listed in either the AEJMC *Journalism & Mass Communication Directory* or *The Journalist's Road to Success, A Career and Scholarship Guide*, prepared by The Dow Jones Newspaper Fund Inc., are included in the population of surveyed schools.

In October of each year, a questionnaire is mailed to the administrator of each of these programs. Subsequent mailings of this same questionnaire are sent to non-responding schools in December, January and February. Non-responding schools are subsequently contacted by telephone and asked to complete the questionnaire over the telephone.³¹

Even after these efforts, not all schools report and not all respond to all questions asked. Two characteristics of schools—membership in the Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication and

accreditation by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication — are used to make projections when schools do not report complete data. Data from the reporting accredited schools are used to estimate characteristics of the accredited schools for which there was any missing information. Similarly, statistical means from the non-accredited ASJMC schools are used to estimate missing data from similar schools, and data from the non-accredited schools not affiliated with ASJMC are used to estimate missing data for those schools. The overall estimates, then, are based on complete information and best approximations about data not reported.

The survey instrument includes questions on number of students enrolled in the program, characteristics of those students, and the number of degrees granted, as well as the characteristics of those receiving the degrees. In the 1989, 1992, 1995 and 1998 enrollment surveys, administrators were asked to report the characteristics of their faculty members by gender, race/ethnicity and rank.

Data gathered by the National Center for Education Statistics and by the U.S. Bureau of the Census were used to supplement the information obtained from the *Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments*. University-wide percentages of minority and female faculty members were computed from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) “Fall Staff Data” collected in 1993 and 1997. The percentages of minority and female students enrolled in universities were obtained from IPEDS

“Fall Enrollment Data” for 1990 and 1997.³² The percentage of minorities in the region was taken from the 2000 U.S. Census. Data were collected by state and then classified into the following nine categories: New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, West North Central, South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, Mountain and Pacific.³³

In addition, case studies were conducted of six journalism and mass communication programs, three of which had achieved above average diversification from 1989 to 1998, and three, similar in relevant respects, that had not.³⁴ Each of the successful programs had gained at least four female and four minority faculty members from 1989 to 1998, representing a change of more than 9% in the faculty characteristic in each category. The three “control” programs had gained two minority faculty members among them and four women.

Researchers spent two days visiting each of the selected six programs and asked administrators and faculty to discuss how they had achieved diversification. Some of the discussions were in group settings. Many were one-on-one. The administrators of all six programs allowed free reign during the visits. The visits were in 2001 and 2002.

Following the visits to the three successful programs, telephone interviews were conducted with forty-seven female and minority faculty members from the three successful institutions. For each university, the faculty interviewed represented more than half of the female and minority faculty members. The interviews focused on faculty members’ experiences while they were being

recruited to the universities and in the years after when they actually served as faculty members. The interviews also asked about faculty members' backgrounds, their experiences in searching for jobs, and the job interviews that brought them to the three successful universities. In addition, the faculty members also were asked about their personal experiences on the job.

What the Numbers Show

The number of full-time faculty members teaching journalism and mass communication across the country increased from 4,126 in 1989 to 5,038 in 1998, representing a growth of 22.1%. During that time, the number of part-time faculty went from 3,028 to 3,771 — or a growth of 24.5%. These figures are estimates based on actual counts of faculty size and the projections.

In 1989, the average journalism and mass communication faculty had 10.4 full-time members. In 1998, it was 11.2 faculty members. Because enrollments grew by only 3,407 undergraduate students during this period, the gross student/faculty ratio was considerably lower in 1998 at 29.6 students to 1 faculty member than it was at 35.3 to 1 in 1989.

The figures on faculty growth are in one sense misleading. The increase in the total number of nearly a thousand full-time journalism and mass communication faculty members over this time period can be attributed to the increase in the number of programs in the country, from 395 in 1989 to 451 in 1998.

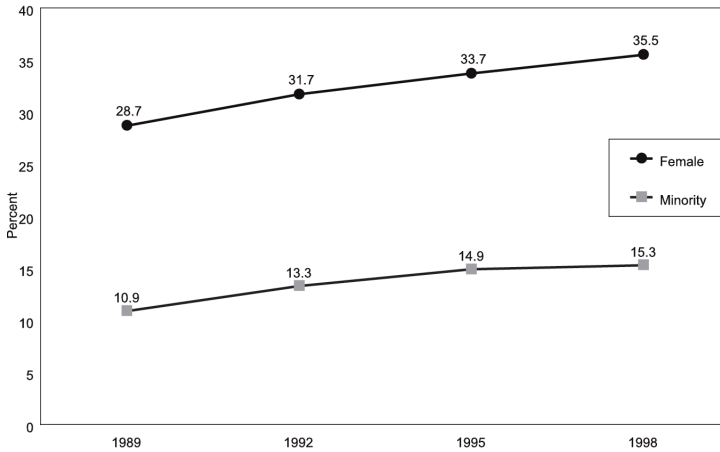
The growth rate is probably much closer to 2.9%, the rate of increase in

faculty size for the 263 programs in the *Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments* that reported faculty data in 1989 and 1998. The amount of change between 1989 and 1998 in full-time faculty at the 263 journalism and mass communication programs averaged a third of a person (.34).³⁵ This change resulted from the addition of just more than three-quarters of a woman (.81), half a minority (.55) (sometimes also a woman), and a decrease of three-fourths of a white male (-.79).

Between 1989 and 1998, the percentage of journalism and mass communication faculty members who were female increased from 28.7 to 35.5 (Figure 1). In 1998, 61.3% of the undergraduate students in these programs were women!³⁶ Growth in the percentage of female faculty was about 2 percentage points in each of the last three-year periods, meaning that it will be 2035 before parity is reached if the current percentages for students remain relatively stable.³⁷

Between 1989 and 1998, the percentage of journalism and mass communication faculty members who were members of racial or ethnic minorities increased from 9.6 to 15.3 (Figure 1). In 1998, 27.1% of the undergraduate students enrolled in journalism and mass communication programs around the country were members of racial or ethnic minorities. Growth in the percentage of minority faculty members averaged about .33 percentage points per year in the last six years, meaning it would be approximately 2035 before parity with the 1998 figures is reached.³⁸ The number of minority students can be expected to increase to an estimated 41% by that time.³⁹

Figure 1
GENDER AND RACE/ETHNICITY OF JOURNALISM FACULTY MEMBERS



Source: Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments

Journalism and mass communication faculty look remarkably like faculty for the universities as a whole, and change appears to be at about the same rate.⁴⁰ Journalism and mass communication does no worse than average, and no better.

Across the nine-year period of 1989 to 1998, the journalism and mass communication faculty has become more senior. In 1998, 27.1% of the faculty held the rank of professor. In 1989, the figure was 24.2%. Conversely, the percentage of the faculty that held the rank of assistant professor dropped from 32.3% in 1989 to 26.6% in 1998.

Gender and Rank

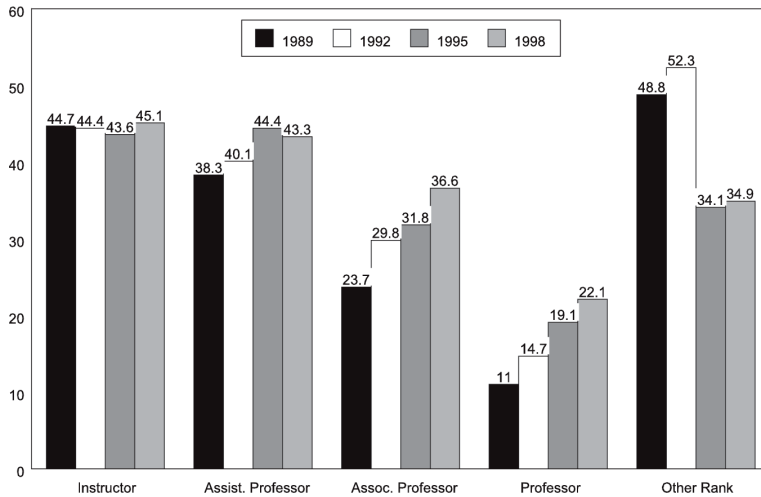
Women are not equally represented at the various faculty

ranks. In 1989, only 11.0% of the full professors were women (Figure 2). That figure grew to only 14.7% in 1992, 19.1% in 1995 and 22.1% in 1998. Women come closest to parity at the instructor and assistant professor ranks. Instructors and assistant professors usually do not have tenure and have much less control over teaching assignments and departmental governance than do associate and full professors.

Race/Ethnicity and Rank

The largest ethnic group represented on journalism and mass communication faculties is African Americans, who made up 9.1% of the faculty nationally in 1998 (Figure 3). Hispanics made up 2.4%, and Asian Pacific Islanders made up 2.3%. Native Americans made up less than 1% of the

Figure 2
FULL-TIME FACULTY: PERCENT FEMALE



Source: Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments

faculty nationally, or only about forty individuals. Only African Americans show consistent, if small, increases across the nine years for which data are available.

Diversity is not evenly visible across the various faculty ranks. Only about one in ten of the full professors are members of a racial or ethnic minority, while nearly two of ten of the assistant professors are minorities (Figure 4). Power in the university usually rests with faculty in the higher ranks, who often have more control over teaching assignments, departmental service assignments, and promotion and hiring decisions.

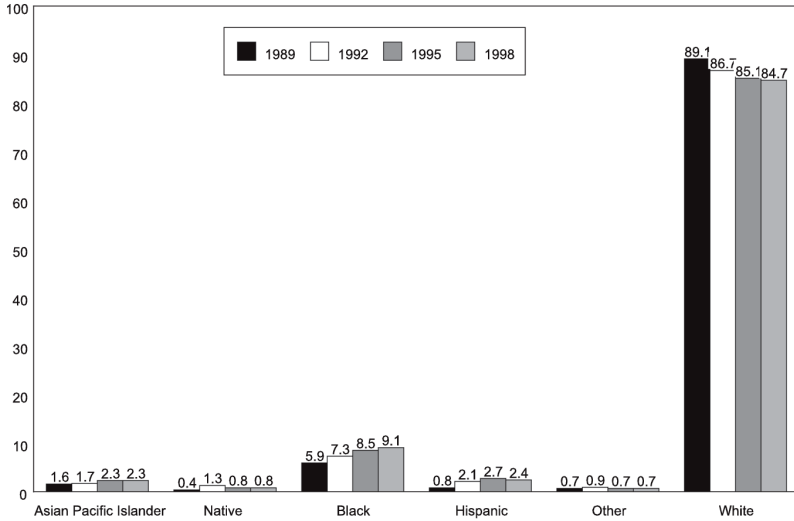
While the upper ranks have become more diverse in recent years, reflecting a sharing of faculty power, the lowest two ranks (assistant professor and instructor) were slightly

less diverse in 1998 than three years earlier. The differences are small, but they suggest a weakening of the diversification effort in journalism and mass communication programs, as most new hires at universities are at the lowest ranks.

External Predictors of Diversification

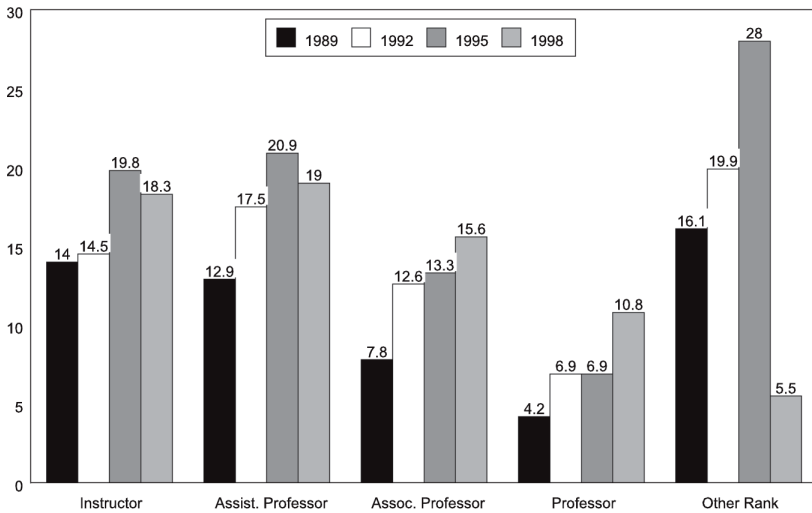
To say that there was no change in the composition of journalism faculties in terms of gender and race is not correct. But the change was far from dramatic. On average, journalism and mass communication units gained about three quarters of a woman (average unit increase = .81) and a half a minority (average unit increase = .55). They also lost three-fourths of a white male (mean = -.79). These estimates

Figure 3
RACE/ETHNICITY OF FULL-TIME FACULTY



Source: Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments

Figure 4
RACIAL/ETHNIC MINORITY FULL-TIME FACULTY



Source: Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments

are based on the 263 programs that reported data in 1989 and 1998.⁴¹

Of course, there was variability around these means. The University of Alabama's College of Communication and Information Sciences, for example, gained four minority members and eight female members over the period. The University of Florida's College of Journalism and Communications showed a gain of six minority faculty members and ten female faculty members during the period. The University of Missouri netted five minority faculty members and thirteen female faculty members. The standard deviation for the unit change score for women across the 263 programs was 3.2, while the standard deviation for the unit change score for minorities was 3.0.

Why were some programs more successful in recruiting minority faculty members than others? What explains this variability around the mean?

A number of factors that lie "outside" the journalism unit might account for the success or failure of a unit in recruiting female or minority faculty members. For example, a university that has increased minority or female faculty representation in other units might have brought journalism along with it or held it back, without the unit having invested a great deal of its own energies. A university that has increased the number of female or minority students might have also increased the percentage of faculty as part of a general shift in the university not explained by local unit efforts.

The presence of graduate programs could impede diversification efforts, since graduate faculty usually require

more certification (higher degrees), thereby restricting the labor pool for faculty recruitment. Public institutions might feel more pressure for diversification to represent the governmental units that fund them. Journalism programs that are in small towns might have more difficulty recruiting women and minorities, since such towns rarely provide a diverse cultural experience. Area of the country might be a factor as well, since some regions, such as the upper plains states, have relatively few minority groups in their populations, while others, such as the south, have more.

It also could be the case that units growing in size in terms of student enrollments might have more opportunity to diversify their faculty than units not growing, as faculty resources often follow, though imperfectly and slowly, after student enrollment growth.

Also, journalism units accredited by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (ACEJMC), which places much emphasis on diversification as one of its goals, should have experienced more success in faculty diversification than units not accredited by ACEJMC.

The answer to the question of such variable success in diversification is that most of these factors matter very little.

An increase in the percentage of female faculty members university-wide in the 1993-97 period was only weakly related to journalism unit faculty diversification in terms of gender (Table 1).⁴² The correlation coefficient (Pearson Product Moment) was +.09. (The range of possible values is from -1 to +1.)

Table 1
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CHANGE IN FACULTY DIVERSITY AND INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS FROM 1989 TO 1998

Variables	Corr. Coefficients	
	Female	Minority
Increase in percentage of minority faculty (university-wide, 1997-93)	.01	.02
Increase in percentage of female faculty (university-wide, 1997-93)	.09	-.01
Increase in percentage of minority students (university-wide, 1997-90)	.05	.12
Increase in percentage of female students (university-wide, 1997-90)	-.04	-.02
Presence of masters program (High=yes)	.10	.12
Presence of doctoral program (High=yes)	-.00	.02
Public vs. Private (High=public)	.09	.08
Percentage of minority in region	.04	.10
Location (High=small town, rural)	.00	-.04
Increase in journalism students (1998-89)	.23	.14
Accreditation (High=accredited)	.04	-.02

Note: Entries are Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficients. The number of cases is 263 except in the cases of Location, where there are 262, and increase in journalism students, where there are 254.

An increase in the percentage of female students at the university was unrelated to an increase in the number of female faculty in the journalism unit ($r = -.04$).⁴³ Presence of a master's degree program (in the journalism unit) is very slightly positively (not negatively) related to female faculty diversification in the journalism unit.

Public institutions are very slightly more likely to have experienced diversification in terms of gender. Units

that experienced growth in journalism enrollments were a bit more likely to have increased the representation of women on the faculty. In fact, this is the only correlation shown in Table 1 of any note. All three of these measures (existence of graduate programs, private versus public status, and enrollments) are measured in the *Annual Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments*.

An increase in the percent of minority students at the university is associated very slightly with an increase in the number of minority faculty in the journalism and mass communication programs ($r=.12$).⁴⁴ The presence of a master's degree program also is slightly linked to the increase in minority faculty. Public institutions are just barely more likely to have increased minority faculty. The percentage of minority residents in the region is slightly related to an increase in minority faculty, as is growth in the number of students in the journalism unit.⁴⁵

Strikingly absent is evidence that accreditation had any impact on the hiring of female or minority faculty members by journalism and mass communication programs during the time of the study (Table 2).⁴⁶ The 88 accredited programs available for the analysis had a mean increase of 1.0 female faculty members from 1989 to 1998, while the 175 non-accredited programs had a mean increase of .7 female faculty members. The accredited journalism programs had a mean increase of .5 minority faculty members, while the non-accredited programs had a mean increase of .6 minority faculty members.

Accreditation clearly had no impact on diversification of faculties during the period.

Accredited programs prior to 1989—the reference year for the analysis above—were more diverse than non-accredited programs. Only 3.0% of the accredited programs in 1989 had no women on the faculty, while 19.2% of the non-accredited programs had no women at that time. In 1989, 38.4% of the accredited programs had no minorities on their faculty in 1989, while 62.6% of the nonaccredited programs had no minorities. In terms of change from 1989 to 1998, however, accreditation was not a factor.

Removing Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) from the analysis does offer some evidence of impact of accreditation after 1989. Accredited units that are not HBCUs gained 1.2 women during the 1989-1998 period and 0.7 minorities. Non-accredited units that are not HBCUs gained 0.7 women and 0.4 minorities.⁴⁷

All of the variables shown in Table 1 were used in a regression analysis to check on any hidden effects for a single variable that might emerge if the effect of the other variables were controlled. That did not happen.

Table 2
CHANGE IN FACULTY DIVERSITY FROM 1989 TO 1998:
ACCREDITED AND NON-ACCREDITED PROGRAMS

Change in number of	Accredited (N=88)		Non-accredited (N=175)	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Female faculty	1.0	3.57	.7	3.00
Minority faculty	.5	2.75	.6	3.06

Note: Entries are mean change scores for the journalism units from 1989 to 1998.

Unit Predictors of Diversification

If the characteristics of the university do not predict to success in diversification, what does? What can explain the variability in the diversification experiences of the journalism and mass communication units across the 1989 to 1998 period?

The case studies provide some answers.

Three Successful Programs

The three successful programs were selected because they met six criteria: they had provided data across the four years of the study; they had not changed administratively during that period; they had gained at least four female faculty members during the period; the gain in female faculty members represented at least a 10 percent change; they had gained at least four minority faculty members, and the percentage of gain represented at least a change of 9%. Only three programs met these qualifications.

The programs are all comprehensive, have journalism education as their core, are accredited by ACEJMC, and are state institutions. All three universities dominate the small towns in which they are located.

The interviews and observations at the three universities were surprisingly consistent. These can be summarized by nine specific observations.

I. It was clear that change comes about only when there is strong commitment to diversification on the part of the unit leader.

A willing faculty also is essential. In fact, the leaders downplayed their own role in bringing about diversification, saying they could have

accomplished what was accomplished only with the support of the faculty. The faculty said the directive came from the top, and it seems unlikely it would have come from the faculty.

"It starts with the leadership," a departmental administrator at one of the universities said. "There is a real commitment by (the dean) to do this. (The dean) has walked the talk."

While the involvement of the deans in actual searches varied at the three universities, there was involvement at all three. In some cases, it was clear, the dean's hand was very strong.

"I feel it important for the dean to be involved and to help set the agenda," one of the deans said. "I admit I've tried to change the culture."

II. At least some level of support for diversification and the initiatives of the unit administration from central administration is extremely important.

Each of the three programs had been able to use targeted hiring to increase the representation of minorities on the faculties. In some cases, the unit was able to hire even without an opening if it identified a qualified minority. In other cases, extra support was provided for hiring a minority identified in the normal recruitment process. These programs created an incentive for the unit to produce change.

One of the administrators said the central administration used promises of incentives to encourage minority hiring, but the promises weren't always met. The promises, the administrators acknowledged, had produced action, undertaken with the hope the central administration would live up to the promises.

III. Each of the units enjoyed flexibility in its hiring in part because of its size, and flexibility led to diversification.

Because the units had large faculties, they didn't have to hire a person to fit a very narrow teaching slot. Other faculty could cover. It was therefore possible to hire a woman or a minority with strong credentials but who didn't fit a narrow definition of the job description.

"You need to be flexible in terms of the slot being filled," one dean said. "The classic mistake is 'We're hiring someone to replace Joe Smith. Joe taught feature writing and copy editing. We need someone to teach feature writing and copy editing.' You need to think of people, not slots."

Another dean put it simply. "Size is important. It gives you more degrees of freedom."

IV. Curricular diversity can be used as a recruiting tool in hiring.

Female and minority faculty want to be hired because of their expertise, not because of their gender or color. Courses in race and gender issues were used to interest and entice female and minority faculty. Having these courses on the curriculum before recruitment began was a big help in hiring.

"There are lots of minorities in critical cultural studies," one senior faculty member said. "If that is not part of your curriculum, you are screening people out."

V. Successful recruitment resulted from networking.

Minorities and women want to see the administrators at meetings and elsewhere even when there are no jobs being offered. Because such networking is so important, it is easier to recruit minorities and women once

the faculty is diverse than before diversification. Getting the first hires is the hardest part.

"There are all kinds of networks that people who really want to diversify their faculty become a part of," one senior faculty member said. "You cannot just send forms to black and women's groups. You need to know these people. These are the kinds of personal contacts that pay off in the future."

VI. The difficulty of getting minorities and women to the three universities, located in southern, conservative college towns, seemed to create an added incentive.

The units worked hard to overcome the barriers. Almost everyone interviewed said their community was a hard sell, but they found ways of making the sell. They focused on housing costs, the education system, and even the religious community as ways to recruit.

"People have more than a university life," one central administrator who collaborated with the journalism dean on recruitment said. The university got the community, particularly the ministers, involved in recruiting to help promote positive characteristics of the community.

VII. In all three universities, considerable emphasis was placed on the need to diversify doctoral programs, since they provide the primary pool for hiring.

Each of the units has a doctoral program, and each felt more needed to be done both locally and nationally to get minorities in particular interested in the doctoral program. As one administrator said, this has to be done very early. Minorities and women need

to be told about academic careers as undergraduates or before if doctoral programs are to become more diverse.

“If we are serious about diversifying faculty, we have got to get more diversity into doctoral programs,” one senior faculty member said. “This starts with our undergraduates. We’ve got to tell them about graduate school.”

VIII. Hiring wasn’t enough; considerable effort had to be placed on retention.

The administrators made it clear they could not rest once they had hired minorities and women. They had to do everything they could to mentor and assist them. But even so, they knew they were going to lose people, so they had to double their efforts to make progress. None of the administrators and few of the faculty interviewed felt they had achieved the level of diversity in the faculty that they wanted. They did not consider their programs to be models or that they had enjoyed enough success.

“The key is mentoring,” one of the central administrators we spoke with said. “When you bring people in who are different from you, it is not as easy to mentor. But the faculty who have been successful have had good mentors.”

IX. Students were used as recruiters.

The old notion that a diverse faculty leads to a diverse student body was turned around at these universities. They used the diversity of the student body as a recruitment tool for faculty. Prospective faculty members were made aware that they would be teaching students like them.

“It made it more appealing to me that minority students were here,” said one minority faculty member. “But it

also is important for minority students to see people of color as authority figures.”

Comments from Faculty

Minority and female faculty could have had different points of view from those of the administrators, who were disproportionately male and infrequently members of minority groups. Interviews with the female and minority faculty members at the three successful institutions were conducted to test this possibility.

The idea that change comes about only when there is a strong commitment to diversification on the part of the unit leader was reinforced in these interviews. A majority of the people interviewed mentioned that the ideas, values and level of commitment to diversity held by the dean were instrumental factors in their recruitment process. The faculty also said that it was important to communicate this commitment “down the chain” and at every level.

“You have to have totally committed leaders,” one faculty member said. “Someone always pushing. We try in our faculty meetings and elsewhere to spend time articulating how important diversity is. Everyone knows that we will be better with people unlike us.”

“You have to have a pro-active effort to create a culture that values diversity in every sense of the word,” another interviewee told us.

Characteristics of the university were taken into consideration by minorities and women when they made their decision about jobs to apply for, places to visit, and offers to accept.

Prospective faculty are interested in how the jobs will affect their

families, in the presence of a diverse community, and in lifestyle in general. The three universities observed did a better job of marketing the structures in place in their communities than did others.

“Environmentally, it is a good place to live,” one faculty member said. “But there isn’t really a black professional community here. Mostly there are blue-collar workers. But it is a safe place.”

Faculty members we spoke to said that involvement with the students was very important to them, and they placed a high value on teaching a diverse group of students. In addition to being a tool for recruitment, diversity of the student body seems likely to be important for retention.

The faculty members also said that it is important to attract minority students into doctoral programs. Some said that the pool is simply too small at the university level and that universities need to make efforts to communicate with high school students about the potential of academic careers.

“Look at whom you have in your graduate programs,” one of those interviewed said. “If it (diversity) is not there, it may not be anywhere else.”

Many of the faculty interviewed suggested journalism and mass communication programs should turn to the professions for faculty, rather than rely on the doctoral program feeder system. In fact, this had been done at the three programs we visited, with varying degrees of success.

“We need to look at how to find people who are established in the industry,” one faculty member said. “We should look for leading journalists, perhaps at mid-career, who

are looking for a change.”

Each of the three programs we visited had used targeted hiring to increase representation of minorities and women on the faculty. The faculty we interviewed said this practice communicated that the administration was willing to go the “extra mile” to bring about change.

“In searching and advertising of jobs, you have to be cognizant of the fact that the departments are usually white and especially white male and they don’t give a very welcoming feeling,” one faculty member said. “This university came and found me. That is a positive step — taking a proactive stance to find diversity.”

The negative side of such a focus on hiring diversity is that some faculty said that they sometimes felt they were hired merely to “fill a slot” to complete accreditation requirements. “I think I was selected to fill a slot for a female,” one faculty member said. Another faculty member said simply, “I did not want to be hired when people had an expectation I would be the diversity element.”

The faculty said curricular diversity was an indicator of the flexible nature of the program and of an interest in topics other than those of concern to white males.

A frequent suggestion was to work with alumni and to involve them in the recruitment process. “Keep the alumni as a functional part of the program,” one faculty member. “Help them stay close to the college and allow them to give back to the college. Professionals can give a lot back.”

The faculty said it is important to focus on retention. Inadequate mentoring was cited as a problem. Some also felt there was an imbalance

in teaching loads. With a few exceptions, the faculty interviewed reported a high level of satisfaction with the job and life outside the work environment.

"I feel very supported by my colleagues and the administration," one faculty member said. "They were accommodating in terms of benefits and salaries and the like. It has been just fabulous."

"This is a great job," another faculty member said. "I'm teaching exactly what I want to teach. The faculty has been great, and the program has a nice reputation."

Institutional Change at the Three Successful Universities

Central administrators at the three successful universities identified the journalism programs there as exemplary in terms of faculty diversification efforts and praised the efforts and dedication of the unit administrators. They also said the units were exceptions on campus, having achieved more success than other programs.

In fact, the College of Communication at the University of Alabama increased the percentage of females on its faculty from 7.1% in 1989 to 30 percent in 1998, or a change of 22.9 percentage points.⁴⁸ For the university overall, the change was from 30.7% to 36.4%, or a change of 5.7 percentage points. The College was behind the overall university figure. In 1989, the Communication College had no minority faculty members, while 12.2% were minority in 1998. At the University of Alabama Tuscaloosa campus overall, the percentage of the faculty that was minority was 7.0 in

1989 and 9.1 in 1998. The College of Communication had a larger amount of change and exceeded the university figure in 1998.

At the University of Florida, the faculty of the College of Journalism and Communications was 22.6% female in 1989, while in 1998 it was 39.3% female. At the University of Florida, the faculty was 23.6% female in 1989 and 27.2% in 1998. The faculty of the College of Journalism and Communications was 9.4% minority in 1989 and 19.6% minority in 1998. The faculty of the University of Florida overall was 8.9% minority in 1989 and 12.9% minority in 1998.

At the University of Missouri, the faculty in the School of Journalism was 20.6% female in 1989 but 40.8% female in 1998. At the University of Missouri Columbia campus, 21.8% of the faculty were female in 1989 and 27.5% were female in 1998. The faculty of the School of Journalism was 2.9% minority in 1989 and 12.2% minority in 1998. For the university, the figures were 10 percent minority in 1989 and 13.8% minority in 1998.

Clearly, the three journalism units led their campuses, not followed them, in terms of the amount of gender and racial/ethnic diversification of their faculties in the study period.

Three Unsuccessful Programs

The three programs selected to serve as a "control" group for the successful programs were similar in key aspects but decidedly different in terms of outcome. Two of the programs had gained two female faculty members, while the other had not increased the number of women on the faculty. Two of the programs had gained one minority faculty member in

the 1989 to 1990 period, while the other had shown no change. The program that had not shown a gain in female faculty also was the one that had not shown a gain in terms of minority faculty.

The programs were comparable to the successful programs in terms of size, accreditation status and general mission. Each was a public institution in a community it dominated, though, in one case, the community was not what one would normally call a "college town." One was in a southern state; the other two were in areas with small minority populations.

The visits underscored the importance of leadership in bringing about diversification. At one of the programs, leadership had changed recently, and, in fact, six women and four minorities had been added to the faculty after 1998. One of those who observed both administrators explained the difference. Both administrators were committed to diversification, the observer said, but the new administrator had the political skill and understanding of university procedures to bring it about. The former administrator did not.

At all three universities, there was stated support for diversification in central administration, with targeted hiring possible. In one case, however, there was confusion on the part of those in central administration interviewed about what actually was possible. The journalism and mass communication administrator did not believe the program actually operated.

Among the three programs, the one that had enjoyed the most success in recent years clearly was the one with the most flexibility in its hiring and diversity in its curriculum. The least

successful program was severely constrained by significant budget difficulties. The other program had the narrowest curriculum of the six institutions studied. It hired for fixed slots, and this seemed to be an obstacle to diversification.

The importance of understanding the network for minority faculty was stressed by a senior faculty member at one of the programs. "Minorities make up a separate labor market," the faculty member said. "It has its own rules and its own incentives. The university doesn't understand that."

Administrators and faculty at all three of these programs said their own community was an obstacle to the hiring of women and minorities. Only at the program that had recently had some success under the new administrator was there a sense that the community could be overcome as an obstacle by careful recruitment.

All three of the units had doctoral programs. The program that had recently enjoyed some success under the new administrator had begun to recruit minorities from outside the state in a very targeted way. The others made no special effort to accomplish this. At the recently successful program, minority students were singled out and used to market the program for outsiders.

Considerable tension was present at one of the visited programs over the issue of expectations of new faculty being considered for promotion and tenure. The tension seemed to color many of the discussions about hiring of minorities and women.

"The standards here for promotion and tenure have been raised," the administrator said. "More of the new hires are women and minorities. This

means that they are being held to a higher standard than those of us who came before, and we're mostly white males."

Conclusions

The journalism and mass communication faculty has changed since 1989. The direction of change is toward diversity, but the amount of change is small. Students today still are different from those who are supposed to be their role models. Students are less likely to be white and more likely to be female than those at the front of the classroom. Those at the front of the classroom who are female and are African American or Hispanic or Native American or Asian American are less likely to be senior faculty than are the white, male professors students encounter.

Something can be done about this. Some journalism and mass communication programs have beaten the norm, that is, added more than a fraction of a woman and a fraction of a minority to their faculties. They have done this because they engaged in strategies that produce results.

Specifically, the administrators of those programs provided strong leadership and unambiguous instructions in hiring. The faculty members accepted the goal of hiring new faculty members who did not look like them. The central university administration provided incentives to make this outcome more likely.

These conclusions are based on the case studies of the six universities, three of which were successful in

diversification and three of which were not. These case studies showed that flexibility in hiring is important, that networking makes a difference, and that negative features of communities can be overcome. They also showed that a diverse student body can be used to recruit a diverse faculty.

Which of the factors or strategies is most important is difficult to say. What does seem to be clear is that strong leadership is essential, and that faculty acceptance of the diversity goal is crucial. Rigidity in hiring also is likely to work against diversity. Advertisements that call for a left-handed copy editor with experience on a newspaper with more than 100,000 circulation located in a specific region of the country are not likely to produce a diverse pool of applicants. Advertisements that recruit talented people with diverse research and teaching experiences are.

Universities in the United States generally have not enjoyed much success in diversifying their faculties. It would be easy for journalism and mass communication educators to use that as an excuse for the limited success of the field. The example of the three successful programs suggests an alternative. The University of Alabama has adopted a phrase, "Beating the Odds," as a motivation tool in its diversification efforts. Journalism and mass communication education nationally would do well to do the same. Mass communication — and mass communication education — is too important an enterprise in society to do otherwise.

Endnotes

- ¹ Carmen L. Manning-Miller and Karen B. Dunlap, "The Move Toward Pluralism in Journalism and Mass Communication Education," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 57(Spring 2002):35-48.
- ² William G. Bowen and Derek Bok, *The Shape of the River: Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).
- ³ Stephen Cole and Elinor Barber, *Increasing Faculty Diversity: The Occupational Choices of High-Achieving Minority Students* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
- ⁴ Marta Tienda, Kevin T. Leicht, Teresa Sullivan, Michael Maltese and Kim Lloyd, *Closing the Gap: Admissions & Enrollments at the Texas Public Flagships Before and After Affirmative Action*. <<http://www.texastop10.princeton.edu>> (24 January 2003).
- ⁵ K. Edward Renner, "Racial Equity and Higher Education," *Academe* 89 (January-February 2003): 38-43.
- ⁶ James E. Blackwell, *Mainstreaming Outsiders* (Bayside, NY: General Hall, Inc., 1981).
- ⁷ Anquantia Kaigler-Love, "Women Mentoring Minority Women in Universities: Retention Strategies for Female Minority Students" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oklahoma, 2001).
- ⁸ Cole and Barber, *Increasing Faculty Diversity*.
- ⁹ Barbara F. Reskin, *The Realities of Affirmative Action in Employment* (Washington, DC: American Sociological Association, 1998).
- ¹⁰ Lawrence A. Miller, "Affirmative Action and Diversity as Public Policy Issues in Higher Education: A Case Study of Affirmative Action and Diversity in Faculty Hiring Practices at Queens College" (Ph.D. diss., The Union Institute, 1998).
- ¹¹ Miller, "Affirmative Action and Diversity," and Reskin, *The Realities of Affirmative Action in Employment*.
- ¹² Douglas M. Hill, "Affirmative Action, Equal Opportunity Employer: Perception and Implementation of the Term by Search Committees at Two Public Universities" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 1987).
- ¹³ Daryl G. Smith, "How to Diversify the Faculty," *Academe* 86 (September-October 2000):48-52.
- ¹⁴ Michael A. Hitt, Barbara W. Keats, and Susan Purdum, "Affirmative Action Effectiveness Criteria in Institutions of Higher Education," *Research in Higher Education* 18 (1983): 391-398.
- ¹⁵ Reskin, *The Realities of Affirmative Action in Employment*.
- ¹⁶ Reskin, *The Realities of Affirmative Action in Employment*.
- ¹⁷ Smith, "How to Diversify the Faculty."
- ¹⁸ Roslyn A. Mickelson and Melvin L. Oliver, "Making the Short List: Black Candidates and the Faculty Recruitment Process," in *The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education*, ed. Philip G. Altbach and Kofi Lomotey (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), 149-166.
- ¹⁹ Marjorie F. Knowles and Bernard W. Harleston, *Achieving Diversity in the Professoriate: Challenges and Opportunities*, A Report for the American Council on Education (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1997).
- ²⁰ Smith, "How to Diversify the Faculty".
- ²¹ Smith, "How to Diversify the Faculty".
- ²² Lisa K. Burroughs, "Female Faculty of the Organizational Culture at a Major Research University" (Ph.D. diss., Texas A&M University, 2000).
- ²³ Caroline S. V. Turner and Samuel L. Myers, Jr. "Faculty Diversity and Affirmative Action," in *Affirmative Action's Testament of Hope*, ed. Mildred Garcia (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), 131-148.
- ²⁴ Nadya Aisenberg and Mona Harrington, *Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).
- ²⁵ Carla M. Iacona, "A Study of Women and Minority Faculty of Educational Administration" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1987).
- ²⁶ Mary A. Mason and Marc Goulden, "Do Babies Matter?: The Effect of Family Formation on the Lifelong Careers of Academic Men and Women," *Academe* 88 (November-December, 2002): 21-8.
- ²⁷ S. Karie Nabinet, "A Comparison of Mobility Patterns of Minority Faculty (Male and Female) and White Female Faculty in Selected State Schools of Higher Education" (Ph.D. diss., Adelphi University, 1985).
- ²⁸ Knowles and Harleston, *Achieving Diversity in the Professoriate*.
- ²⁹ Kul B. Rai and John W. Critzer, *Affirmative Action and the University: Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Higher Education Employment* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000).
- ³⁰ Funding for the *Annual Surveys of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments* in 2000

was provided by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, the Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication, Cox Newspapers Inc., The Freedom Forum (Sustaining Sponsor), Gannett, the Hearst Corporation, Jane Pauley and NBC, the Magazine Association of Georgia, the National Association of Broadcasters, the Newsletter & Electronic Publishers Foundation, the Newspaper Association of America Foundation, the Radio-Television News Directors Association, the Scripps Howard Foundation, and the Henry W. Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Georgia. The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation became a Sustaining Sponsor beginning in 2001.

- ³¹ Among those in the Cox Center providing assistance with data collection for and production of this report were: graduate students George Daniels, Todd Drake, Joelle Prine, Aswin Punathambekar and Kinetra Smith, and undergraduate research clerks Raushanah Boney, Leslie Buschbom, Keerti Hasija, Anna-Elisa Mackowiak and Krystin Patterson.
- ³² Both datasets are available from the IPEDS website at <http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/data.html>.
- ³³ The data were taken manually for each state from the Census Bureau website at <http://www.census.gov/>.
- ³⁴ The successful programs were at the University of Alabama, the University of Florida, and the University of Missouri. The unsuccessful programs, by agreement, cannot be identified. The assistance of the administrators, faculty and staff at all six programs is gratefully acknowledged.
- ³⁵ The number of full-time university faculty members overall increased from 1989 to 1999 by 12.8%. The actual increase was from roughly 524,000 full-time faculty members nationally to 591,000. See U.S. Department of Education. National Center for Education Statistics. *Digest of Educational Statistics, 2001*, Table 228. Washington, D.C. 2002.
- ³⁶ Lee B. Becker, Gerald M. Kosicki, Heather Hammatt, Wilson Lowrey, S.C. Shin and Jeffery M. Wilson, "Enrollment and Degrees Granted Continue 5-year Growth Trend," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 54 (1999): 5-22, 100-110.
- ³⁷ The average change over the last nine years was .755. Using that rate, rather than 2% over three years (.667), produces an estimate of year 2032 for parity. The figure of 2% was used because change was exactly 2% from 1992 to 1995 and 1.8% from 1995 to 1998.

Either 2032 or 2035 is only a gross estimate. In fact, the percentage of women enrolled in journalism and mass communication programs does seem to be growing slight. In the autumn of 2001, women made up an estimated 63.4% of the undergraduates in journalism and mass communication programs, in comparison with the figure of 61.3% in 1998. See Lee B. Becker, Tudor Vlad, Jisu Huh and George L. Daniels, "Annual Enrollment Report: Growth in Number of Students Studying Journalism and Mass Communication Slows," *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* 57 (2002): 184-212.

- ³⁸ The rate of .33 percentage points for the last six years actually produces an estimate of 2034. If growth rate for the whole nine year period is used, parity with the 1998 figure would be reached in 2017. If the growth rate for the last three years is used, parity with the 1998 figures would be reached in 2086!
- ³⁹ U.S. Census Bureau. *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2000 (120th Edition)*, Table No. 16. Washington, D.C. 2000. The projection is an extrapolation of projections for the population of the U.S. for 2030 and 2040, rather than for the population of college students. At present, minorities are under-represented at universities, but that situation could improve by 2035. In the autumn of 2001, an estimated 26.3% of the enrolled undergraduate students in journalism and mass communication programs were racial or ethnic minorities. See Lee B. Becker, Tudor Vlad, Jisu Huh and George L. Daniels, "Annual Enrollment Report: Growth in Number of Students Studying Journalism and Mass Communication Slows."
- ⁴⁰ U.S. Department of Education. National Center for Education Statistics. *Digest of Educational Statistics 1992* (Table 212), *Digest of Educational Statistics 1994* (Table 220), *Digest of Educational Statistics 1996* (Table 221), *Digest of Educational Statistics 1999* (Table 226), *Digest of Educational Statistics 2000* (Table 230) Washington, D.C., 1993, 1995, 1997, 2000, 2001.
- ⁴¹ Accredited programs were much more likely to be represented in this data base than in the overall population of schools. One clear effect of accreditation is the production of and willingness to report statistics monitored in the enrollment survey. Of the 104 accredited programs in 1998, 88 (84.6%) had reported complete data on faculty characteristics for 1989 and 1998. For the remaining 347, only 175 (50.4%) had complete data files.
- ⁴² The data are taken from the National Center for Education Statistics IPEDS data file. The 1993 to 1997 period was the only one available for analysis.

⁴³ The data come from IPEDS and cover the 1990 to 1997 period.

⁴⁴ The period covered, using the IPEDS data file, is 1990 to 1997.

⁴⁵ The data come for the 2000 U.S. Census. Region was divided into nine categories (New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, West North Central, South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, Mountain, Pacific).

⁴⁶ Accreditation is measured as part of the enrollment survey. Accreditation status in 1998 is used in these analyses.

⁴⁷ The authors thank Dr. Lionel C. Barrow, emeritus professor at Howard University, for his comments on an earlier version of this paper suggesting this analysis.

⁴⁸ The Information Sciences Department was added to the College after 1998.