



An Analysis of Academic Hiring Research and Practice and a Lens for the Future: How Labor Justice Can Make a Better Academy

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Contents

Introduction	2
Labor Justice as a Conceptual Lens	4
A Grounding Ethos for Labor Justice: Academics as a Collective of Workers	5
A Radically Inclusive Definition of Academics	7
An Inclusive Recognition and Reward Systems for Academic Work	7
Economic Stability and Security	8
Unfettered Access to Information	9
Physical, Emotional, and Psychological Safety	9
Literature Review Methods	10
Screening Protocol	12
Analytic Approach	12
Limitations	14
Findings	14
Academic Hiring Across Appointment Types	15
Tenure-Track (TTK) Professors	16
Contingent Faculty	23
Postdoctoral Scholars	27
Frame Analysis	29
The Professional Jurisdiction Frame	29
Discussion	50
What We Learned about Hiring Research and Practice	50
Reflecting on Our Frame Findings	52
Conclusion	59
Appendix A: Scopus and Targeted Journal Search Results	59
Appendix B: Notable Discipline-specific Findings	60

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Appendix C: Special Vocabulary (i.e., Jargon) Used in Academic Hiring	63
References	65

Abstract

Colleges and universities are formidable knowledge-producing spaces in society. At the heart of these knowledge producing spaces are academics who carry out teaching, research, and service amid other education activities. Accordingly, academic hiring, which includes hiring into any instructional and/or research position in a college or university, is a significant opportunity to shape the kinds of knowledge(s) that are generated, taught, and shared with society. Hiring-related research has recently boomed, making it an opportune time to assess what has been learned and how it has been learned. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is threefold. First, we review hiring literature published between 2000 and 2023 to describe how academic hiring unfolds across diverse appointment types. Second, we use frame theory to analyze how academic hiring has been conceptualized, studied, and practiced. Third, we introduce a novel conceptual lens, which we describe as labor justice, to illuminate how hiring research and practice might be conducted in ways that remediate historical legacies of exclusion while highlighting how the collective fates and interests of all academic workers, from postdoctoral scholars to tenure-track professors are intertwined. This chapter will be of interest to scholars who study academic hiring, academic labor, labor organizers working within higher education, and academic administrators.

Keywords

Faculty hiring · Academic hiring · Academic labor · Academia · Postdoctoral scholars · Tenure-track faculty · Contingent faculty · Diversity · Faculty evaluation · Frame analysis · Critical frame analysis · Bias · Implicit bias · Prestige bias · Racism in academia · Genderism in academia · Ableism in academia · Labor justice

Introduction

Colleges and universities in the United States are some of the most formidable knowledge-producing spaces in the world.¹ At the heart of these knowledge-producing spaces are academics who carry out the teaching, research, and service missions of colleges and universities.² Accordingly, *academic hiring*,³ which

¹There are many knowledge-producing spaces in society. However, it is also true that colleges and universities, and thus academics, remain key generators and disseminators of knowledge.

²Staff, students, and administrators also contribute to the teaching and learning mission.

³Throughout this chapter, we use the language “academic hiring” or “faculty hiring” as shorthand to refer to an elaborate sequence of events that begins with the writing of a faculty job ad, the recruitment process, interviewing and screening, and the eventual evaluation of faculty job applicants.

includes hiring into any instructional and/or research position in a college or university, is a significant opportunity to shape the kinds of knowledge(s) that are generated, taught, and shared with society.

Although academic hiring has historically been treated as a matter of “professional jurisdiction” (Abbott, 1988, 2005) meaning faculty, particularly tenure-system faculty, controlled most aspects of the process with minimal oversight from others, this dynamic is no longer guaranteed. There are several reasons for the shifting dynamics around academic hiring. For one, policy leaders as well as public and private funders understand academic hiring as a strategic opportunity to create a competitive labor force for the knowledge economy. As such, they are eager to invest in and, when possible, shape academic hiring priorities through partnerships, targeted funding opportunities, and other interventions (Culpepper et al., 2021; Laursen & Austin, 2020). Secondly, diversity advocates, many of whom are minoritized and marginalized students, staff, and/or faculty, have sought to intercede in academic hiring due to the academy’s exclusionary nature (Byrd et al., 2021; Lerma et al., 2020). These advocates assert that the profession has largely failed in its responsibility to build the most diverse and representative academy as possible – that academic hiring practices are compromised by what some call bias and what others name as ableism, racism, genderism, sexism, homophobia, and other isms (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009; Byrd et al., 2021; Harper & Kezar, 2021; Liera, 2023; Perry, 2018). Because strategic efforts and resources to support diversity often stem from high-level administrative offices, some faculty view them skeptically and/or as infringements on their professional autonomy (Breen et al., 2023; Gasman, 2022; Liera & Hernandez, 2021; Tagg, 2012). Thirdly, and perhaps the most obvious sign that faculty’s jurisdiction is waning is that for the past 20 years, as institutions have hired more contingent faculty, most academic hiring has, in fact, *not* been faculty led. Instead, the research shows that contingent faculty hiring is administratively driven and rarely involves the kind of faculty oversight that is characteristic of tenure-track hiring (Gappa et al., 2007; Kezar et al., 2019; Lounder, 2015; Rhoades, 2017).

Because academic hiring has shifted in many ways and for many reasons, research on the topic has increased in recent years, making it an opportune time to assess what researchers have established about academic hiring and how those insights were formed. The purpose of this chapter is threefold. First, we describe academic hiring across diverse academic appointment types. Specifically, we surveyed an array of literature (e.g., practical scholarship, briefs, and empirical studies) to describe how academic hiring is organized within and across tenure-track appointments, contingent appointments, and postdoctoral scholar appointments. This high-level synthesis of hiring processes for tenure-track, contingent, and postdoctoral scholars is a contribution in and of itself. Second, we take our selected body of literature and apply frame theory to analyze how academic hiring has been shaped in practice and conceptualized in studies. Our frame analysis offers a unique contribution, in that we discuss how scholars and practitioners have – often implicitly – framed academic hiring research and practice in ways that lead to certain understandings and teachings about hiring while eschewing others. Third, and lastly, we introduce labor justice, a novel conceptual lens, which we use to illuminate how

hiring research and practice might be conducted in ways that remediate historical legacies of exclusion while highlighting how the interests and fates of all academic workers, from postdoctoral scholars to all types of contingent faculty to tenure-track professors are intertwined. This third purpose is intended to support researchers, practitioners, and anyone involved in leading and shaping the academic workplace, and particularly academic hiring, to be a more inclusive, transparent, and just endeavor. In short, our labor justice analysis offers rich possibilities for research, practice, and policy.

In the next section, we describe labor justice, as our conceptual lens, which we used to interrogate and reimagine academic hiring scholarship and practice. We then outline our methods for gathering and analyzing literature for this chapter. We conclude with findings and a discussion that summarizes our key takeaways and suggestions for reimagining academic hiring practice and research through our labor justice lens.

Labor Justice as a Conceptual Lens⁴

In addition to providing a review and analysis of the last few decades of academic hiring literature, we are interested in imagining what academic hiring research and practice could be. To do so, we introduce our conceptual lens, labor justice. Labor justice represents both an ethos and a set of outcomes (see Fig. 1). Although labor advocates and organizers (including and beyond labor unions) have always had justice as a guiding orientation, it is not a concept frequently used to interrogate the aims and innerworkings of the academic profession. Thus, to begin, we share what we mean by labor justice.

In labor movements, activists are often dually concerned with working conditions and worker recognition (Gonzales et al., 2018; Young, 2004)—with both bread and roses.⁵ Along similar lines, we suggest that labor justice is an ethos (i.e., an orientation to work and to other workers) and a set of outcomes (e.g., economic, mobility, safety). As an ethos, it is unapologetically committed to remediating historical legacies of exclusion related to ableism, genderism, racism, classism, sexism, and heterosexism, among other isms. It is an ethos that understands the interconnected nature of all workers, including academics. We discuss this ethos below, highlighting

⁴We are incredibly thankful for our labor justice thought partners – academics of various appointment types, employed inside and outside academia, who attended a convening organized by first author, Leslie D. Gonzales, and Michigan State colleague, Sanfeng Miao. In our final days of writing this chapter, our writing team joined together with 15 thought partners for a generative dialog concerning labor justice in the academy. We are indebted to the group – they inspired us to complete this work with renewed energy!

⁵Thompson (2019) notes that a Jewish Polish woman by the name of Rose Schneiderman introduced the phrase “bread and roses” in the context of a worker’s strike in New York, U.S.A. in 1911. Later, James Oppenheim is said to have elaborated on the original phrase, saying, “Hearts starve as well as bodies: Give us bread, but give us Roses!”

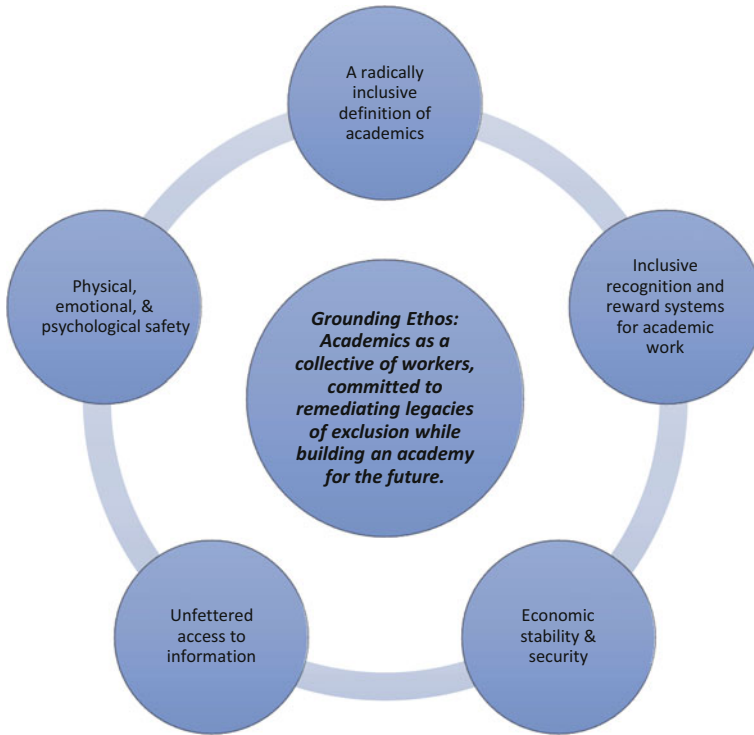


Fig. 1 A labor justice lens, an ethos and a set of practical and material outcomes

how it requires academia to culturally and ideologically shift in many ways. We then articulate five practical implications stemming from our vision of labor justice.

A Grounding Ethos for Labor Justice: Academics as a Collective of Workers

In addition to the fundamental commitment to remediate historical exclusion connected to racism, genderism, ableism, classism, and so on, labor justice is an ethos that asks academics understand themselves as a collective of workers, whose interests and fates are tied together. We acknowledge that positioning academics as workers may be surprising, and even alarming to some, particularly because some tenure-track academics actively refuse this label (Bartram, 2023; Burgis, 2023; Cain, 2020).

While a full discussion of the work force and its constitution is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that the workforce is understood as consisting of different types of labor/laborers. Most people are classified as workers. A smaller portion of the workforce is recognized as professionals. In a capitalist society, both groups of people sell their labor for wages, but they tend to experience work and the workplace in radically different ways. For instance, most people abide by a schedule

they do not set and are accountable to a supervisor(s) for accomplishing tasks and goals they do not get to define. On the other hand, people that are recognized as professionals harness significant (not complete) control over their work activities, schedules, and evaluative processes (see Abbott, 1988). As a class of laborers, professionals often hold evaluative power over one another in the form of collegial review (e.g., making partner at a law firm view; winning fellowships in academia requires peer review).

Historically, academics have been positioned as professionals. In fact, Schuster (2011) noted that academe might be understood as “the most central profession. . .uniquely situated in society as the profession that trains people for all other professions and. . .lines of work requiring certified education” (p. viii). Indeed, based on their extensive training and commitment to train others, academics were entrusted (by society and by colleges and universities) with extensive freedoms and discretion or what Abbott (1988) termed professional jurisdiction. On the other side of this equation were/are academics themselves. Research suggests that faculty, particularly those in tenure-track appointments, have often sought to draw a clear line between themselves and other workers, refusing to understand themselves as workers (Bartram, 2023; Burgis, 2023; Cain, 2020). Said otherwise, faculty have often understood themselves – and strove to distinguish themselves – as individuals with highly technical expertise that uniquely position them to control their workplace while pursuing and refining their expertise (Sun, 2023).

We suggest that when tenure-system faculty refuse to understand themselves as workers, they fail to acknowledge how they and their work are imbued in a capitalistic society and capitalist logics (Davies & Bansel, 2010; Gonzales & Ayers, 2018; Gonzales et al., 2014; Rhoades, 1998; Saunders, 2010; Taylor et al., 2013). What faculty members are paid and how they are promoted or supported are decisions informed by capitalist logics (Gonzales et al., 2014; O’Meara et al., 2017a; Rodgers & Liera, 2023). For example, consider that faculty in the humanities are often paid much less than faculty in business schools or that contingent faculty are often hired and paid less to take on teaching and administrative work that tenure-track faculty cannot (or do not want to) tend to due to research interests and expectations (Kezar et al., 2019). In both cases, these salary differentials reflect the value that capitalist logics ascribe to faculty doing different kinds of work. The capitalist underpinnings of academia are undeniable, and thus, we urge academics to understand themselves as workers – or at least as part of a profession whose status and jurisdiction is vulnerable to capitalism.

Perhaps in seeing themselves as workers, tenure-track faculty will be more able and willing to consider how the condition of their own labor is connected to that of others, such as contingent faculty and postdoctoral scholars, leading to a more collective orientation than what has traditionally animated academia. Indeed, numerous studies have shown that tenure-track colleagues often do not have a clear understanding or appreciation of the nature of contingent faculty work (Bartram, 2023; Kezar, 2013; Spinrad & Relles 2022). Moreover, in the context of evaluation, including evaluation at the point of hiring, scholars are rewarded for solo- or first-authored projects, while collaborative efforts are critiqued or called into question

(Castiello-Gutiérrez & Whatley, 2023; Douglas et al., 2022; Gonzales & Shotton, 2022). An ethos of labor justice, however, foregrounds collectivism (Rhoades, 2014, 2017, 2020) and urges academics, of all appointment types and ranks, to consider how their interests and futures are tied together (Boss, 2023, personal communication). If applied to hiring, this ethos could fundamentally reshape the profession, overall, and academic hiring, more specifically. And inevitably, such an ethos would aim for and generate various practical implications, five of which we outline below.

A Radically Inclusive Definition of Academics

When it comes to research, practice, and policy concerning academics, tenure-track faculty members are commonly treated as the default. Meanwhile, contingent (i.e., non-tenure-track) faculty who constitute the majority of academics are often not treated as full members of the academy (Kezar et al., 2019; Sponsler, 2021). Moreover, although their presence, and thus contributions, to the teaching and research mission of colleges and universities has grown exponentially in recent years, postdoctoral scholars have also not typically been considered in the academic career literature (Cantwell & Taylor, 2015; Culpepper et al., 2021; Rhoades, 2023).

We argue that labor justice in the academy cannot exist without a broader and more realistic assessment of who contributes to the missions of today's colleges and universities, leading us to explicitly name postdoctoral scholars, contingent faculty members of all appointment types, and tenure-track faculty as part of the profession. Any differences in how academic hiring and recruitment processes are conceptualized, staffed, and executed should be in support of the intricacies of new colleagues' appointment types and work expectations—whether new hires will be postdoctoral scholars, contingent faculty, or tenure-track colleagues.

An Inclusive Recognition and Reward Systems for Academic Work

In addition to understanding “who” counts as an academic, labor justice sees the need for a broadened definition of “what” counts as academic labor and more specifically what counts as valuable academic labor. Decades of research shows that teaching and service (Antonio, 2002; Carrigan et al., 2011; Griffin et al., 2011; Hanasono et al., 2019; Jimenez et al., 2019; Joseph & Hirshfield, 2011; Misra et al., 2012; Wood et al., 2015), including mentoring and advising, campus and departmental committee work, community engagement, and other forms of institutional stewardship, all of which are more likely to be a greater share of women's and Faculty of Color work portfolio, are systematically devalued in academic reward systems (Griffin et al., 2013; O'Meara et al., 2017b, 2021). In the context of hiring, academics with such work profiles may be penalized for excelling in these areas (Gonzales et al., 2022; O'Meara et al., 2023), even when position descriptions ask for evidence of high-quality teaching and mentoring.

Critically important, but not often mentioned in discussions concerning broader conceptions of valued academic work, are epistemic matters, which includes how scholars generate, present, and share knowledge (Gonzales et al., 2018, 2022). This is an especially important issue because research shows that minoritized academics, as well as academics whose research is deemed nonconventional (e.g., collaborative, interdisciplinary), are more likely to experience “epistemic exclusion” (Settles et al., 2021, 2022; also see Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Cardozo, 2017; Cech et al., 2021; De la Luz Reyes & Halcon, 1988; Dotson, 2014; Go, 2020; Gonzales, 2013, Gonzales et al., 2018; Harris & Nicolazzo, 2020; Hernandez, 2022), which is the literal exclusion knowledge. It is critical to name epistemic matters in conversations related to the recognition of academic labor because academia’s core mission concerns the production and dissemination of knowledge. As a result, academics advance on the basis of their perceived intellectual potential and contributions.

Altogether, an academic’s success (e.g., being hired, being promoted) is dependent on being recognized as a scholar who offers legitimate and valuable contributions. In a hiring scenario guided by labor justice and mindful of the need to broaden views of valuable academic labor, search committees would ask themselves: How can we help ourselves and others to understand the value of this candidate’s research contributions? How can we restructure rubrics and reward systems to recognize candidates who bring superior teaching, mentoring, and administrative expertise?

Economic Stability and Security

Very much tied to a more inclusive conception of what constitutes valuable academic work is an academic’s right to economic stability and security. Hiring represents a potentially powerful opportunity to create more equitable and stable economic outcomes among academics. Because market and cross-institutional dynamics play a role in the economic outcomes of all faculty, we suggest a focus on intra-institutional opportunities, as salary and other economic benefits can vary substantially even within institution (O’Meara & Stromquist, 2015). Consider, for example, that within the same institution, contingent faculty can make between 40% and 70% less than their tenure-system colleagues, even when they hold commensurate degrees and experience (see Kezar et al., 2019). Additionally, emergent research indicates that salaries for postdoc scholars range from about \$23,000 to \$100,000 (Woolston, 2019) with a gender gap in favor of men, sometimes within the same institution. Moreover, and relatedly, Klainot-Hess (2023) reported that contingent faculty are not as likely to experience pay increases commensurate with experience or performance.

To advance economic stability and security for all academic workers not only requires a broader conception of valuable academic work but a willingness to compensate faculty according to a “labor-based conception of quality education” (Rhoades, 2020, p. 328). This means that hiring committees, chairs, and deans ask “what basic working conditions [e.g., salary, benefits, professional development resources] are commensurate and key to [this colleague’s ability to provide] quality education” (see Rhoades, 2020, pp. 329–331). Such a perspective challenges market

and managerial conceptions of labor because rather than maximize efficiencies, a labor justice ethos centers workers' needs relative to the workload they have been assigned.

Unfettered Access to Information

Like other educational spaces and processes, a hidden curriculum implicitly organizes academia and academic hiring. Faculty search and hiring committees often operate according to conventions that they experienced or witnessed in prior searches (including their own), meaning they recycle practices and processes that deserve to be demystified but that may also need to be updated or discarded. Until a few years ago, it was common for search committees to invite interested job applicants to have exploratory conversations in hotel rooms during academic conferences, despite the obvious safety risks.

Moreover, search candidates often report that committees are slow to share updates about the search process or status (Chappell, 2021). Additionally, candidates rarely know what resources are negotiable at the time an offer is extended, meaning new hires must rely on peers and mentors, which can be problematic if the candidate has a limited social network (see Zhou, 2019) or if that network has limited knowledge about varying institutional contexts.

When one is applying for work as a contingent faculty member, research suggests that lack of information extends even further (Kezar et al., 2019). Specifically, contingent faculty are often hired into positions that lack a clear ladder of advancement (Hamid & Schisgall, 2023). Meanwhile, postdoctoral scholars frequently lack information about the scope of their work, the benefits to which they may have access, and how to obtain supports ranging from professional development to more complex matters like visa sponsorships (Castiello-Gutierrez, 2023, personal communication).

An academy, and hiring processes, guided by labor justice requires that all academics have access to clear and reliable information relevant to their careers and their advancement.⁶ Such information sharing can and should begin with the recruitment and hiring process. It requires that search committee members, department chairs, deans, or perhaps designated advocates share information about what is negotiable (and what is not), clarify work expectations, align work expectations with rewards, as well as provide clear information about opportunities for support and advancement.

Physical, Emotional, and Psychological Safety

Finally, any vision of labor justice must include considerations of safety. Typically, workplace safety is concerned with the physical and environmental conditions

⁶Some scholars refer to this as “organizational justice,” particularly procedural and informational justice (Colquitt et al., 2005).

within which work occurs and the extent to which workplace injuries and work-related illnesses can be prevented and/or mitigated. These types of safety are critical for academics and were particularly relevant in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, wherein some academics were forced to return to in-person instruction despite underlying health conditions or more general health concerns (Melnik et al., 2021).

However, our view of labor justice expands safety considerations to ensure that academics are (a) free from identity-based harassment and violence and academic bullying and (b) granted psychological safety, or the ability to “voice ideas, willingly seek feedback, provide honest feedback, collaborate, take risks and experiment” (Newman et al., 2017, p. 521). While these forms of safety may seem obvious, empirical literature shows that harassment and bullying are not only rampant in the academy but that they go largely unchecked by administrative processes, including during recruitment and hiring (Moss & Mahmoudi, 2021; National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine, 2018; Rivera, 2017). As is often the case with harmful social phenomena, minoritized and marginalized academics are more likely to report compromised safety. And recent research has documented the sense of precarity and bullying experienced by postdoctoral scholars, particularly international postdocs (Dorenkamp & Weiß, 2018). When hiring is executed with safety in mind, researchers and search committees pause to reassess taken-for-granted aspects of search processes that present potential risk, such as mandatory shared meals, 1:1 interviews, or even the rules of engagement related to job talks (Blair-Joy et al., 2017; Dupas et al., 2021). Moreover, formal policies and processes would provide guidance on such matters as well, acknowledging, for example, that candidate access and safety is the most important priority.

All in all, labor justice is an ethos and as a set of outcomes. It surfaces specific questions and concerns (see Fig. 2) that can remediate historical exclusion while also creating a more inclusive and transparent academic workplace for the future. It can help academics learn more about their colleagues’ working conditions and recognize how they are connected to others. We used this lens to guide our reflections on and analysis of two decades of hiring-related literature. Next, we describe our research methods and analytic process.

Literature Review Methods

We conducted what might be considered a basic (as opposed to a systematic) literature review (Hart, 2018). We followed a simple protocol for searching for and screening out literature, but were not completely bound to this protocol, as we would have been in a systematic literature review. For instance, in addition to our structured literature searches, we included scholarship from our personal libraries or articles that surfaced on Listservs or via social media. As a result, our review includes a diverse array of scholarship, including peer-reviewed scholarship, book chapters and books, and gray papers and briefs. Relatedly, because hiring is an activity of great practical interest across US higher education, much of the literature we reviewed included reflections, practical briefs, and action research studies focused on “hiring

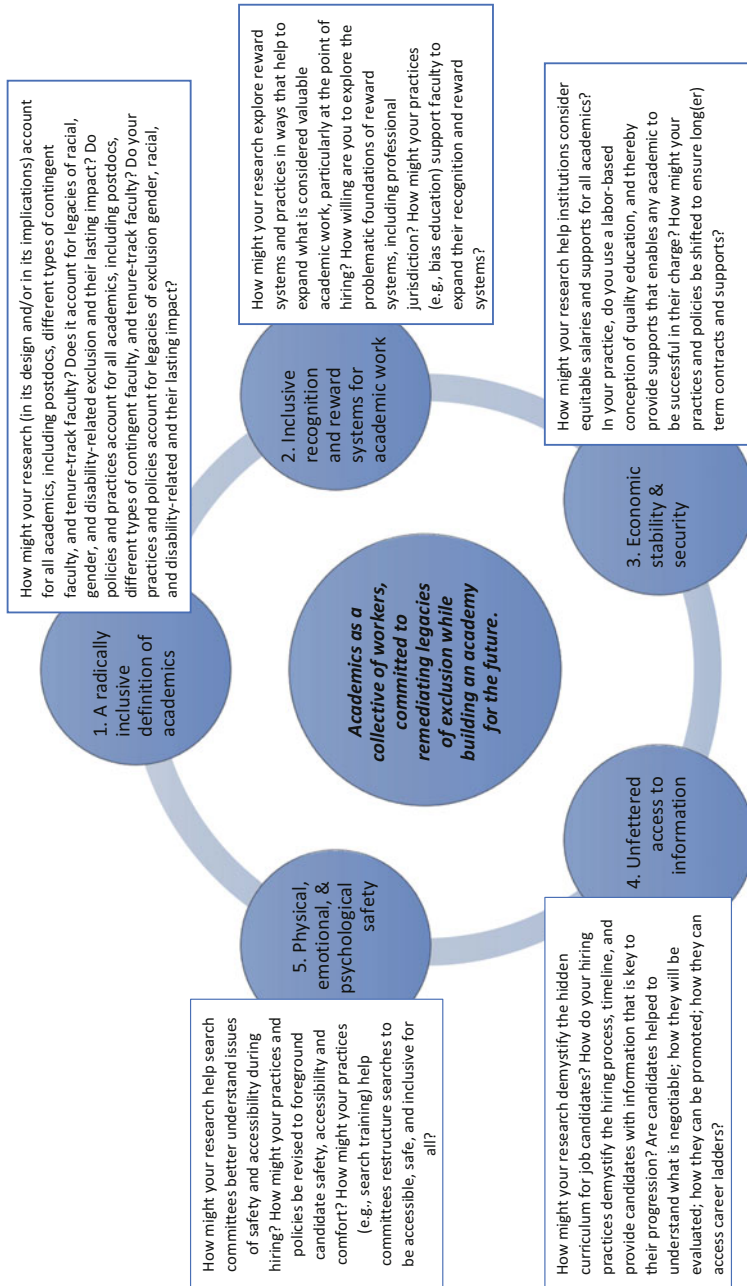


Fig. 2 Questions for practitioners, as illuminated by our Labor Justice Lens

Table 1 Search words

Academic hiring • adjunct hiring • adjunct faculty hiring • contingent hiring • contingent faculty hiring • faculty hiring • faculty recruitment • faculty selection • non-tenure-track hiring • postdoctoral fellow hiring • postdoctoral scholar hiring • postdoc recruitment • postdoc selection • tenure-track faculty hiring

interventions” or “experiments.” Subsequently, as we alluded to earlier, we not only discuss how scholars have studied hiring but also how people have sought to improve hiring processes and protocols on their campuses. For this reason, we often refer to and discuss both hiring research and hiring practice.

To identify literature, we relied on *Scopus*, a frequently updated academic research search engine that houses research from all academic disciplines and fields. Although *Scopus* indexes a variety of scholarly publications, we also conducted searches in relevant journals not indexed in *Scopus* and used resources from our personal libraries. We limited our searches to the years 2000–2023 because academic hiring research only emerged in the last few decades. Griffin’s (2020) and O’Meara et al.’s (2020a) recent reviews concerning diversity and bias, respectively, in the academic profession affirmed our choice of time frame, as most hiring-related citations appearing in those reviews occurred after the year 2000. For good measure, we ran “test searches” in two leading higher education academic journals (*The Review of Higher Education* and *The Journal of Higher Education*) and found only a handful of papers focused on academic hiring published prior to 2000. For those interested in numerical search results, see [Appendix A](#). Table 1 displays search words.

Screening Protocol

To be included in the review, a piece of scholarship had to focus on *at least one phase* of academic hiring (e.g., creation of the job ad, recruitment, interviewing, campus visit, selection). Additionally, because we are native English speakers and have limited proficiency in other languages, we only retained English language publications. Because the three of us have minimal experience studying and/or working in non-US contexts and because this chapter will appear in a handbook focused largely on US higher education, we opted to focus on academic hiring within the United States. However, it is critical to acknowledge the transnational and international nature of the academic labor market (Cantwell & Taylor, 2015; Kim, 2016; Kim et al., 2022). After applying the screening protocol and accounting for duplicates, we retained 182 unique studies from our targeted *Scopus* and journal searches. After adding literature from our personal libraries, we reviewed more than 200 pieces of scholarship.

Analytic Approach

Our analytic process was iterative and consisted of a few phases. In phase I, we read the literature to better understand how academic hiring unfolds across different

appointment types. We report these appointment type-related findings in our first finding section, starting on page 20.

In phase II, we used frame theory (Carragee & Roefs 2004; Goffman, 1974; Santos & Horta, 2018)⁷ to assess how researchers have conceptualized and/or theorized faculty hiring. Frame theory suggests that every communication (e.g., a news story, a research study) is bound by a particular frame and that frames matter because they help people “locate, perceive, identify, and label” an issue (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). In other words, a frame focuses the consumer’s attention and enables certain understandings while obscuring or eschewing other (Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Santos & Horta, 2018)⁸. Framing does not simply happen; it involves communicators (i.e., researchers in our case) drawing on certain assumptions, values, and evidence for explaining an issue (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014; Entman, 1993). However, and importantly, communicators may not always acknowledge their framing, making the implicit presence and function of frames all the more powerful.

Using these basic ideas from frame theory, we developed two questions to guide our analytic reading of the literature: How is academic hiring *conceptualized* (or *problematized*) in this study? And what assumptions, values, and theories undergird the study? These questions helped us identify common ways that researchers approached the study of academic hiring. After several rounds of reading and discussing our observations, we agreed that we had surfaced seven broad, overlapping clusters of studies that framed hiring in similar ways.

In phase III, we carefully read each of our emergent clusters to determine how best to name it. After extensive rereading and discussion, we ascribed names to seven clusters, each of which represents a general (i.e., high-level) but distinct frame. We used well-established concepts in the higher education and broader social science literature to develop names for each frame. For reader’s convenience, we provide instructional tables throughout our finding section. These instructional tables include a summary of each frame (e.g., core assumptions, values, and key words).

In our final analytic phase, we considered how our labor justice lens aligns with, challenges, and/or complicates the frames we surfaced. Throughout our frame findings, we allude to how labor justice might reshape each, but the bulk of our labor justice analysis comes in the closing section as we sketch out possibilities for research and practice.

⁷Frame theory and framing theory constitute two distinct but related concepts within a common theoretical tradition. Frames and frame theory typically refer to frames as specific objects (e.g., *the family frame, the relational frame*), whereas framing and framing theory refer to the process of constructing a frame. Our concern lies with both “frames” and “framing”; thus, we reference both in our writing.

⁸Santos and Horta (2018) situate their work as “research agenda setting” rather than frame theory or frame analyses. However, the broader literature on frame theory and frame analyses often connects frames and framing to agenda setting.

Limitations

Our work has limitations. Specifically, our choice of key words and search engines impose limitations on the data set. Opting to use *Scopus*, an academic research search engine, means that we may have missed several valuable and high-quality pieces. As scholars who are familiar with the faculty career and faculty evaluation literature, we attempted to counter this limitation by adding scholarship from our personal libraries. Additionally, some researchers argue that frame analysis is overly concerned with interpretation and that it can take language outside of its temporal, institutional, and overall contextual placement (Palmer & Dunford, 1996).

Findings

To set up our findings, we describe some general features of the literature we reviewed. First, the bulk of scholarship focused on tenure-track or tenure-eligible positions. Merely eight papers from our Scopus results focused exclusively on non-tenure-system hiring (e.g., Sponsler, 2021), and fewer focused on postdoctoral scholars (e.g., Culpepper et al., 2021). A handful of manuscripts examined hiring at a more general level and included information for tenure-track and non-tenure-track hires. Several studies did not explicitly describe the kind of academic hiring with which they were concerned, but based on our analysis, we inferred they were referring to tenure-track (TTK, hereafter) hiring. The disproportionate focus on tenure-track faculty represents an area ripe for future research because most new faculty hires (one out of three) are for contingent positions (Kezar et al., 2019).

Second, most studies took place in research university settings. Relatively few studies looked at hiring in liberal arts colleges or comprehensive universities, and only ten studies from our Scopus searches focused on the community college setting (e.g., Flanigan et al., 2004; Jeffcoat & Piland, 2012; Lara, 2019; Parker & Richards, 2020). Many studies did not explicitly note institutional type. Given that institutional types deeply shape faculty career experiences (e.g., faculty governance, faculty work expectations, and evaluations), this is a critical gap in the literature. Without a literature that systematically explores hiring across different types of institutions, we are missing crucial insights. For instance, Villarreal (2022) examined faculty hiring within a “veteran Hispanic serving institution” located on the Mexico-US border. Within this veteran HSI, search chairs nudged their committees to center the HSI’s mission. Resultantly, the committees elevated what would be considered unique, place-based criteria, such as a faculty candidate’s ability to provide culturally relevant mentoring to Latinx students. If hiring research fails to attend to institutional diversity, researchers and practitioners do not benefit from such powerful insights and practices.

Third, in terms of disciplinary coverage, a wide array of academic fields and disciplines were covered in the scholarship we reviewed. We noted that hiring research within the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields outpaced other disciplinary coverage, especially in recent years. We attribute

this growth to the fact that STEM fields have long been of interest to policymakers, funders, and higher education leaders because of their resource-generating potential and their connection to federal defense and science priorities (Levine, 2021; Slaughter & Leslie, 1996; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). In recent years, these fields have benefitted from targeted investments, including resources for hiring (Barringer & Slaughter, 2016; Mathies & Slaughter, 2013; Leahey et al., 2019) and especially for diversifying (Breen et al., 2023; Laursen & Austin, 2020). Readers are invited to review [Appendix B](#) for discipline-specific citations and descriptive findings. Most papers organized studies under umbrellas, like humanities, social sciences, or science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM, hereafter), meaning scholars group together faculty from similar (not the same) disciplines (e.g., the social sciences) and have not looked at hiring in discipline-specific ways (e.g., Gonzales et al., 2022). The lack of discipline-specific analyses limits our understanding of how hiring works in specific disciplines.

Still, it is worth noting that we found more similarities than differences across disciplines/fields. For example, researchers across a diverse array of disciplines/fields are interested in the presence of bias and how social and professional networks undermine diversification efforts. Such studies (e.g., bias, social network) were popular across nearly all major fields (e.g., sciences, social sciences, humanities) with most studies revealing the presence of bias and the power of networks. However, we encourage future research to take a deeper look into specific disciplines to expose intra-field distinctions that likely exist under the surface and to further articulate cross-field similarities.

Having described some general features of the literature we reviewed, we now share our first set of findings. In line with our labor justice lens, we address hiring for a diverse array of position types, including (1) tenure-track faculty, including conventional and targeted or special opportunity hiring for tenure-track professors; (2) contingent faculty, including hiring for full-time and part-time faculty; and (3) postdoctoral scholars. Throughout this section, our goal is to share patterns about hiring in the academy, generally, and hiring patterns distinct to certain appointment types. Our analysis revealed that labor injustices emerge at the very point of hiring, indeed as soon as a new search is launched. As supplemental information, we offer a glossary of common, but not necessarily intuitive, vocabulary used in the context of academic searches (see [Appendix C](#)).

Academic Hiring Across Appointment Types

According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES, 2022), in 2020, the academic workforce was constituted by approximately 1.5 million faculty employed across 3567 degree-granting postsecondary institutions. Among the 1.5 million professors, about 56% were appointed to full-time posts, while the remaining 44% held part-time positions. While these data are helpful, the reality is that academia is constituted by a far more complex array of appointment types. Among full-time instructors, there are two distinct groups: full-time contingent and full-time

tenure-track faculty. In this first section, we describe hiring within and among the tenure-track, beginning with an overarching discussion of its demographic composition.

Tenure-Track (TTK) Professors

Tenure-track faculty hold what may be considered idealized academic appointment types (Bieber & Worley, 2006; Terosky & Gonzales, 2016), in that they are typically better paid; have access to healthcare, retirement, and other benefits; and have the promise of secure long-term employment (i.e., tenure). However, TTK constitute only 30% of the academic workforce,⁹ and data show that the number of TTK professors is shrinking relative to the growth of the academic workforce (Finkelstein et al., 2016). The presence of TTK academics varies across institutional type. Tenure-system faculty make up closer to 50% of faculty at research institutions and closer to 40% for master's and baccalaureate institutions, whereas only about 22% of community college faculty are in a tenure system (American Association of University Professors, 2022).

As of 2020, NCES reported that 70% of tenure-system faculty were White (39% White men, 31% white women). In line with long-running patterns, Asian/Pacific Islanders were the second largest group at 12% (7% Asian/Pacific Islander men, 5% Asian/Pacific Islander women) followed by 5% of tenure-system faculty who identify as Black (2% Black men, 3% Black women) and just under 5% identified as Hispanic/Latinx (2.5% men, 2% women). Finally, Native American and multiracial faculty made up less than 1%, respectively. As graduate programs have become more diverse, so too has the faculty, but given their recent entry to the professoriate and the systemic marginalization they often face in the tenure and promotion process, Faculty of Color are disproportionately represented among assistant professors. Conversely, White faculty constitute the majority of full professors (e.g., the highest and most prestigious rank of professors).

In terms of gender,¹⁰ women comprise 45% of all tenure-system faculty (including assistant professor, associate professor, and full professor ranks) compared to 55% who identify as men (National Center for Education Statistics, 2022). At face value, the gender gap among tenure-system faculty appears to be closing, but disparities across rank, institution type, and race complicate these statistics. For example, although women make up nearly half of all tenure-system faculty, they still

⁹We assume here that most tenure-eligible faculty are employed on a full-time basis, though we recognize this may not always be the case.

¹⁰We recognize the limitations associated with typical data collection practices, especially governmental led data collection, that reinforce gender (and sex) binaries and the subsequent erasure of trans and nonbinary people in the academy. We use the terms woman/women and man/men when referring to data about gender in the academy which includes trans and cis people within both of those categories. When we have information concerning trans* or nonbinary faculty, we make special effort to highlight it.

only make up 35% of full professors (National Center for Education Statistics, 2022). Moreover, institutions that have experienced the greatest growth in women faculty are baccalaureate and 2-year institutions (Finkelstein et al., 2016). Thus, research suggests that women are less likely to be hired at doctoral and research institutions than men.

Accounting for both gender and race, data shows that efforts to increase gender parity in tenure-system positions have primarily benefitted white women (Gasman, 2022). Out of all tenure-system faculty that identify as women, nearly 70% of them are white compared to 24% who are US born Women of Color (7% Black, 5% Latinx, 11% Asian, 1.8% Pacific Islander/Native American, and 1.2% two or more Races) (NCES, 2022). Taken together, the NCES data demonstrates that Women and People of Color, and especially Women of Color, are not only underrepresented among tenure-system faculty but that their locus of representation is stratified both by appointment and institution type. Unfortunately, there is limited information when it comes to other important identities, like disability, sexuality, and socioeconomic background of professors (Crew, 2020; Nadal, 2019; Weiss, 2016), although 1 unique study based on a sample of 7200+ US tenure-system faculty found that they were up to 25% more likely to have a parent with a Ph.D. (Morgan et al., 2022a). The rate nearly doubled to 50% for professors appointed at prestigious doctoral-granting institutions (Morgan et al., 2022a). If parental and/or caretaker education levels are accepted as proxies for one's socioeconomic background, this research suggests that tenure-system professors are more likely to come from relatively stable middle or upper-middle class family backgrounds.

The Hiring Process for Tenure-System Professors

Besides some nuanced institutional and disciplinary practices, there is a common arc in tenure-system faculty hiring. This arc involves (1) framing a position description, (2) forming a search committee, (3) recruitment and advertisement, (4) screening and interviewing, (5) evaluating the candidates, (6) drafting final recommendation report (s) and (7) extending an offer (see O'Meara et al., 2020a). These phases are not necessarily successive; some unfold concurrently with others (Van der Vorm, 2001). Usually, after a department earns approval to search for and hire a new colleague, a search committee consisting of primarily faculty members is formed or appointed. One member of the committee is then appointed or selected as the chair, meaning they lead and organize the search committee's work. It is increasingly common in research universities for a search committee to be staffed with an equity or diversity officer, whose charge is to help steer an inclusive and equitable search process (Liera, 2020a; Liera & Ching, 2019). And although there is not extensive research on the matter, it is not uncommon for a few students and/or staff members to sit on search committees.

Soon after the committee is formed, they are expected to draft a position description, which is circulated via websites, list serves, and personal networks (Gasman et al., 2011). Notably, White-Lewis (2021) and Gasman (2022) found that search committees allocate little time to position descriptions and admit to simply recycling or minimally updating old descriptions. Although research on position descriptions

is rather limited, advertisements are intended to advise prospective candidates of required application materials. In a research university setting, these materials are likely to include a (1) cover letter to articulate their interest, subject matter expertise, and alignment with the position, (2) a curriculum vita, (3) a writing sample, (4) some evidence of teaching experience or a teaching statement, and increasingly (5) a statement that denotes how they have or will advance diversity and inclusion through their work (Carroll et al., 2022; Paul & Maranto, 2022; Sylvester et al., 2019). In non-research universities, and especially at community colleges, candidates will often be asked to emphasize or supply documents that attest to their teaching qualifications (Parker & Richards, 2020; Reed, 2016; Twombly, 2005), for instance, teaching evaluations or teaching portfolios (Parker & Richards, 2020). In general, position descriptions do not specify details about required materials, revealing an area of future research that could be especially helpful to prospective candidates. For example, it is not clear how long one's cover letter should be or what constitutes a writing sample or evidence of teaching quality. Without mentors or access to reliable resources, an inexperienced, prospective job applicant might struggle to complete an application at all.

Following a period of advertisement and recruitment, the search committee screens the pool of applicants and forms a *long-short list* or a list of *first-round interviews*. Although understudied, the first screening process is crucial because it is the committee's first evaluative act and because the long-short list is essentially the pool from which a colleague will eventually be selected (Bilimoria & Buch, 2010; White-Lewis, 2020). Applicants placed on the long-short list are invited for first-round interviews, which often occur via phone or virtually. Generally, research suggests that first-round interviews are intended as opportunities for the search committee to further evaluate the degree to which applicants hold the subject matter expertise, experiences, and skills asked for in the posting. In research university settings, search committees may look for highly specific disciplinary knowledge (Gonzales et al., 2022), but in community college settings, search committee members tend to look for candidates who have more generalist knowledge of fields/disciplines (Parker & Richards, 2020; Reed, 2016).

Based on the first-round interviews, the search committee determines what is called a *short list* or a *finalist list*. In most cases, the committee is expected to collectively author a memo, addressed to the department chair, college dean, and depending on institutional and state context, a diversity officer/office of diversity and sometimes all three. This memo typically details the search committee's assessment process and requests permission to invite finalists for a campus visit. In some institutions, the department chair, the college dean, or even an office of diversity may request additional information about the search committee's recommendations (Liera & Hernandez, 2021; O'Meara, 2021), especially if the list of finalists does not reflect the available racial and gender diversity in the applicant pool. Although such exchanges are highly important and potentially powerful levers for enhancing diversity, there is relatively limited scholarship concerning such interactions (Liera, 2020a, 2023; Liera & Hernandez, 2021 for notable exceptions).

Following approval of the finalist list, the search committee invites finalists for *on-campus interviews*, sometimes called *campus visits*. In most 4-year universities, an on-campus interview typically includes a 1- or 2-day visit to the respective campus. While visiting, finalist candidates interact with several constituencies in one-on-one, small group, or large group settings. These interactions are a mix of highly formal, structured conversations and seemingly casual, informal conversations conducted in a variety of settings (e.g., panel interviews, breakfast with the department chair, lunch with students, meetings with potential collaborators or groups of interest). Most campus visits also require interviewees to provide a *research talk* (and/or a *chalk talk*, as they are called in some science fields; Stivison, 2020) in which they detail their current and future research agenda (Boysen et al., 2018).

The precise expectations of these research talks vary by discipline and institutional culture. Some disciplines and departments, for example, may expect a candidate to detail a specific project, while other disciplines and departments may prefer a broader talk about one's agenda and future research directions. Some search committees also require a teaching talk or demonstration in which a candidate shows how they would give a lesson on a predetermined issue. This is yet another area that is ripe for future research, as we found few studies focused exclusively on this high-value search activity (Blair-Joy et al., 2017; Dupas et al., 2021; Stivison, 2020 as notable exceptions). However, a study of job talks in engineering (Blair-Joy et al., 2017) and one in economics (Dupas et al., 2021) demonstrated that women experience more interruptions in both fields.

In community colleges, on-campus interviews are often less elaborate and time-intensive. For instance, candidates for long-term (e.g., tenure-eligible or multiyear contract positions) meet with the search committee and upper-level administrators and are asked to demonstrate a teaching lesson for these peers (Parker & Richards, 2020; Reed, 2016). However, because community colleges are more likely to recruit regionally (Twombly, 2005), candidates might only be required to be on-campus for a few hours, and search committees may "stack" in-person interviews back-to-back to make the interview process more efficient for committee members (Parker & Richards, 2020).

As campus visits conclude, search committees typically gather feedback about candidate fit and performance from the multiple involved stakeholders. Members of the search committee then make sense of their own assessments and the feedback they collect from others to draft a report. The committee's report is typically shared with the department chair and/or dean, and local policy and procedures inform the kinds of information included in the report. Frequently, the committee is asked not to rank candidates but instead to use the position description to describe strengths and weaknesses of all candidates. A department chair may also provide a separate report or memo for the dean's consideration.

Although faculty members control nearly every other aspect of the recruitment and search process, they do not typically have the authority to make a final decision or extend an offer to a candidate. And yet, because search committees and department faculty members likely hold expertise closest to that of the candidates, chairs and deans tend to defer to their guidance. *Still*, it is important that candidates realize they will likely –

though not always – engage with department chairs and/or deans at the job offer stage. This means that candidates should expect to negotiate the conditions of an offer (e.g., salary, resources, and supports) with chairs and/or deans, rather than search committee chair(s) or member(s). If a candidate declines an offer, a chair or dean can return to the search committee’s memo, ask the search committee (or department) for further advice, and/or extend an offer without seeking further faculty counsel. More empirical research into the roles of chairs and deans, especially concerning the job offer and negotiation process, is sorely needed.

In sum, while there are some small variations across disciplines and institutional types, the hiring process for tenure-system faculty members represents a time- and labor-intensive investment of resources. A great deal of freedom and trust is assigned to search committee members who design and execute nearly the entire hiring process (e.g., craft position descriptions, interview protocols, and campus itineraries). While human resource offices are involved and often provide compliance guidance, the research paints tenure-track academic hiring as a faculty-led, time-intensive approach that suggests that tenure-system hires are highly important employees. The esteem assigned to tenure-system faculty is perhaps no clearer than when one compares the hiring process used for most contingent faculty colleagues, which we discuss later in this section. Before doing so, we briefly describe unique hiring processes (e.g., non-search or targeted) reserved for TTK faculty.

Non-search Hiring Procedures

Some portion, although it is not clear how much, of tenure-system hiring occurs outside of the process described above. In these non-open search processes, an academic unit foregoes an open search to strategically recruit a candidate. Usually, one of four rationales motivates such hires: (1) interest in recruiting an established scholar who would bring eminence to a department (i.e., a target-of-opportunity hire), (2) interest in diversifying a department, (3) interest in recruiting multiple candidates at the same time (i.e., cluster hiring), or (4) interest in hiring a candidate whose spouse or partner also needs a faculty appointment (i.e., dual-career hiring). Non-search hiring is a common practice, but there is relatively little research on how these processes typically unfold. To the best of our ability, we discuss each scenario below.

Target Opportunities for Advanced Scholars

Occasionally, a department is interested in recruiting an established scholar (typically a full or advanced associate professor) who is not actively searching for a position (i.e., not pursuing new opportunities) but who may be interested in moving institutions. The reasons for target-of-opportunity hires vary but typically include (1) interest in recruiting new or missing expertise to the department and/or (2) interest in building a contingency of senior or advanced career scholars, who can assume greater leadership responsibilities within the program or department. In both cases, departments typically identify someone who may be considered a respected and established scholar within the discipline and gauge their interest in joining the department. Once such a faculty member is identified, institutions allow departments

to forego the formal search process, often by submitting a request for a search waiver (Smith et al., 2004), wherein the department “makes a case” as to how this candidate would contribute to departmental needs and/or institutional goals. At this point in time, there is little scholarship on target-of-opportunity hiring processes. Future research may explore the demographics of targeted searches, the institutional lineage of target hires, and the short- and long-term impact of such undertakings.

Diversification Efforts

Given the teaching and learning benefits related to a more diverse professoriate, some target-of-opportunity hiring programs focus on increasing faculty diversity. In this scenario, an institution may create special subsidies or processes to incentivize departments to recruit women, racially minoritized scholars, or scholars whose research focuses on equity, diversity, and inclusion. Such hiring programs have existed for several years (Hughes et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2004), but many institutions recently recommitted funds considering ongoing racial justice advocacy, particularly the racial reckoning related to the summer of 2020 (Byrd et al., 2021; Harper & Kezar, 2021).

Generally, the hiring process in these programs is as follows. The President, Provost, or Chief Diversity Officer allocates funding to support a certain number of new faculty positions over a defined period (e.g., 10 years).¹¹ Departments then identify and recruit candidates who would be interested in joining the university. Once a candidate is identified, departments submit an application to the President’s or Provost’s Office that specifies how and why the candidate would contribute to diversity in the department. The administration (e.g., the provost or a committee) then selects departments to be awarded funding. Again, although such initiatives have become quite common, there is relatively little research on how potential candidates are identified, how applications are reviewed, and other aspects of the underlying evaluative process. We attribute this gap in research to two issues. First, “target-of-opportunity” hiring has often happened under the backlashes toward diversification (Poon et al., 2019). Second, candidates who are hired through such diversity-related programs may worry that they will be perceived as the “diversity hire” (Allen et al., 2019; Hughes et al., 2012) and downplay their affiliation with any diversity-related hiring initiative. Finally, and perhaps more cynically, institutions may also wish to divert researchers from examining these processes, particularly if initiatives have failed, been implemented poorly, and/or not led to meaningfully increases in the recruitment of minoritized scholars.

Cluster Hiring

Cluster hiring, the practice wherein faculty members are hired in groups, is another way that typical search processes are modified. In this type of hiring, faculty members are recruited as clusters or groups of people who share common research

¹¹ <https://inclusion.msu.edu/hiring/index.html>
<https://faculty.umd.edu/famile-initiative>
https://oaa.osu.edu/sites/default/files/links_files/SpecialOpportunityHire.pdf

interests (McMurtrie, 2016; Sá, 2008; Urban Universities for Health, 2015). Similar to diversity hiring programs, cluster hiring initiatives are typically funded by central administration, and there is a competitive process by which departments submit applications for funds to subsidize the faculty position (Bloom et al., 2020; Urban Universities for Health, 2015). The level of subsidy varies (Urban Universities for Health, 2015), with some institutions covering the full cost of hiring faculty into clusters and others distributing the cost of the position among central administration and the hiring department(s). Because many cluster hires are intended to facilitate interdisciplinary initiatives, faculty members may have joint appointments across one or more departments and/or research centers (Sá, 2008; Urban Universities for Health, 2015). In addition to spurring interdisciplinary work, cluster hiring initiatives are considered a mechanism for retaining faculty. It is assumed that by hiring a large group of professors with similar interests, the usual isolation caused by silos will be decreased (Laursen & Austin, 2020). However, there is a lack of research to support, or refute, this assumption (Muñoz et al., 2017 is a notable exception).

Dual-Career Hiring

A final example of tenure-system searches that occur outside the typical process is dual-career hiring. With dual-career hiring, departments seek a search waiver to create an academic position for a member of a dual-career academic couple: faculty members who are partnered with other faculty members (Blake, 2020; Culpepper, 2021; Schiebinger et al., 2008; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2004). Such policies are thought to increase the number of women recruited and retained, especially in STEM (Laursen & Austin, 2020). Most frequently in these cases, institutions recruit one faculty member, the first hire, who then expresses that they have a partner who is also a faculty member and who needs work (Blake, 2020). The partner, in effect, becomes the second hire. At this point, all involved hiring departments work with central administration to create and fund a faculty position for the second hire, either in a TTK position or contingent position (Culpepper, 2021; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2004), thereby waiving a conventional search for the partner. Occasionally, central administration provides some kind of subsidy or cost-share when positions for the second hire are created (Wolf-Wendel et al., 2004), but this is not always the case (Blake, 2020; Culpepper, 2021; Schiebinger et al., 2008). Of all the nonconventional hiring processes, research concerning dual-career, or spousal, hiring processes is more plentiful, but still developing (Blake, 2022; Culpepper, 2022). Future research might explore the latitude that a department has in declining or, otherwise, shaping spousal hires, the agency that a spousal hire (i.e., the second hire) experiences in the negotiation and placement process and differences in salary or supports offered to spousal hires as compared to conventional hires.

In sum, although much of the research on (TTK) faculty hiring has focused on individuals hired through the traditional search, there are multiple alternative mechanisms by which faculty members might be recruited and hired. In general, these processes have not been well studied in the literature. What little research we do have suggests that these hiring routes are often structured to incentivize departments to hire candidates that bring new or interdisciplinary research, prestige, and

demographic diversity and that central administration takes a much larger role in the hiring decisions being made.

Contingent Faculty¹²

In this section, we describe processes for hiring contingent or non-tenure-track faculty. Most of what we learned about contingent faculty hiring processes is drawn from a small pool of studies (e.g., Cross & Goldenberg, 2009; Louder, 2015; Sponsler, 2021; Ueda et al., 2022). This body of work does not fully account for varying institution types, disciplines, and the diverse array of appointment types and labels that exist within contingent appointments. Thus, our findings warrant cautious interpretation.

As shared earlier, contingent faculty comprise a majority, approximately 60%, of all faculty positions (AAUP, 2022; McNaughtan et al., 2018). One out of three new faculty hires are for contingent positions (Kezar et al., 2021). The representation of contingent faculty varies by institutional type, with contingent faculty making up about 50% of appointments at research institutions, 60% of appointments at master's institutions, 55% of appointments at baccalaureate institutions, and 80% of appointments at community colleges (American Association of University Professors, 2022). A significant portion of all contingent faculty are hired as part-time employees; indeed, when all faculty hires are accounted for, it is estimated that about 44% of professors are hired on a part-time basis.

Both full-time and part-time contingent professors are hired under a wide range of titles (e.g., adjunct professor, assistant professor, associate professor, instructor, lecturer, professor, visiting professor). In fact, Christopher et al. (2022) identified at least 50 different titles assigned to part-time professors. Different appointment types and variation in titles present serious challenges to research concerning the academic profession and efforts to ensure equity and justice in the academic workplace. Such variation in titles makes it difficult to identify faculty whose work experiences, expectations, and conditions are similar enough that they could organize, be supported, and/or studied as a collective group (Christopher et al., 2022).

Additionally, the wide variation in titles contributes to “worker misclassification” where some contingent faculty, especially part-time faculty, are repeatedly hired and treated as independent contractors so that their rightful earning potential (i.e., salary and benefits) is undermined (see Kezar et al., 2019, p. 21). Said otherwise, universities could – and do – hire the same contingent faculty person for several semesters in a row but in using different titles, they may evade classifying said individual as a benefits-eligible university employee. Misclassification, intentional or not, is a clear example of a labor injustice, and one that as we discuss below, is likely to impact

¹²“Contingent faculty” and “non-tenure-track faculty” refer to non-tenure-eligible academics. Although the terms are often used interchangeably, we opt for “contingent faculty” because it does not situate or place contingent colleagues in the deficit relative to tenure-track colleagues.

People of Color, especially women. This area of research is sparse and deserving of systematic investigation.

When it comes to the demographic composition of contingent faculty, across part- and full-time appointments, white faculty represent 75% of the total population (McNaughtan et al., 2017). Black faculty make up 7% of the population, followed by Asian and Hispanic/Latinx faculty, who each makes up about 5% of contingent faculty (McNaughtan et al., 2017). Native American and Pacific Islander faculty represent 1% of all contingent faculty (McNaughtan et al., 2017). Looking at the proportion of faculty by race and institution type reveals an important story. White (51%) and Asian (59%) contingent faculty are most strongly represented at 4-year master's and doctoral institutions (Finkelstein et al., 2016; McNaughtan et al., 2017), where resources are more plentiful, especially within research universities. Meanwhile, Black (42%), Hispanic/Latinx (43%), and American Indian and Pacific Islander (40%) contingent faculty are overrepresented at associate's level colleges (e.g., community colleges), which tend to have fewer resources (McNaughtan et al., 2017).

In terms of gender distribution, for years, women have tended to be overrepresented among contingent faculty. As of 2020, it was estimated that women made up about 53.9% of full-time non-tenure-track positions (Colby & Fowler, 2020). Across every institutional type (e.g., doctoral, master's, etc.), women are more likely to be contingent than tenure-system faculty (Colby & Fowler, 2020). This remains true across race as well – women are more strongly represented in contingent roles than men in every racial category (Boss et al., 2021; Finkelstein et al., 2016).

Finkelstein et al. (2016) determined that Black, Indigenous, and Latinx women are most likely to begin their careers in contingent roles and very likely to work in community colleges or teaching-focused institutions. From an equity and labor justice perspective, this is an important detail because community colleges and teaching institutions tend to pay their contingent faculty less and they are also less likely to offer contingent faculty long-term renewable contracts (American Association of University Professors, 2022) as further discussed below.

The Hiring Process for Full-Time Contingent Faculty Members

Unlike the multiphase, well-resourced TTK search routine described above, searches for contingent faculty greatly vary. In fact, research suggests that departments/colleges do not always conduct searches for contingent faculty (Cross & Goldenberg, 2009; Kezar, 2012; Louder, 2015). When there is not a conventional search process, department chairs typically have wide discretion in the hiring of full-time contingent faculty members.

In cases where there is a more conventional search for full-time contingent faculty members, there is variation in the process, with inconsistencies across and even within institutions (Kezar, 2012; Louder, 2015; Sponsler, 2021; Ueda et al., 2022). Before describing the variation, there have been some notable improvements when it comes to hiring full-time contingent colleagues, such as however, these search committees tend to be smaller relative to the TTK search committees. Additionally, some institutions are asking contingent search committees to cast a wider net for

recruitment (Maxey & Kezar, 2015; Ueda et al., 2022) rather than rely on local and/or personal networks.

In terms of the actual application process, candidates are asked to provide a cover letter explaining how their subject matter expertise and experience aligns with the job call. If one is applying for a teaching-only position, candidates will likely be asked to share course syllabi, a teaching statement, and teaching evaluations. If one is applying for a more research-focused position, then they may be asked to provide writing samples. Although some campuses are making efforts to create a contingent hiring process that more closely mirrors the TTK process, most contingent faculty interviews do not include a campus visit (Cross & Goldenberg, 2009; Lounder, 2015). Instead, applications are screened, and then a small pool of finalists are interviewed, usually online or via telephone, before an offer is extended (Cross & Goldenberg, 2009; Lounder, 2015).

Both full-time and part-time contingent faculty are hired on temporary contracts (American Association of University Professors, 2022; Kezar et al., 2019). Most full-time contingent faculty members are on 1-year contracts (Kezar, 2012; Kezar et al., 2019), while part-time faculty tend to be hired on a semesterly basis. Because of their short-term contracts, contingent faculty frequently report difficulty identifying pathways for career advancement (Kezar, 2012; Kezar et al., 2019) especially when promotion ladders are not articulated at the point of hiring. However, in recent years, institutions, often as a result of faculty organizing (Klainot-Hess, 2023; Rhoades, 2017, 2020), have revised hiring practices to ensure longer contractual commitments and clearer evaluation and reappointment processes (Culver et al., 2022; Gibau et al., 2022; Kezar, 2012; Kezar et al., 2016; Maxey & Kezar, 2015; Sponsler, 2021; Ueda et al., 2022). Unfortunately, these improvements are not widespread, and employment contracts are impacted by state law, institutional culture, and union presence (Klainot-Hess, 2023; Rhoades, 2017). More research, preferably with attention to these various contextual features, could greatly improve what is known about full-time contingent hiring and advancement.

The Hiring Process for Part-Time Contingent Faculty Members (“Adjuncts”)

Even more than full-time contingent faculty, part-time contingent faculty – who we refer to as adjunct faculty – are hired on an ad hoc basis with relatively little “process” surrounding their entry into their institutions (Cross & Goldenberg, 2009; Lounder, 2015). According to the limited research, adjunct faculty are typically hired for three reasons, each of which illustrates the undeniable link between the workload of contingent and TTK faculty. First, some adjunct faculty possess highly specific expertise that is needed but not reflected in the department’s faculty (Lounder, 2015). For example, a political science department may need to hire someone with political office and campaign experience to teach a specific course. Second, adjunct faculty may be hired when full-time faculty members take personal leave, are appointed to an administrative role, or receive a sabbatical or grant-related course buyouts, the latter of which is particularly common in research universities (Kezar, 2012; Lounder, 2015). Third, because adjunct faculty are paid far less than

full-time colleagues, and entitled to limited, if any, institutional benefits, a department might hire adjuncts to cover instructional needs at a lower cost (Kezar, 2012; Lounder, 2015). Federal policies only recently mandated that part-time employees such as adjuncts could be eligible for unemployment benefits, although that access is still contingent on a full-time employment threshold (Kezar et al., 2021).

Research indicates that it is typical for adjunct faculty to be hired without a search (Cross & Goldenberg, 2009; Kezar, 2012; Lounder, 2015). Instead, institutions rely on local networks and a “go-to pool” of individuals who taught courses in the past (Lounder, 2015). Even more than in the case of full-time contingent hires, administrators (e.g., program or department chairs) have authority to hire adjunct professors (Cross & Goldenberg, 2009). Lounder (2015) found that when hiring adjuncts:

in most cases, a department chair must simply justify the need for an additional course or section in terms of enrollment needs, confirm the availability of a part-time instructor who has taught the course before, and give notice of the hire of a candidate to dean’s office personnel to ensure the instructor receives payment. (p. 202)

Subsequently, adjunct faculty are frequently hired at the last minute “with more than a third of contingent instructors reporting they were hired within just three weeks of the start date of classes and more than a sixth within two weeks” (Kezar et al., 2019, p. 43; also see Rhoades, 2018). In the worst but still common scenarios, adjunct faculty have little time to prepare materials or become familiar with campus and online course management systems and often lack information about the conditions of their employment (e.g., workload, performance/evaluation criteria), an obvious threat to labor justice. Although it is only fair to acknowledge that some institutions have improved the hiring process for adjunct faculty by adopting *secured dates*, which are dates by which part-time contracts must be fully articulated (e.g., course assignments) and executed (i.e., finalized; Harper, 2022; Harper & Ueda, 2022). The extent to which these practices have been adopted remains highly uneven and severely understudied.

Although the research on contingent faculty hiring is limited, a few notable themes emerged from the available studies. For one, although contingent faculty were once hired to cover highly specific course needs in a department, they are now commonly hired to cover a wide array of faculty work responsibilities, including administrative responsibilities and service. Second, contingent faculty (full-time and part-time) are hired with minimal processes and sporadic faculty involvement – although this likely varies and may be improving in some isolated contexts. Where such improvements have been observed, researchers often acknowledge unions or collective organizing efforts (Harper, 2022; Scott et al., 2019).

In closing, it is important to stress that despite the precarity many contingent faculty experience, many are committed to their institutions and often wish to be invited into the fuller realm of faculty life and governance (Kezar, 2012; Sponsler, 2021). Improving the working conditions for contingent faculty is a labor justice

issue and one where improvements can begin at the point of hiring through the collective efforts of tenure-secure colleagues.

Postdoctoral Scholars

As noted earlier, each year, colleges and universities hire thousands of postdoctoral scholars. These are individuals for which the annual NCES report does not account. Perhaps, this is because some institutions classify, and therefore report, postdoctoral scholars as faculty, while other institutions classify/report postdocs as staff. Still, given their extraordinary contributions to research (and sometimes to teaching), postdoctoral scholars should be recognized in any effort to examine and improve contemporary academic workplaces.

Originally uncommon, postdoc positions were conceived as an extended probationary period wherein scholars could further hone their research skills on a short-term basis under the supervision of a mentor before transitioning into a faculty role (Ferguson et al., 2014; Nowell et al., 2018). Today, postdocs are increasingly common across all fields and most, established in STEM fields (Gibbs et al., 2015; Rybarczyk et al., 2011). As of 2020, roughly 65,000 postdocs were employed in higher education (Ott et al., 2021).

During the fellowship period (usually 2–3 years), a postdoc's duties are usually research-focused, with most working on single research project under the supervision of a faculty mentor (Hudson et al., 2018; Yadav et al., 2020). Because of this laser-like focus on research, some argue that postdocs who enter faculty positions are not prepared to teach (Gibbs et al., 2015; Lambert et al., 2020). Although a handful of postdoc training programs, such as Emory University's National Institutes of Health-funded FIRST Program (Eisen, 2020) and the University System of Maryland AGEP Promise Academy (Cresiski et al., 2022), focus on developing research and teaching skills, these programs are exceptions, not the norm.

In terms of salary and benefits, there is wide variation (\$23,000–\$100,000+), as postdocs are paid and supported through various means (e.g., prestigious fellowships, institutional sponsorship, grants; Woolston, 2019). These potential salary differentials are not limited to the market as a whole; research has indicated that *even within an institution*, postdoc pay widely varies. Not only does salary vary but so do the kinds of benefits and resources to which a postdoc has access (e.g., conference and professional development support, travel support, mentoring).

Finally, and relatedly, because many postdocs are tied to a single faculty mentor's already-defined research project, they often report a lack of connectivity to the larger department and/or greater campus community (Lambert et al., 2020; Hudson et al., 2018; Yadav et al., 2020). Such isolation contributes to a sense of loneliness, tendencies to overwork, and a lack of work-life balance – all of which have been found to dampen postdoc interest in faculty careers, especially among postdocs from marginalized groups, including international postdocs (Gibbs et al., 2015; Lambert et al., 2020; Yadav et al., 2020).

Though available demographic data is limited to science, engineering, and health fields, data from the National Center for Science and Engineering Statistics (NCSES) shows that men make up 57.7% of all postdoctoral appointees, compared to 42.3% that are women (2023). Unlike faculty positions, over half of all postdoctoral fellows are of international origin (National Science Foundation, 2022). Still, among US born individuals, those that identify as White make up the largest group of postdoctoral fellows at 26% (13.4% men, 12.4% women). The second largest group identifies as Asian and makes up 9.4% of postdoctoral fellows (5.3% men, 4.2% women). The third largest group identifies as Latinx at 3.3% (1.6% men, 1.7% women) followed by 1.8% who are Black (0.7% men, 1.1% women). Those who identified with more than one race made up 1.1% of the postdoctoral population (0.5% men, 0.6% women). Finally, Native American and Pacific Islander collectively represented 0.2% of postdoctoral fellows. Because holding a postdoc seems to be a growing prerequisite for a faculty position in many fields (Ferguson et al., 2014; Gibbs et al. 2015; Wei et al., 2012), understanding the process by which postdocs are hired warrants attention.

The Hiring Process for Postdoctoral Scholars

Much like faculty members in contingent roles, research suggests the process of identifying and selecting postdocs at most institutions is largely ad hoc. As noted above, funding for postdoctoral roles is typically tied to grants secured by a single faculty member (the principal investigator or PI, hereafter), who then has wide discretion in who they hire with few institutional requirements in terms of process (Knaub et al., 2018; Ferguson et al., 2014; Wei et al., 2012). Because of all these factors, PIs hold expansive authority in postdoc hiring. PIs may post job ads to discipline-specific websites and ask candidates to submit a CV and a letter of interest (Aikens et al., 2016; Knaub et al., 2018).

Once a candidate has applied, the extent to which a candidate is interviewed varies considerably, and often postdocs may not visit campus before being selected (Aikens, et al., 2016; Knaub et al., 2018). Instead of relying upon a search and selection process for identifying and evaluating candidates, research suggests that postdoc placement is largely incumbent on a candidate's social network, with postdocs relying heavily on their graduate advisors to make connections (Wei et al., 2012) and write letters of recommendation. Similarly, PIs rely upon their networks to identify candidates to recruit and select (Aikens et al., 2016; Knaub et al., 2018). This contributes to not only racial and gender homophily (Ferguson et al., 2014) but overrepresentation of postdocs from well-known and/or prestigious graduate programs (Su, 2011).

Recently, there have been efforts to ensure that postdocs move into faculty positions. For instance, Culpepper et al. (2021) examined the emergence of "postdoctoral conversion" programs, which are programs whose mission is to move postdocs into tenure-system positions within their university, or if applicable their university system (e.g., the University of California system, the University of Texas system). When recruited through conversion programs, a postdoc tends to experience a hiring process that closely mirrors the process for tenure-system faculty

members. The full department votes on hiring the postdoc and agrees to allocate departmental resources to the postdoc's independent research (Cresiski et al., 2022; Culpepper et al., 2021). However, these efforts and research on them remain quite limited.; Culpepper et al.'s (2021) study focused on a small number of emerging programs, suggesting that although changes have occurred in some pockets of higher education, the process for hiring postdocs, like contingent faculty, remains understudied.

In this first set of findings, we described the hiring process across three different appointment types. We highlighted glaring differences and disparities that exist among these varying faculty appointment types, all of which begin at the point of hiring. These differences include wide variations in time, labor, and energy invested in different kinds of searches, while disparities include substantial gaps in information, salary, and benefits. We highlighted several areas for potential research that could help the academy move toward labor justice. We now turn to the findings of our frame analysis.

Frame Analysis

After studying the literature, we suggest that academic hiring (both research and practice) is predominated by seven frames. As a reminder, a frame can be explicit, though it is often implicit, and consists of assumptions, ideas, and evidence. Frame theorists suggest that every communication – a brief, a news story, a study – is bound up in a frame. Over the next several pages, we define seven distinct frames, although it is important to note that these frames are not mutually exclusive and that studies often drew on a few frames simultaneously. After defining each frame, we highlight how each frame shaped research and practice and allude to how our labor justice lens might challenge, complicate, or extend frames and respective findings.

The Professional Jurisdiction Frame

In literature that uses the *professional jurisdiction frame*, researchers acknowledge faculty members' authority to oversee decisions pertaining to the professoriate, such as hiring. Much of the work in this cluster of literature shows that faculty are entrusted to manage the inner workings of the profession rooted in the belief that they are optimally positioned to manage the hiring process due to their professional training and expertise (Abbott, 1988). Said otherwise, a significant assumption that underpins the professional jurisdiction frame (in practice and in research) is that faculty members, as professionals, will exercise the kind of careful thinking that allowed them to become rigorous scholars (Blair-Loy & Cech, 2022; Caplow & McGee, 2017) in the context of academic hiring. Faculty's deep professional expertise is entrusted as the basis for merit-based judgments (see Table 2). In practice and research that is underpinned by a professional jurisdiction frame, there is an intense, almost laser focus on search committee (and faculty interest), as if student or greater

Table 2 Summary of the professional jurisdiction frame

Basic description	Assumptions	Values	Key words
The <i>professional jurisdiction frame</i> focuses on the discretion and authority granted to faculty exercise on the basis of their professional status and expertise	Academics are best able to organize and administer a search and ultimately maintain their workplace	This frame values tradition and convention and has a particular reverence for expertise	Professional discretion, academic freedom, academic disciplines, disciplinary expertise, and authority

departmental interests are non-factors (Antúnez, 2018; Barsky et al., 2014; Bush et al., 2017; Ceci & Williams, 2015; Donnelly et al., 2019, Morgan et al., 2022b).

Despite their overly narrow focus, many of these pieces of scholarship sought to demystify the search and hiring process for candidates. For example, studies in academic medicine (Irwin et al., 2021) and economics (Allgood et al., 2018) noted that hiring committees emphasize research skills and focus less on teaching and/or service/administration. Studies in other disciplines, like biology (Fleet et al., 2006), engineering (Pilcher et al., 2021), and health education Rojas-Guyler et al., 2004), suggested that committees are highly interested in a candidate's teaching skills as well as research. Another study in psychology showed that although research and teaching were important, committee members heavily considered interpersonal qualities like collegiality and enthusiasm when hiring a colleague (Boysen et al., 2018). One unique study in neuroscience looked at the qualifications of newly hired, tenure-system assistant professors in the field and observed that although there is a prevailing myth that new hires all have National Institutes of Health K99/R00 awards, in fact less than 11% of new hires had this kind of funding (Hsu et al., 2021). Across these studies, we see the tendency to view faculty members, and in particular tenure-system faculty members, as the sole stakeholder in deciding what is valued in hiring.

One of the clearest examples of how professional jurisdiction implicitly guided a study was Billah and Gauch's (2015) study *How to Hire Rising Stars*. In short, Billah and Gauch argued that computer science departments (like all departments) are interested in hiring *rising stars* who can improve the department's research productivity and grant-getting potential. However, Billah and Gauch noted it can be difficult to identify new talent because accepted productivity measures, like one's h-index, "grows linearly with the academic age of a researcher. . . which means the h-indices of researchers in the early stages of their careers are almost uniformly low" (unpaginated). Thus, to overcome this difficulty, the authors used information, such as personal attributes, coauthorship, and information about coauthor, to predict the scholarly potential of early career hires. Using social network analysis, Billah and Gauch concluded that "the success of young researchers can be predicted more accurately based on their professional network than their track record" (unpaginated). Billah and Gauch upheld and reinforced professional jurisdiction in

a few ways. First, they suggested that most, if not all, computer science departments are looking for qualities defined by the profession. Second, in favor of professional uniformity, they perhaps inadvertently downplayed any members who are uninterested in h-indices and are instead interested in teaching experience or translational skills. Third and finally, Billah and Gauch placed value on collegial networks and coauthorship, which not only uses but further sediments faculty power.

As alluded to with the examples above, many of the papers that drew from a professional jurisdiction frame were descriptive and even prescriptive, which may suggest that they were atheoretical. However, these studies are very much grounded in the idea that faculty have and should exercise wide discretion over hiring. Such studies miss several points. First, studies that focus only on the interests of search committees might only tangentially consider the interests and perspectives of other relevant constituencies (e.g., students, administrators). In this sense, studies that use a narrow professional jurisdiction model may obscure conflicts or differences that exist within a hiring context, thereby generating an incomplete picture of hiring. Second, the professional jurisdiction frame may inadvertently suggest that all committee members, or all hiring committees, share universal values and interests, suggesting that all members of a search committee are looking for the same qualities or evidence. However, while some faculty members may place a high value on conventional research productivity, other faculty members may find value in non-conventional research or in teaching and mentoring. Relatedly, not all faculty members hold equal jurisdictional power and faculty members, such as those that hold a minority viewpoint or those without tenure, may not feel agentic, empowered, or safe enough to express dissent (see Gonzales et al., 2022; Liera & Hernandez, 2021). Thus, it is critical that research and practice make space for discrepancies and tensions within a search committee. Finally, most studies that use a professional jurisdiction frame miss the fact that most new academic hires are for contingent roles and therefore do not experience search committees in this way.

While prescriptive papers, like the ones above, leave professional jurisdiction intact without problematizing its implications, we found several manuscripts wherein the authors recognized the value, or perhaps the inevitability, of professional jurisdiction but also problematized it and pointed to its limitations (Bhalla, 2019; Blair-Loy et al., 2017; Bombaci & Pejchar, 2022; Cahn et al., 2022; Cavanaugh & Green, 2020; Constant & Bird, 2009; Harris et al., 2018). Many of these papers implicitly recognize that faculty professional jurisdiction was initially forged at a particular moment of time in the academic profession. This moment was one where the vast majority in or aspiring to be academics were White people, usually men and usually with some sort of social or class status, meaning the lived experiences, priorities, and epistemic orientations of White men became foundational and normative to the academy. How faculty members came to think about themselves as academics, their work, and how they built the academy to operate is rooted in this particular history (Adsit et al., 2015; Cardozo, 2017; Gonzales et al., 2023a; Bernal & Villalpando, 2002). This helps explain why many People of Color, women, queer people, and poor people often find the academy not only unfamiliar but incongruent to their experiences and orientations to life and work (Douglas et al., 2022;

Gonzales, 2018; Griffin & Reddick, 2011; Hernandez, 2022; Porter et al., 2020). Thus, if one aims for labor justice in the academy, professional jurisdiction must be understood as a convention steeped in legacies of racial, gender, and other forms of privilege exclusion – an assertion we return to throughout the chapter and in our discussion.

Indeed, Bhalla (2019) directly addressed search committees (and thus professional jurisdiction) and outlined several strategies for improving hiring processes. While Bhalla recognized the power that search committees hold, she refused to take for granted that faculty execute bias-free meritorious processes. Similarly, Liera's (2023) study on faculty search committees acknowledged the authority ascribed to search committees but also problematized it. In it, he argued that search committees are constituted by individuals who have likely internalized White supremacy by virtue of living in the United States and who have been socialized to use tools that hold White supremacy in place and therefore perpetuate racial exclusion through their professional jurisdiction (also see Gonzales et al., 2022; Liera 2020b; Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017). Liera advised that faculty members who serve on search committees would benefit from racial equity professional development to understand how racism grips every person and every facet of the life in the United States, including matters of the academic workplace. In this way, Liera suggested the following: If faculty are to be trusted with building the academy, then part of their calculus must include racial equity. In a similar way, we suggest that it is time to renew and rewrite professional jurisdiction so that faculty understand labor justice as part of their charge in building and creating an academy.

The Diversity Frame

The *diversity frame* is primarily concerned with increasing the numerical representation of faculty from different gender and/or racial groups through hiring (e.g., Bradley et al., 2022; O'Connell & Holmes, 2015; Lord et al., 2015; Rios et al., 2020). The roots of the diversity frame can be traced back to the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* and *Affirmative Action* – both of which sought to correct historical legacies of formal and informal segregation in employment and education settings (Chang, 2005; Leong, 2021). Whereas the *Civil Rights Act* mandated that federally funded entities (e.g., universities, federal contractors) treat people equally without regard to race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, *Affirmative Action* policies were created to address discrimination in the context of important selection processes, including employment (Dobbin et al., 1993; Dobbin & Kalev, 2013). Subsequently, employers that contract with the federal government must actively recruit members of protected classes (e.g., women, racially minoritized people, ethnically minoritized) and establish representational benchmarks for applicant pools (Dobbin & Kalev, 2013; Holzer & Neumark, 2000). This underlying logic, which guides hiring initiatives and policies in many work places (Dobbin & Kalev, 2013), is that increasing the numeric representation of applicants from minoritized groups will increase their representation in sectors historically dominated by White people, particularly men.

Since its inception, *Affirmative Action* has been contested. Primarily white (and more recently Asian) complainants have argued that *Affirmative Action* unfairly

penalizes better qualified people (Orfield et al., 2007; Poon et al., 2019). Many of the lawsuits against *Affirmative Action* have been brought in the context of university admissions. Time again, the courts maintained the legality of *Affirmative Action* by pointing to the broad educational benefits of diversity (Berry & Bonilla-Silva, 2008; Gurin et al., 2002; Horn et al., 2020; Milem, 2003). Drawing on rich body of empirical research, the courts highlighted evidence that better teaching, learning, and knowledge generation is possible when communities (e.g., classrooms) are more diverse (Gurin et al., 2002). For years, the court’s rationale impacted how institutions approach diversity in admissions, employment, and other selection processes (Table 3). However, in the summer of 2023, the Supreme Court upended *Affirmative Action* in US higher education. As we write this chapter, it is unclear precisely how the court’s decision will shape how colleges and universities will respond in the future. The contents of this section, however, demonstrates how *Affirmative Action* and diversity framing have historically influenced various selection processes in higher education.

The diversity frame is largely concerned with representational diversity, leading much hiring research and practice to focus on identifying, testing, and replicating strategies shown to increase numerical diversity in academia (Cahn et al., 2022; Constant, 2011; Fradella, 2018; Greenhill, 2009; Harris et al., 2022; Moshiri & Cardon, 2019; Yong & Pendakur, 2017). Such studies are often concerned with *the academic pipeline* or the supply of eligible women candidates and Candidates of Color (Cahn et al., 2022). Practitioners and researchers working within the diversity frame encourage search committees to build diverse applicant pools and to assess the diversity of their applicant pool in relation to eligible candidates (Bitar et al., 2022). Leveraging networks for targeted recruitment (Moshiri & Cardon, 2019; Yong & Pendakur, 2017), drafting job descriptions in ways that appeal to women and minoritized applicants (Bombaci & Pejchar, 2022; Kazmi et al., 2022), and requiring diversity statements as a part of the application (Ashford, 2016; Bhalla, 2019; Boyle et al., 2020; O’Connell & Holmes, 2015) are all suggested practices for ensuring that a diverse pool of applicants are considered in the hiring process.

Table 3 Summary of the diversity frame

Basic description	Assumptions	Values	Key words
The <i>diversity frame</i> emphasizes and seeks to maximize representational diversity because it recognizes that diversity is critical to the learning of all students and to knowledge production	Focused largely on representational diversity, this frame can inadvertently suggest that people from nondominant backgrounds are “the same” or interchangeable. In turn, representational diversity is framed as the end-goal	This frame values representational diversity in and of itself. The culture and context of higher education benefits from diverse peoples but does not necessarily need to be changed	Diversity, representation, student interest, student success, affirmative action, interest convergence

Hiring practices (and scholarship) guided by the diversity frame have produced crucial insights related to the recruitment and supply side of hiring. However, given the typical focus on the academic pipeline, these studies might inadvertently suggest that lagging representation is a phenomenon external to institutions, rather than a consequence of exclusionary dynamics that live inside of and are reproduced within institutions by academics themselves. If hiring committees perceive the absence of women, disabled faculty, queer faculty, or Faculty of Color in their department to be a matter of inadequate supply or subpar recruitment tactics, then they may abdicate themselves of the duty to address the norms, attitudes, practices, and policies that drive such minoritized and marginalized people out of their departments.

Another limitation of practice and scholarship based on the diversity frame is related to its heavy (perhaps inadvertently narrow) reliance on the rationale that faculty diversity enhances student experience and outcomes, especially minoritized students' experiences and outcomes. Some diversity advocates assert the need to increase diversity for the sake of students. For instance, a recent report from *The Education Trust* noted, "Faculty diversity plays a key role in college student completion and can have a major impact on students' sense of belonging, retention rates, and persistence, so why are university faculties so white?" (Bitar et al., 2022, p. 1). This argument represents a logical and moral appeal: Change hiring practices to increase diversity and better serve students, especially minoritized students.

While this logic is understandable and while it is true that minoritized students report that access to faculty who look like them or who share similar histories generates improved self-efficacy and sense of belonging (Cross & Carman, 2021; Curtis, 2021), this framing might also be understood as an example of interest convergence (Bell, 1980), and one that potentially undermines some academics more than others. For example, consider that search committees, who are likely to be majority White and potentially majority men, are advised that in hiring historically marginalized colleagues (e.g., women, People of Color, disabled colleagues, trans* colleagues), students will be better served and supported. Such framing may inadvertently lead majoritarian search committees and departments to believe that they no longer have a responsibility or role in serving minoritized students. Indeed, this is precisely what the research on faculty workloads suggests (Hanasono et al., 2019; Misra et al., 2012; O'Meara et al., 2017b; 2019, 2020b)!

Taking this implication further, framing historically minoritized faculty as colleagues whose main contribution is not intellectual but instead *diversity* and *service to students* positions them on the margins of the academy. For example, in a systematic review of literature, Gonzales and Saldivar (2020) found that Latina academics are rarely framed as intellectuals in the literature concerning academic careers. Instead, they are recognized for their teaching, service, and commitment to community. Even though many Latina faculty do indeed find great pleasure and satisfaction in community building and student-serving aspects of work, they are also intellectuals with worthy research agendas that get missed when the diversity frame alone drives how they are understood and recruited. In the context of hiring research and practice, particularly in contexts that are highly research-oriented, when minoritized and marginalized scholars are understood as serving diversity and thus

as representational capital (Gonzales et al., 2023b; Leong, 2021; Rodgers & Liera, 2023) rather than as intellectuals with important knowledge contributions (Gonzales et al., 2023b), the diversity frame may inadvertently undermine their progress.

Still, it is important to point out that the diversity frame can and does play a critical role in advancing labor justice. As a frame that is concerned with representation, labor justice helps researchers remain focused on gaps between minoritized labor supply and hiring outcomes. Thus, search committees are encouraged to consider how they are succeeding or failing in terms of building the most representative academy possible. When paired with additional perspectives and insights, the diversity frame can be a generative starting point, as we discuss in the closing section of the chapter.

The Administrative-Managerial Frame

In contrast to the professional jurisdiction frame, which amplifies faculty voice, and the diversity frame, which approaches hiring through numerically focused strategies and moral appeal, the administrative-managerial frame emphasizes standardized hiring protocols, legal compliance, and the broader institutional infrastructure necessary to manage hiring *and* prevent discrimination. Administrative and managerially focused practice and research tends to be interested in efficiencies *and* diversity, which are not easy nor complementary companions. Intervening in and changing systems and practices that privilege status quo requires time-intensive and intentional work that is not administratively or fiscally efficient.

Fundamental to the administrative frame is the idea that management solutions are the most appropriate way to improve hiring processes. It is perhaps the only frame that explicitly emphasizes nonfaculty interests. Although most papers do not state it, the administrative-managerial frame borrows from what Weber called rational bureaucracy. In short, Weber argued that modern Western organizations are governed by rationales and rules (e.g., policies, procedures, guidelines) rather than emotion or relationships. These rationales and rules are enforced by organizational actors who are entrusted to run and help the organization survive (Aron, 1970; Coser, 1977). For these reasons, the administrative and managerial frame is quite consistent with scientific management (Taylor, 1919) and technocratic rationality (Andersen, 2021), both of which assume that organizations can use scientific methods, and especially technology, to optimize the means through which organizations achieve their goals or objectives. In the context of hiring, this frame suggests that there is one best process by which candidates are fairly recruited and evaluated fair which will lead the committee to hire “best candidate” (Andersen, 2021; Gonzales et al., 2018; Townley, 2008) (Table 4).

Studies that deployed an administrative frame took many forms. A few examined colleges’ and universities’ affirmative action plans, describing how an institution planned to recruit candidates from historically disadvantaged groups (Allen et al., 2019; Henningsen et al., 2022). Some papers also examined how committees followed equity guidelines, informed by equal employment opportunity (EEO). EEO outlines legal processes for search committees to prevent members from knowing or inquiring about a particular candidate’s race, gender, or other aspects

Table 4 Summary of administrative-managerial frame

Basic description	Assumptions	Values	Key words
The <i>administrative-managerial frame</i> focuses on the technical, legal, and infrastructural apparatus necessary to facilitate a standard hiring process	This frame assumes that by using scientific management strategies, hiring can be made more objective and rational. Errors and irrational outcomes are reduced through policy and standardized practices	This frame values standardization, control, and equality	Standardized, process, administrative oversight, equality, quality control

of identity. EEO guidelines also prevent search committee members from asking questions about a candidate's partner or caregiver status (e.g., Los Rios Community College District, 2015; University of Connecticut, 2022). Human resource officers and other administrators, sometimes referred to as equity officers, are in place to ensure that such rules are followed, primarily to mitigate the extent to which legal action can be brought against institutions (Fine & Handelseman, 2012). Said otherwise, this cluster of research and practice emphasizes compliance and process – as a means for reducing discrimination but mostly to *manage* the selection and recruitment of faculty members in large, highly bureaucratic organizations.

A number of studies that used the administrative and managerial frame described hiring policies used in different contexts (e.g., field/discipline, institutional type). For example, Glastonbury et al. (2021) described an effort in a department of radiology to review and put in place hiring policies that “increased structure and consistency” (p. 1). The resulting guidelines were used to structure the department's recruitment process. Similar studies focused on, for instance, the mechanics that underlie dual-career hiring policies (Blake, 2020; Layne et al., 2005; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2004), or understanding how cluster hire policies work at institution-wide versus college specific levels (Urban Universities for Health, 2015).

Practice that takes an administrative and managerial approach to faculty hiring begets administrative and managerial solutions to making the hiring process better. Moreover, this work tends to assume that there is a scientific way or at least a science-like way to make an objective or best decision (Gonzales et al., 2018). For instance, Fortino et al. (2020) described a CV text mining tool that automatically analyzed adjunct faculty candidate's resumes compared to the description of the course to be taught. Using the tool, the researchers were able to match a candidate's qualifications/expertise to the course subject matter, thereby creating “a simple tool that can be used a further filter in separating high potential candidates from those that, with a more time-consuming investigation” (Introduction para). Similarly, Frank (2019) suggested that search committees should only review research products to make hiring decisions; this is similar to Holden et al.'s (2005) recommendation about the use of bibliometrics to inform hiring decisions. A number of studies also suggest that changing aspects of the process can help search committees avoid hiring the *wrong* person (Hill, 2005; Gaspar & Brown, 2015). For instance, Gaspar

and Brown (2015) examined how introducing new hiring protocols (e.g., using a mock teaching demonstration) allowed search committee members and prospective candidates to accurately “make an informed decision about whether they would fit with the group and whether they would want to fit with the group” (p. 385). The underlying assumption in such studies is that alterations to the administrative and managerial rules, or guidance, embedded in the hiring process can reduce human error and render a more objective hiring decision.

A few studies within this frame focused on people within specific leadership roles. For instance, a handful of studies looked at department chairs/heads (Oermann et al., 2016; Stockard et al., 2008; White-Lewis, 2021, 2022), deans (White-Lewis, 2021, 2022), and still others looked at diversity officers (White-Lewis, 2022) as critical for interpreting, implementing, and at times subverting the institution’s administrative and managerial processes. For instance, White-Lewis (2022) conducted interviews with 12 academic leaders involved in hiring at 1 research institution. White-Lewis keenly observed that “deans, department chairs, and diversity officers issue their own ‘all deliberate speed’ decrees that departments and faculty search committees differentially interpret every academic year” (p. 358). White-Lewis’ work is important because it revealed that while institutions may establish processes and rules, these processes and rules are ultimately interpreted and implemented differently by different academic leaders. In other words, White-Lewis exposes the fallibility of purely administratively and managerially driven interventions. Future research should further explore and complicate the role of administrators in hiring in general, and in the context, of managerial interventions specifically.

Clearly, the administrative and managerial frame has some shortcomings. First, the administrative and managerial frame assumes that prescribed rules, policy, and protocols are somehow immune to human subjectivity. However, White-Lewis showed that administrators have biases, interests, and proclivities that shape their engagement in hiring. Moreover, faculty members subvert administrative mandates and protocols (Liera, 2020a, Liera & Hernandez, 2021; Rivera, 2017; Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017). Thus, while administrators can issue guidance, nudges, and even mandates, in the end, people are responsible for implementing such information, and practitioners and researchers must account for the decoupling that happens between policy and practice. Future researchers might explore how faculty members, or other policy implementers, make sense of the guidance they receive, what makes them inclined to follow guidance, etc.

Second is that standardization and consistency, often goals of the administrative and managerial frame, may make a hiring process more efficient but can also obscure the ability to evaluate candidates more holistically. For instance, the studies referenced above suggest search committees should evaluate candidates based on their CV or their bibliometric data, which are indeed practices that can be systematically and consistently applied very quickly to a large pool of candidates. However, such practices ignore the reality that traditional markers of productivity are biased and routinely do not capture the impact of faculty members who are doing difficult-

to-measure kinds of work (e.g., teaching, mentoring, service, program administration; Mitchneck, 2021).

Even with such limitations, the administrative and managerial frame does offer a basis from which many labor justice concerns could be addressed. Some issues, like candidate physical and psychological safety, are nonnegotiable and require firm policy, not guidance. Formal authority embedded in administrative and managerial offices could be used to require search committees to create an inclusive and accessible candidate visit experience (e.g., ensuring any building a candidate visits is physically accessible, has gender-inclusive restroom options). And finally, given our finding that there is often little or no process for contingent and postdoc hires, the administrative and managerial frame provides a foundation for establishing process, protocol, and policy.

In conclusion, the administrative and managerial frame, alone, relies too heavily on administrative powers and oversight, including powers to implement systems that may be quick but that fail to account for faculty and student interests. However, the administrative and managerial frame can be used for good, particularly in support of improved accessibility and safety practices, as we discuss later in our closing section.

The Bias Frame

The *bias frame* focuses on how social stereotypes, cultural beliefs, and/or cognitive processing can shape faculty hiring in ways that are irrational, harmful, and/or prejudicial. This frame emerges from research in social psychology and behavioral economics, which suggests that humans have predictable, patterned ways of thinking and making decisions that produce unmerited or unjustified preferences and/or judgments. A person's biases are influenced by society and culture ("social bias"; Banaji & Greenwald, 2013) as well as cognitive heuristics or mental shortcuts ("cognitive bias"; Kahneman, 2011), although it is also helpful to note that mental shortcuts are also formed through the consumption of socially produced information. Still, all in all, researchers understand bias as an individual phenomenon that can produce suboptimal or irrational outcomes (Kahneman, 2011). Whereas the preceding frame was focused on rules, process, and decision-making authority and process, the bias frame is concerned with the individual, that is, how an individual thinks and acts according to previously held beliefs, assumptions, and social schemas. Applied to faculty hiring, the bias frame asks how individual's bias manifests in the hiring process (Table 5).

The bias frame is quite ubiquitous. In academia, researchers often suggest bias as an overall general culprit for the lack of diversity (e.g., Casad et al., 2021; Constant, 2011; DiPiro, 2011; Kayes, 2006; Roper, 2019; Russell et al., 2019). For example, Casad et al. (2021) suggested that to increase the representation of women in STEM fields, institutions need to address the ways that biases manifest in recruitment, mentoring, and academic climate. Casad et al. went on to identify a number of practices intended to reduce bias in those areas. Russell et al. (2019) similarly provided an overview of the concept of implicit bias and considered how its role in hiring, promotion, tenure, and other evaluation processes might subvert effective academic leadership.

Table 5 Summary of bias frame

Basic description	Assumptions	Values	Key words
The <i>bias frame</i> focuses on the implicit, unconscious ways that cultural social stereotypes, cognitive errors, and/or ideological biases undermine efforts to make hiring more inclusive, equitable, and effective	This frame assumes that educational interventions can reduce and neutralize the impact of cognitive, cultural, and ideological biases	This frame values personal responsibility and acknowledges that even well-intentioned and formally educated individuals can make errors based in prejudice	Implicit bias, unconscious bias, cognitive bias

While the above papers were compelling reflections that asked faculty members to be aware of how bias operates in general and specific ways, other papers empirically pinpointed where individual bias emerges in the hiring process. For instance, numerous studies found differences in the ways that letter writers describe men and women candidates (Dutt et al., 2016; Grimm et al. 2020; Khan et al., 2023; Madera et al., 2019; Schmader et al., 2007; Steinpreis et al., 1999; Trix & Psenka, 2003; Zhang et al., 2021) and White and racially minoritized candidates (Bradford et al., 2021; Grimm et al., 2020) in ways that show a preference for men and White candidates. Zhang et al. (2021) did a content analysis of letters of recommendation in academic medicine (letters written for individuals applying for medical fellowships) and found that letter writers were more likely to comment upon the communal characteristics (e.g., warmth, energy, kindness) of Black and Latinx men and women compared to Asian and White men. The study also noted that letter writers tended to portray White and Asian men as established researchers and/or clinicians while describing Black and Latinx men and women as still developing their expertise. These studies emphasize the implicit nature of bias, as candidates ostensibly only ask supportive faculty to write letters of recommendation and letter writers ostensibly do not intend to undermine their colleagues and/or mentees.

In an interesting and important handful of studies, researchers surfaced bias in the actual position descriptions. For example, analyses of the language used in academic libraries (Tokarz & Mesfin, 2021) and academic medicine (Sella et al., 2022) showed gendered language to be pervasive. Another study wherein researchers examined the language used in job advertisements for religious studies positions showed that ads for Islamic studies tended to replicate stereotypes of Islam and Muslims (Morgenstein Fuerst, 2020).

Another strand of bias research includes experimental studies. These studies have shown that when faculty members are asked to evaluate candidates with equal qualifications based on their CVs, there is positive bias toward White, Asian, and men candidates and negative bias towards Black and Latinx men and women (Eaton et al., 2020) and White women (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012; Sheltzer & Smith, 2014). Steinpreis et al. (1999) observed that faculty members (of all genders) preferred men

candidates compared to women candidates. These results were mirrored in another study wherein faculty members were asked to indicate their preferences in hiring for student laboratory managers in science (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012). It is notable that a few experimental studies across STEM fields refute the idea that search committees are biased against women, and instead argues that when compared to men, women are actually preferred across a range of conditions (e.g., differently qualified, different career trajectories, evaluation of different kinds of materials; Ceci & Williams, 2015; Williams & Ceci, 2015).

In a few cases, researchers have gained direct access to actual search committee meetings and interactions. Quite consistently, these observational studies showed how biases related to gender, race, and citizenship status emerged as search committees assessed candidates (Constant & Bird, 2009; Culpepper et al., 2023; Hakkola & Dyer, 2022; O'Meara et al., 2023). One study recorded faculty job talks and observed that faculty audience members interrupted women candidates more frequently compared to men candidates (Blair-Loy et al., 2017). Another study based on observations of search committees' deliberations showed that faculty members often implicitly view candidates from minoritized backgrounds such as Women and Faculty of Color to be "riskier" compared to White and men candidates (O'Meara et al., 2023), thereby illuminating another form of bias that can emerge in the search process.

Because bias has become a dominant frame by which many interrogate and seek to improve faculty hiring, there has been significant energy around bias reduction or bias awareness education. A growing amount of research seeks to understand the efficacy of typical short-term bias trainings (Cavanaugh & Green, 2020; Carnes et al., 2015; Devine et al., 2017; Fine et al., 2014; Pitts et al., 2020; Sheridan et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2015; Sekaquaptewa et al., 2019) as well as more creative interventions, like interactive theater (Shea et al., 2019). Devine et al. (2017), for example, studied the impact of a workshop called "Breaking the Bias Habit" among 100 STEM and academic medicine departments at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. They found that after participating in the intervention, departments hired 18% more women compared to before the training. In another study, Sekaquaptewa et al. (2019) found that faculty members who participated in a bias workshop were more likely to endorse equitable hiring strategies, and the more faculty members that attended the workshop, the more likely a department was to endorse equitable hiring practices.

Beyond training and workshop outcomes, a few studies have examined the efficacy of rubrics as a bias mitigation strategy (Braileanu et al., 2020; O'Meara et al., 2020a). Blair-Loy et al. (2022) studied the introduction of a rubric into the search process for one engineering department in a research-intensive university. The researchers compared hiring outcomes before and after the introduction of the rubric, analyzed rubric scores and qualitative comments, and surveyed faculty on the impact of the rubric on hiring results. Overall, they found that the department hired more women after the introduction of the rubric. However, they also found that evaluators continued to be biased in the evaluations of candidate research productivity and research impact. Specifically, evaluators rated men with productivity and

impact indicators more favorably compared to similarly qualified women, although the introduction of criterion pertaining to contributions to diversity offset the research penalty for women. Meanwhile, Culpepper et al. (2023) conducted observations of search committees who used rubrics for their evaluations. Culpepper and colleagues found that by using rubrics as a discussion tool, search committees became more aware of their biases but concluded that bias could still be embedded into a rubric in ways that perpetuated irrational and unjustified exclusion. To underscore, both studies observed that rubric interventions did not remove bias but rather provided a way to either (a) bring biases to light or (b) counterbalance bias in a specific area (like evaluation of research) by weighting another qualification (contributions to diversity). In other words, the rubric, which might be understood as an administrative and managerial intervention, did not change how evaluators assessed candidates.

Altogether, there is some evidence that, in specific institutional settings using specific benchmarks of impact, bias mitigation interventions can be effective. On the other hand, there is evidence (mostly from outside of academia) that bias trainings are largely ineffective and do not enhance diversity (Dobbin & Kalev, 2017; National Institutes of Health, 2021), particularly when “trainings are a one-time event and not part of a broader institutional strategy, do not convey messages that participants are receptive to, or teach only the concept of bias rather than also target behaviors to change” (Dobbin & Kalev, 2017, p. 3). To this point, bias education is an important endeavor, but an insufficient lever for deep change.

In looking across bias-focused interventions and research, besides the fact that such work does not address systemic and deeply rooted problems, there are a few notable limitations to this work. One is that most bias interventions, like holistic review or rubrics, are introduced in a single department or a single institution and in contexts where there is a preexisting emphasis or concern for increasing the diversity of the faculty. This suggests that observed changes may be less about the intervention and more about the commitment of the individuals within the department to changing its demographic composition.

Second, perhaps because funding agencies like the National Science Foundation emphasize increasing diversity in STEM and medical fields, much of the research on bias reduction has been focused on these fields, meaning there is room for bias research in other disciplines in the future.

Third, there is bias research on most elements of the campus visit, but we found only one study (in counseling education) that looked at bias in the context of a candidate receiving and then negotiating a job offer. Pence and Kirk-Jenkins (2021) surveyed academics in counseling education about their negotiation experiences and found that salary negotiations were typically successful (Pence & Kirk-Jenkins, 2021). However, there is vast literature on race and gender bias in job and salary negotiation outside the academy, suggesting that this area should be studied more carefully in the future (Bowles et al., 2005; Hernandez et al., 2019) and that leaders should be aware of how their potential bias may surface in these contexts.

Fourth, and finally, Nelson and Zippel (2021) studied several ADVANCE grants and interventions and argued that the concept of implicit gender bias has become a

“catchall” for explaining persistent inequalities, including in hiring. Bias, they argued, has become popular because it attributes the root cause of “deep-seeded structural inequalities to individual cognition” (p. 352). In other words, and as already alluded to above, bias-focused research and practices emphasize the role of individual bias instead of considering how organizational structures and cultures perpetuate exclusion (Brownstein, 2016; Siegal, 2020) and is therefore insufficient for advancing inclusion, equity, or labor justice as we have envisioned it.

Still even with these limitations, bias research and bias reduction interventions do have a role in creating a more just academic work place. Helping people identify and notice their bias is a necessary step toward justice. Additionally, if leveraged appropriately, bias workshops could help department/program communities talk as a collective about their biases before conducting a search. This collective approach to identifying, discussing, and identifying strategies for flagging bias would require significant trust within a community. It would, perhaps, also require a trusted and highly skilled facilitator who could help the community process uncomfortable truths. Research on such undertakings would make a unique and highly valuable contribution to the hiring and bias-related literature.

Finally, one area of potential bias research and practice that is somewhat emergent but should be further developed is epistemic bias or bias in connection with knowledge production and knowledge legitimation (see Settles et al., 2021, 2022). Given the high value that is placed on knowledge production, particularly through research, it is critical for scholars to be willing to identify and understand the biases they hold regarding knowledge. However, perhaps because epistemic/knowledge production judgments are so closely intertwined with faculty disciplinary expertise and therefore with professional jurisdiction, most bias interventions (and bias research) do not address epistemic questions. Again, working as a collective, departments could work to surface and disciplinary-embedded biases and consider how those might racialize, gender, or otherwise unfairly impact the search and hiring process. Beyond Settles et al. (2021, 2022) work on epistemic exclusion, we found little research that grappled with epistemic bias, although many studies certainly allude to it. Expanding what scholars deem as valuable academic work, including research, is an integral part of labor justice; thus, researchers and practitioners should consider how their efforts can touch this matter.

The Market Frame

The *market frame* captures how business leaders and legislators pushed colleges and universities to behave as competitors in a higher education market, sometimes referred to as the global knowledge economy (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). One of the unique features of the market frame relative to the other frames already discussed is its attention to history and political economy.

The suggestion that higher education is vulnerable to market, and especially capitalist logics, is not new. Although higher education is often framed as a benevolent institution that has served the public good, critical historians have noted the intimate ties between higher education and private, particularly white, interests. From the moment the first college opened its doors in 1636 in colonial America, it

was embedded with the ugliest sides of capitalism, including the enslavement and colonization of Black and Indigenous people, respectively (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Wilder, 2013). Over time, higher education’s likeness to a capitalist market entity became more and more evident, leading Veblen (1918) to write one of the first and most explicit critiques of the businesslike behaviors of early higher education leaders.

However, even the most critical scholars have noted that because higher education is largely involved in cultural production (e.g., the production of knowledge), it cannot be understood nor analyzed as a pure capitalist market (Gonzales, 2013). In her work, Gonzales illustrated that most colleges and universities are highly interested in enhancing their prestige and deploy strategies that may not be fiscally sound in order to do so (also see O’Meara, 2011). Such strategies include, for example, pursuing more research dollars to build a greater research portfolio, pursuing certain amenities, and preferring to hire leaders and scholars with “elite” academic lineage (Table 6).

Taylor et al. (2013) further complicated the idea that higher education operates like a typical capitalistic market. Specifically, Taylor and colleagues suggested that it is more accurate to understand higher education as a quasi-market. Quasi-markets are reliant upon and, in fact, created through policy interventions, such as the 1972 Higher Education Reauthorization, the Bayh-Dole Act, etc.). Thus, unlike a pure market, the government is involved in creating and incentivizing higher education toward market like behaviors.

Accepting that higher education functions similar to but not exactly like a purse market, research using the market frame highlights how capitalist logics (e.g., values, ways of being, tendencies) impact not only the *structures* of higher education but its *innerworkings*. Much of the empirical research that draws on the market frame focuses on organizational level data, including financial portfolios (McClure & Titus, 2018), organizational structures including relationships between higher education organizations and industry leaders (Pusser et al., 2011), and the organizational infrastructure (e.g., technology transfer offices) that have been developed to handle market activities (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

Although there is a robust body of higher education literature that would fall under the market frame, only a handful of hiring studies made use of this perspective.

Table 6 Summary of market frame

Basic description	Assumptions	Values	Key words
The <i>market frame</i> highlights how austere politics have transformed higher education into a corporate-like entity	This frame assumes that academic hiring is a strategic opportunity to maximize a college or university’s position in the global and capitalistic knowledge economy	This frame shows how capitalist logics and values, like competition, efficiency, and prestige maximization, shape higher education and faculty behavior	Resource maximization, efficiencies, corporatization, competition, knowledge as commodity

These studies generally recognized that in a capitalist society, academic hiring can be understood as a resource-saving opportunity *or* a means for securing an institution's position in the knowledge economy. Regarding the former, Hearn and Burns (2021) set out to investigate if, in fact, hiring non-tenure-track faculty is a cost-saving strategy. Upon analyzing nearly 10 years of financial data from public master's and doctoral institutions, Hearn and Burns found no cost-savings for colleges that had taken to hiring contingent faculty. In a similarly designed study, Jaquette and Curs (2022) explained that state universities struggling with declining public investment (e.g., tax dollars) have increased out-of-state (e.g., nonresident) student enrollment, as nonresident students pay a larger share of tuition. The authors found that institutions pursuing nonresident students consistently hired more tenure-track faculty and fewer non-tenure-track faculty. However, the team was quick to point out that most institutions, especially smaller research and regional universities, are unable to attract out-of-state full-pay/higher pay nonresident students, meaning the nonresident-enrollment strategy is only a feasible strategy for better-known (e.g., flagship) institutions and this strategy will likely entrench institutional disparities.

Regarding the handful of studies that understood hiring as a means for enhancing an institution's position in the knowledge economy, these researchers illustrated how hiring decisions can become compromised by the private sector. For example, Harichandran (2007) studied the hiring decisions of 14 engineering departments in midsized research-focused civil engineering programs and found that these programs preferred, as evidenced by ultimate hiring decisions, to hire scholars whose work aligned more with specific (and likely market-attractive) solutions that may only tangentially be related to core engineering subject matter. Harichandran warned that such preferences privileged technical, narrower approaches to engineering over subject matter that civil engineers have traditionally viewed as critical or core to the field. Similarly, Gonzales et al. (2022) found that search committees in applied science fields were interested in hiring faculty members whose work was thought to be industry-aligned. When faculty align hiring decisions to the market, they may inadvertently tighten the grips that capitalism has around the work and the future of their scholarship; such conditions, perhaps most importantly, can quickly compromise the public mission of a program/department/university, as demonstrated with other commercial (or public-private partnerships) endeavors (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Stephan, 2001).

In another study, Gallet et al. (2005) illustrated how the cultural and particularly the prestige-building concerns of the higher education market play out in hiring. Specifically, Gallet et al. found that when the job market is restricted, colleges and universities, and more specifically search committees, "raise their standards" and make the strategic decision to recruit from schools and programs considered relatively more prestigious than the schools and program from which they have historically hired. The study suggested that, when possible, institutions and, more specifically, search committees are interested in maximizing prestige.

We were surprised to find so few studies connecting hiring to the market and we encourage other researchers to consider how market informed critiques might engender new understandings about hiring. Research concerning recruitment, job

offers, and negotiations are all important areas of inquiry as are additional studies looking at search committees’ alignment with market priorities and the subsequent implications for hires.

The Network Frame

Researchers have long observed the influence of networks within higher education, noting that cultural resources and opportunities are defined and gatekept among a tiny network of schools, programs, and scholars (Jencks & Riesman, 1968; Kirst et al., 2010; Morphew & Baker, 2004). Hiring research based on a network frame focuses on the ways that a candidate’s position within departmental, laboratory, institutional, and/or disciplinary fields shapes their access and entrée into academic positions. Said otherwise, research that utilizes a network frame is concerned with how cumulative advantages (e.g., resources and access) associated with one’s academic network influence one’s trajectory. The network frame frequently attributes disparities in faculty hiring, particularly with regard to diversity, to the mutually reinforcing nature of interests within higher education (see Table 7 below).

One of the clearest findings from network related research is that networks exist at many levels, including connections between individuals (Biancani & McFarland, 2013; Kezar, 2014), such as connections that a scholar has with their academic advisor, research collaborators, and colleagues in their department or campus (Baker & Lattuca, 2010; Griffin et al., 2018). Networks can also refer to one’s connection to an institution (e.g., being an alumni of a university) or between an individual and the program or lab where they received doctoral training (Burris, 2004; Posselt, 2018). In each of these network examples, an individual is granted powerful forms of social capital (Burris, 2004; Kezar, 2014). For example, in academia, one’s network is often accepted as a proxy measure for credibility, excellence, and potential (Billah & Gauch, 2015; Posselt, 2018). This was clearly demonstrated in studies, like Billah and Gauch (2015), which recommended that search committees examine a job candidate’s peer network to predict thier potential for starhood.

Research within this frame was the only body of work that consistently provided discipline-specific analyses. Across every field or discipline, researchers found that most newly hired faculty members held doctoral degrees from a relatively small pool

Table 7 Summary of network frame

Basic description	Assumptions	Values	Key words
The <i>network frame</i> focuses on the ways that a faculty member’s position within institutional, departmental, and/or scholarly networks acts as a form of social capital that provides unmerited advantage in the hiring process	This frame assumes that social capital, signaled by affiliation with prestigious networks or pedigree of doctoral institution, is accrued and accumulated and central to labor market outcomes	This frame emphasizes the role of social capital and institutional prestige. It shows how these aspects of higher education can reproduce the system	Prestige, pedigree, social networks, rankings

of elite and highly selective doctoral universities. This was true in STEM fields like computer science (Clauset et al., 2015; Huang et al., 2015; Way et al., 2016) and engineering (Ermagun & Erinne, 2022; Huang et al., 2015; Saigal & Saigal, 2012); humanities fields, such as history (Burris, 2004; Clauset et al., 2015) and communication (Barnett & Feeley, 2011; Mai et al., 2015); social science disciplines like anthropology (Kawa et al., 2019), archeology (Shott, 2022), and sociology (Burris, 2004); and professional fields such as education (DiRamio et al., 2009; Tomlinson & Freeman, 2018), business (Baldo et al., 2020; Bundy et al., 2022; Clauset et al., 2015; Hadlock & Pierce, 2021), and social work (Bair & Bair, 2002).

A few detailed examples from the studies above are as follows: In business, Bair and Bair (2001) observed that one-half of the faculty in top 10 marketing programs had graduated from one of the top 10 institutions. In sociology, Burris (2004) found that graduates from the top 5 departments made up a third of all faculty hired in the top 94 departments, and the top 20 departments accounted for 70% of total new hires. In the disciplines of computer science, history, and business, 70–86% of all tenure-track hires graduated from a handful of institutions (Clauset et al., 2015). Clauset et al. also estimated that only 9–14% of scholars within these three fields would be hired at an institution considered more prestigious than the one from which they graduated. Finally, a study of hiring within the field of higher education found that 70% of faculty members employed at the top 21 ranked programs received their degrees from 1 of the 21 programs (DiRamio et al., 2009).

On the whole, studies that use a network frame reveal that the academic labor market functions as a closed system in two ways: (1) among and within “elite” institutions and (2) more widely across academia, wherein individuals from “elite” or “top” institutions are granted unearned advantage over candidates graduating from lesser-known universities. Of the former: elite institutions tend to hire only from other elite institutions. Of the latter manifestation, individuals who earn their degrees from prestigious institutions tend to be unfairly privileged in academic hiring outcomes (Wapman et al., 2022) across institution types, except perhaps for community colleges, which are not often included in network studies. It is important to point out, however, that institutions and academic programs within them are imbued with varying levels of stature. For instance, although Ivy League institutions are widely regarded as prestigious institutions overall, there is variability in the extent to which academic programs within them (e.g., the sociology, physics, or higher education program) are viewed as prestigious (Burris, 2004). Research does not clarify, however, the relative weight of institutional versus program versus advisor prestige. Future research, perhaps qualitative in nature, could untangle these factors to more finely understand the inequity of opportunity that different networks produce during hiring.

Importantly, network research has demonstrated the gendered nature of the academic labor market. For example, Clauset et al. (2015) analyzed the hiring networks and outcomes of 19,000 tenure and tenure-track faculty across 461 academic units in the fields of computer science, history, and business and found that women who graduated from top-ranked programs in computer science and business (but not in history) tended to be employed in less prestigious institutions compared

to men who graduated from similar-ranked top programs. They determined that this disparity was not attributable to productivity outcomes. We noticed that although the network research is poised to show how networks reproduce white dominance, or racial exclusion, in the academy this avenue has not been explored (see Gonzales & Robinson, 2023 for a conceptual argument). For example, Wapman et al.'s (2022) recent network research showed that just a few institutions are represented in new academic hiring, and none of those institutions are Minority Serving Institutions, including Historically Black Colleges and Universities or Hispanic Serving Institutions, which produce large numbers of Black and Hispanic or Latinx doctorates. Future researchers may consider the role of networks among MSIs and how networks reproduce racial (dis)advantage.

Although most network studies are interested in institutional dominance and hierarchy, and to a certain extent gender inequities, we found one study (although there may be others) that pointed to the knowledge production (epistemic) implications of such tight academic networks. Specifically, Morgan et al. (2018) used an epidemic model to map the hiring placements of 5032 faculty members who received their doctoral degrees in computer science to their topic/quality of their scholarship. Using this innovative approach, Morgan et al. found that “ideas originating from more prestigious universities produce larger epidemic sizes and longer epidemic lengths” whereas “ideas incubated at less prestigious universities needed to be much higher quality to have similar success” (p. 13). In other words, the privilege assigned to certain institutions was ascribed to scholars and their work, and this transfer of privilege impacted whose epistemic contributions were disbursed across the academy. Researchers should consider building on Morgan et al. findings to further explore how research agendas and methods are shaped through networks. Such scholarship could be a powerful motivator, encouraging search committees to revise their recruitment strategy and tap into innovative, untapped research ideas present in lesser-known institutions.

Research within the network frame is powerful in that it points out how institutional and search committee desire for prestige undermines justice and equity, but it does have its limitations. One of the more obvious limitations in the literature that we reviewed is that network studies unanimously focused on full-time, tenure-system faculty and nearly all the studies put elite doctoral institutions at the center of their analysis. However, there is some evidence that prestige, and the pursuit of prestige, also shapes dynamics at comprehensive institutions (Gallet et al., 2005; O’Meara & Bloomgarden, 2011). Indeed, it is notable that adjunct hiring, which is common at community colleges, is often locally oriented and that those responsible for hiring tend to rely on personal and local connections. Network research could be especially informative in these contexts. All in all, research suggests that reliance on networks results in the systematic exclusion of a large and diverse pool of scholars while also stymieing the kinds of expertise that makes its way into the academy, and yet reliance on network is not only tolerated but well-accepted across the academy.

The Exclusionary Frame

The *exclusionary frame* focuses on the overt and covert ways in which hiring practices maintain the dominance of white cis-hetero-patriarchal ableism in the academy. The exclusionary frame focuses on historical legacies of power and privilege within the academy, the structure and culture of all institutions (e.g., higher education, the academic profession), and taken-for-granted rules, norms, and conventions that are drawn from white cis-hetero-patriarchal ableism to reproduce the status quo. Thus, although the exclusionary frame is concerned with diversity, its attention far exceeds numerical representation and recruitment strategies that are at the core of research within the earlier mentioned diversity frame (Table 8).

Studies within the exclusionary frame are amenable to an array of critical perspectives, such as critical race theory, critical race feminism, intersectionality, disability justice, feminist, decolonial and/or anti-colonial analyses, etc., Moreover, while the exclusionary frame focuses on organizational and structural arrangements, it understands these arrangements are enabled and enacted by people (see Ray, 2019). For example, bringing a gendered cultural analysis, Rivera (2017) observed campus visits and search committees within one institution. Rivera detailed how committee members commented on women's marital and parental status and wondered aloud as to how their familial and household structure might limit their future ability to be productive. The same search committees never raised such concerns for men candidates. In the end, women were penalized and excluded on the basis of search committees' problematic and gendered speculations.

Several studies offered examples of racialized exclusion, wherein Asian, Black, Indigenous, and Latinx (i.e., Faculty of Color) were subjected to heightened critiques that often ultimately led to their exclusion (e.g., Cartwright et al., 2018; Liera, 2023; Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017; Liera, 2023). Indeed, racialized exclusion is another finding that transcended discipline/field. These studies, although focused on different disciplines and different parts of the hiring process, show how every phase of the hiring process is entrenched in white supremacy and prone to upholding White comfort (see Gonzales et al., 2020; Liera, 2023; 2020b). For instance, Grier and Poole's (2020) analysis of a tenure-track search in one business school documented

Table 8 Summary of exclusionary frame

Basic description	Assumptions	Values	Key words
The <i>exclusionary frame</i> focuses on the racist, gendered, classist, ableist, and otherwise exclusionary nature of higher education. It is concerned with how norms and routines, processes, and structures in US higher education and academia preserve the status quo	This frame assumes that racism, genderism, ableism, and classism is so embedded that it is normalized in every ideological, structural, cultural, and practical facet of higher education	This frame values inclusion and justice. It seeks to remediate historical legacies of exclusion	Power, racism, genderism, ableism, norms, routines, history, exclusion

how search committee members were highly uncomfortable with, and at times resistant to, talking about race or acknowledging how racism afflicted their field and their department. As a result, the faculty continually found ways to sidestep conversations about diversity and inclusion and willfully refused to develop racial literacy. In another study of an applied field, Gasman et al. (2011) used document analysis and interviews to systematically examine search processes in a college of education. Gasman et al. findings were interesting in that the faculty they interviewed generally agreed that diversity and inclusion was a top priority for the institution, but they were unclear how to diversify their college. The team found that many faculty in the study were ill informed or not particularly interested in learning how to diversify their faculties, and as a result they typically fell back on established conventions to recruit and run searches.

In a series of groundbreaking observational studies covering several disciplines, Liera (2020a) and Liera and Hernandez (2021) described how search committee members, regardless of racial identity, actively contributed to the exclusion of Candidates of Color under the guise of fit. In one of their most compelling case examples, Liera and Hernandez (2021) described how a search committee Member of Color resisted diversity and equity checks because he felt that the Provost's office was encroaching on the faculty's professional domain. In other words, a Faculty of Color rebuffed an opportunity to build a more racially diverse faculty to preserve faculty jurisdiction.

In another example, Liera and Hernandez shared how two White senior professors seemingly colluded to exclude a Candidate of Color because they did not see a place for her ideas in the curriculum. Others on the committee, however, found the Candidate of Color highly qualified and described her as someone whose expertise not only aligned with the department's needs but also expanded its capacity (see p. 196). What is more, as told by one of Liera and Hernandez's interviewees, the two White senior professors scrutinized the Candidate of Color but inflated the potential of a White candidate whose work and ideas were more familiar and more "comfortable" to them (see p. 198). Liera and Hernandez's observation aligns with Settles et al.'s (2022) suggestion that in evaluative spaces, more powerful faculty prefer ideas and approaches with which they are familiar. In pursuing familiarity, faculty often perpetuate epistemic exclusion (see p. 500), *which is also often racialized exclusion*. The exclusionary frame shows how search committee members acted on and from a base of power located in structure and process, which is different than an individual acting on a personal prejudice.

Within the exclusionary frame, most studies focused on the gendered or racist actions (or inactions) of search committees. However, a handful of older studies examined the experience of lesbian women navigating dual-career hiring (Fowler & DePauw, 2005; Nadeau, 2005). Drawing on interviews with gay women couples, Nadeau (2005) argued that while dual-career hiring policies may advance the representation of lesbian couples, they also reflect and perpetuate deeply ingrained heteronormative cultural practices. Specifically, Nadeau described how the privilege of spousal hiring was automatically granted to heterosexual couples, but not so for queer couples. Instead, hiring committees tended to be silent on matters of spousal

hiring for gay people, forcing these candidates to raise the issue and potentially bring attention to their sexuality before they may have felt comfortable doing so (Nadeau, 2005). Other than a few studies, we found little work concerning LGBTQIA+ candidates or studies focused on heteronormativity, homophobia, or transphobia. Researchers could greatly assist candidates and committees by studying such issues.

The exclusionary frame has produced important research. Much of this work helps committees hold a mirror to gather a collective reflection. Still, there is room for improvement. These studies rarely attended to the hiring process for non-tenure-track faculty and postdocs, although it is well known that Women of Color and often vulnerable international scholars frequently occupy those roles. We expected but were disappointed to find no studies concerning ableism or transphobia and very few studies concerning hetero-privilege. Moreover, like the literature in other frames, as far as we could discern, more exclusionary work could focus on community colleges and Minority Serving Institutions. Finally, one other limitation of studies based on the frame is that overly structural views can constrain or eschew individual and collective agency, although there is some evidence of faculty disrupting gendered and racialized practices in hiring (Culpepper, 2021; Liera, 2020a). For instance, Liera found that when trained well, equity advocates can serve as a powerful check on problematic committee member behavior.

Still, in our view, the exclusionary frame is well poised to deliver work (both research and practice) in support of labor justice. The exclusionary frame shows how the academy is not immune from gendered or racist ideology, and importantly this work acknowledges and problematizes the authority ascribed to faculty via professional jurisdiction.

Discussion

To recap, three goals guided our work in this chapter. First, we set out to describe to the best of our ability, how academic hiring unfolds across diverse appointment type. Second, we used tenets of frame theory to study how researchers and practitioners have conceptualized academic hiring. Third, as we read the literature, we considered how our novel conceptual lens, labor justice, might enhance, extend, or challenge current understandings of hiring. To say more about our third purpose, we summarize and then reflect on our findings through the labor justice lens. We close with future directions for research and practice in support of labor justice.

What We Learned about Hiring Research and Practice

As we anticipated, most studies focus on tenure-track faculty, particularly tenure-track faculty members selecting other tenure-track faculty members. This was not surprising, given the historical dominance of tenure-system faculty. With our inclusive definition of academics, we call for much more research on how contingent faculty and postdocs are recruited and hired. Specific studies might focus on the

experience of contingent faculty and postdocs throughout the hiring process or on the ways that state law, the presence of unions, and other organizational contexts shape hiring for these positions. Future research could also investigate if the hiring process for different contingent faculty appointment types (e.g., teaching or research-focused) varies.

Moreover, studies of academic hiring generally took place or referred to research universities. This mirrors the faculty literature at large, which has mostly focused on faculty experiences at research-intensive institutions. Accordingly, we have minimal insight into how faculty hiring occurs (or how hiring reforms have worked) among non-research universities and/or minority serving institutions (for exceptions, see Liera, 2020a; Parker & Richards, 2020; Reed, 2016; Villarreal, 2022). We heartily encourage researchers to design studies that take place in community colleges, minority serving research universities, liberal arts colleges, and/or regional comprehensive universities, as these institutions employ sizeable numbers of faculty, especially contingent faculty, across the United States, and there is much to be learned from these organizational contexts, as Villarreal's study of faculty hiring in an HSI suggests.

We found that most of the literature in our review examined faculty hiring within the traditional search process or open searches where any candidate could apply. While we should be concerned with the ways that traditional hiring processes unfold, we were surprised that, except for dual-career hiring, much less research has focused on target-of-opportunity hires or cluster hires. Researchers might examine how much hiring occurs through non-open searches; if there are trends by race, gender, and/or other identities; and the subsequent experiences of faculty members hired in non-open searches. Studies that examine the impact of hiring programs on representation and perceptions of climate would also be valuable.

Another important finding was that most of the literature prioritizes and centers the voices, experiences, and actions of faculty members serving on search committees but rarely looks at candidate experience. As such, the general literature does not illuminate much about how candidates experience the search and selection process. As a result, we have little insight into how committees engage with candidates. We urge researchers to design research that foregrounds candidate experiences; such insights would allow search committees to improve the process overall. Moreover, we found no research concerning the experiences of nonfaculty members (e.g., students, staff). Finally, with some limited exceptions (White-Lewis, 2022), we have little understanding of the role of administrators in terms of interacting with committees or candidates.

Because we see access to reliable and relevant information as crucial to labor justice, we advocate that researchers design studies with applicants/candidates in mind. For instance, there is a significant lack of information about application requirements, how application requirements vary across like fields and institution types, and what is expected in application materials (e.g., cover letters, writing samples, teaching portfolios). Such insights would generate a wealth of information for prospective job candidates and would be particularly valuable to candidates with inadequate mentoring. Relatedly, human resource offices, equity officers, and/or

diversity offices could work with committees to create relevant information packets for candidates. Such information could include general search timeline, communication norms and expectations, information about salary ranges, and additional topics candidates may have questions about (e.g., research program start-up or support funds, access to legal counsel for im/migration and/or visa issues).

Finally, we note some observations about disciplinary/field coverage. Across the disciplines in general, we noted more similarities than differences. For instance, studies across fields surfaced examples of gendered exclusion, the power of networks, a rise in contingent hiring, and an emphasis on tenure-system faculty. However, studies that unpack the specific innerworkings of disciplinary conventions and norms are needed (see Gonzales et al., 2022). It is not surprising that phenomena like gendered and racialized exclusion transcend disciplines and fields, as white cis-patriarchy underpins US society (Boss et al., 2021; Bowles et al., 2005; Ray, 2019; Liera, 2023); however, extant literature suggests that when it comes to the innerworkings of faculty evaluation (i.e., the legitimization and appraisal of subject matter expertise), faculty are likely to engage in distinctive disciplinary patterns (Gonzales et al., 2022; Posselt, 2015). Researchers and practitioners alike must find ways to examine and broach epistemic matters with search committees and departments overall—especially in connection with crucial evaluative responsibilities, like hiring.

Reflecting on Our Frame Findings

Turning to our frame analysis, we surfaced seven frames within the academic hiring literature. These frames are not mutually exclusive. We found several papers that drew simultaneously on multiple frames although we did not attend to this overlap much in this chapter and hope others might take up the implications of overlapping frames in the future. We argue there is value in recognizing patterns in framing; it helps various communities (e.g., practice, research, organizing) to be cognizant of what implicit views and values may be informing their knowledge on a given issue and how that knowledge may need to be complicated, extended, or further unpacked. In the remaining space, we discuss how research and practice within each frame has emphasized certain understandings of hiring while eschewing others, and how labor justice extends or challenges the frame.

As a reminder, labor justice is a multidimensional lens. It represents an ethos – to the world, to the world of work, and to workers – academic workers, in our case. This ethos is unapologetically committed to remediating historical legacies of exclusion related to ableism, genderism, racism, classism, sexism, and heterosexism, among other isms. Additionally, it is an ethos that understands the interconnected nature of all workers, including academics. Practically speaking, a labor justice lens insists on the following:

1. An inclusive definition of academics to include postdoctoral scholars, contingent faculty, and tenure-track colleagues.

2. A broader definition of what is considered valuable academic work.
3. Economic stability and security.
4. Unfettered access to relevant information.
5. Physical, emotional, and psychological safety.

When researchers and practitioners adopt and apply a labor justice lens, it could greatly change how they think about the academic profession and the academic workplace, generally, and specifically in the context of academic hiring. Figure 2 illuminates just a few ways that labor justice would push researchers and practitioners to engage in in different ways. We apply these (and other) ideas to each frame for the rest of our discussion, painting a path for future academic hiring research and practice.

The Professional Jurisdiction Frame

As a refresher, the faculty professional jurisdiction frame refers to the power and discretion that the public and employing institutions allot to faculty members. Due to their deep expertise, particularly their disciplinary expertise, their ability to create new knowledge, and their willingness to share that knowledge with students and society, faculty employers (e.g., colleges, universities) and the public have granted faculty discretion to carry out their work, including conducting many evaluative activities, like hiring and promotion. History shows that faculty members were eager to solidify this jurisdiction, establishing professional and disciplinary associations to help them do so.

Although we did not calculate the numerical presence of frames, the professional jurisdiction frame was, without a doubt, the most common and most implicit frame for researchers and practitioners. Its assumptions are interwoven throughout the faculty hiring literature, in that researchers and practitioners center faculty members/search committees either as the unit of analysis or the primary audience for their work. Consider, for example, how some papers describe “what search committees are looking for.” These papers, intended to be helpful guides, inadvertently suggest that search committees are all the same, that there is no dissonance within the committee, and that there are no priorities or concerns outside of the committee. Such a picture of academic hiring is incomplete at best and reckless at worst. Although meant to be helpful, such work must be framed with careful qualifiers and acknowledge the contextual limits.

Moreover, the deference placed on professional jurisdiction was evident in some interesting ways. Many studies implicitly suggested that if search committee protocols and processes can be tweaked in just the right ways, then faculty can and will execute an objective and merit-driven hiring process. The hope ascribed to such technocratic tweaks is perhaps most obvious within the administrative and bias frames. In a different way, research in the diversity frame deferred to search committees, nudging them to focus on pathway programs and recruitment efforts, implicitly issuing an appeal: Recruit a more diverse pool and students will be well served.

We understand and have also completed research that foregrounds the role and value of professional jurisdiction. On the one hand, jurisdiction is linked to the deeply important academic freedom and latitude that allows academics to conduct interesting, innovative, and thoughtful teaching and research. However, as the literature shows, not all academics experience equitable access to such freedom and jurisdiction. Moreover, across the research in all frames, we uncovered evidence of the ways that professional jurisdiction does not serve the academy nor the public well. Indeed, while it could be a tool for community and collective building, it is most often wielded as a tool to exclude, and more specifically, a tool to solidify position, privilege, and power.

Subsequently, we urge all involved in the academic workplace, but mainly academics, and especially those with stable tenure-track positions, to recognize and reflect on the *power and responsibility* embedded in professional jurisdiction. We suggest that our labor justice lens can help faculty members complicate their professional jurisdiction in healthy ways, especially when entering high-stakes activities, like hiring. Cognizant of the exclusionary history of academia, a labor justice lens recognizes that professional jurisdiction is a racialized, gendered, and otherwise marked tool of power, and it asks faculty to repurpose this power in favor of inclusion and justice as follows:

- A labor justice lens asks faculty to recalibrate professional jurisdiction to be more inclusive of all academics – no matter their identities, their appointment types, or their academic lineage. In this way, a labor justice lens asks academics how they can help to remediate legacies of exclusion in all that they do, including hiring. This means paying close attention to demographic hiring patterns across appointment types. This means sharing information about salaries, supports, and available resources with each new colleague and redistributing support in ways that make sense to the collective good and the department mission.
- A labor justice lens helps faculty to consider how their work and working conditions are connected, so that hiring committees might be more attuned to what colleagues need to succeed or what Rhoades (2017) refers to as a labor-based conception of quality education. At the point of hiring, search committee and department members, as well as department chairs, can intentionally review faculty workloads within the department in support of new hires. More senior, stable faculty might temporarily take on service or administrative labor that will eventually be assigned to new colleague(s) in order to allow the new hire time to acclimate. Caring for the department and for one another can and should be a part of faculty professional jurisdiction, but it involves more than friendly faces. It requires that faculty share work and resources in support of new hires, no matter their appointment type.
- Labor justice asks faculty and especially those with evaluative power in the context of hiring to carefully reflect on their biases, in general, but especially in terms of how they define valuable academic labor. Academics should be willing to understand how different forms of labor allow a department/program to function and/or how knowledge production may manifest in ways that diverge from disciplinary lessons and conventions.

The Diversity Frame

The diversity frame has helped all kinds of organizations and groups account for their demographic composition. Motivated by the moral imperative to ensure that historically minoritized and marginalized people gain access to important opportunities and cognizant of the benefits to be drawn from more diverse settings, the diversity frame encourages organizational leaders and, in our case, faculty communities to consider how they might adjust practices to diversify their applicant pools, build a more diverse faculty, and reap the benefits attached to diversity.

We found extensive evidence of academic hiring research and practice bound by the diversity frame, and while we are staunch supporters and defenders of diversity efforts, we also pointed out (and emphasize again here) that the diversity rationale, if not handled with care and nuance, can put minoritized and marginalized scholars in a risky position. In short, the diversity frame often asserts that diversity is a worthwhile goal because it will allow students to be better served. However, when minoritized and marginalized scholars are understood for their ability to serve diversity or to fulfill student needs, this may inadvertently undermine their talents as scholars. Thus, while academic hiring practices and research can very well be informed by diversity interests, it is critical that search committees and departments think deeply about the all the benefits that stem from more diverse communities, and it is imperative that departments seek education around diversity, so as to ensure a welcoming climate for new colleagues. It is not, or should not, simply be about making the hire. With this, a labor justice lens leverages the diversity frame but also complicates and pushes it, in new ways, as follows:

- Although a labor justice lens is congruent with the diversity frame's interest in remediating entrenched patterns of exclusion, it encourages hiring committees, leaders, and others to account for the demographic composition of the profession in more nuanced ways: *within* applicant pools, *within and across* appointment types, and *within and across* ranks. As a result, labor justice research would conduct fine grained analyses within and across all types of academic hiring.
- Additionally and relatedly, a labor justice lens would encourage a critical analysis of representation, to understand how overlapping identities are distributed across applicant pools, across appointment types, and across ranks.
- Finally, a labor justice lens discourages search committees and involved others from framing minoritized applicants and candidates, particularly Women of Color, in connection with their capacity to advance diversity or to serve minoritized students. Although serving as mentors and responsive teachers is a critical aspect of any academic's work, it is usually not the aspect of work on which most academics can advance, given academia's research-intensive focus.

Administrative-Managerial Frame

The administrative and managerial frame is perhaps the most direct counterbalance to faculty power, in that administrative and managerial frames and solutions often seek to "check" the power of faculty. The administrative and managerial frame

strives for neutrality (and believes it is possible) and stresses organizational efficiencies. It is grounded in organizational and institutional interests (rather than the interests of people). As a result, much of the work that stems from administrative and managerial frames is oriented to compliance and organizational survival.

A labor justice lens would encourage the administrative and managerial frame not for compliance but to boost transparency and ensure accessibility and safety inside the academic workplace and especially during academic hiring scenarios where candidates are in especially vulnerable positions:

- In terms of transparency, a labor justice lens encourages universities, colleges, and departments to develop resources that outline the (1) the search timeline, (2) communication norms and expectations, (3) salary ranges, and (4) resources and supports that are commonly negotiated and (5) with whom they should expect to have such conversations. While the presence of unions helps with such transparency, unionization is not possible across all institutions nor states. Administrative nudges, like the ones we are suggesting, could bring great relief to candidates and offer the opportunity for search committees to discuss these potentially murky issues.
- In terms of creating equitable and relevant supports, a labor justice lens would encourage administrative and managerial powers to foreground what Rhoades (2017) named as a labor-based conception of quality education and begin with the question, what do academic workers (in their nuanced appointment types and positions) need to feel safe, secure, and well positioned to do their job? Such reflections, probably led by chairs, could help guide search committee conversations and early onboarding processes.
- Specific to postdoctoral candidates and contingent faculty applicants, search processes should be launched with a clear articulation about how contingent faculty or postdocs are being hired to take on critical labor that will allow the department, and specifically tenure-track faculty, to fulfill their work commitments. For example, if several tenure-track faculty have earned grants which require them to shift more labor into their research program, it should be made clear that contingent faculty hires allow TTK faculty to be successful in these endeavors. Department chairs are perhaps the best poised to highlight the collective labor required to make the department and all related programs work, and doing so is an act toward labor justice.
- A labor justice lens foregrounds candidate accessibility, safety, and well-being. As such, leaders and advocates who are charged to support search committees or provide search committee education might consider reviewing and updating campus visit protocols for all types of searches. For instance, as mentioned in the introduction, it was once common for search committees to conduct informal/informational interviews during conferences – in hotel rooms, no less. Such practices, in the year of 2023, are no longer typical, but 1:1 interviews are likely still typical, and committee members as well as candidates should have clear guidance as to if or how these meetings should be conducted. Moreover, institutions should review candidate transportation options. It is not uncommon for one

committee member to drive candidates to and from airports, restaurants, and hotels, but such situations may not feel safe to candidates, and other arrangements should be made. Finally, because alcohol can impair judgment and because some faiths and religions prohibit alcohol consumption, institutions should also review guidance around alcohol consumption during campus visits (e.g., over dinner). Even if candidates do not experience a campus visit, there are ways to ensure that such colleagues experience a meaningful and inclusive search process and practitioners working within the administrative frame could help search committees create helpful protocols for designing the interview/visit process.

The Bias Frame

The bias frame has allowed researchers to surface how stereotypes and prejudices seep into the most mundane of activities and decision-making. Indeed, bias researchers have identified the presence of bias across nearly all aspects of the search and hiring process. In surfacing bias in discrete activities, like letter writing, to position descriptions, to communication patterns during job talks, bias researchers have helped individuals be aware of how implicit biases may translate into irrational and problematic decision-making.

A labor justice lens is amenable to the bias frame, particularly as an educational strategy. However, labor justice pushes bias prevention go beyond individuals and demands attention to structure (e.g., policies, organizational arrangements) and cultural conventions (e.g., campus visits, norms, routines). A labor justice lens pushes the bias frame in the following ways:

- Labor justice would encourage committees to consider how search processes, such as campus visits, privilege able-bodied people, heterosexual candidates, and cis-gender candidates. How does language, physical structures, or the itineraries privilege already dominant groups? The target of change from a labor justice lens is not just an individual's awareness, but the structures, processes, and conventions that are largely taken for granted.
- A labor justice lens would encourage committees (and departments, overall) to better understand how their disciplinary and departmental conventions are embedded with biases related to the important task of research/knowledge production. Such conversations require departments to learn about the histories of their discipline, to make room for other ways of knowing, and to adjust rubrics based on what they learn through such bias education efforts.

Market Frame

The market frame surfaces the connection between higher education and the capitalist society in which it is embedded. It is intended to highlight how capitalist logics have continually repositioned higher education as a private good, allowing public government officials to reduce funding and create policies that nudge colleges and universities to behave like market entities (e.g., increase efficiencies to save resources, pursue new resource avenues). Some of this work shows how colleges and universities have always engaged in capitalist logics and practices. We were

surprised that more hiring researchers have not used the market frame; perhaps this is because higher education is not a conventional market but a quasi-market or a market that is interested not only in fiscal resources but in cultural resources, like legitimacy and prestige. However, a labor justice lens might help market critiques to be more aware of the racialized, gendered, ableist, and otherwise disparate consequences of capitalism. In adding a labor justice lens to market frames, researchers and practitioners might do the following:

- Examine hiring patterns, start-up packages, and salaries across appointment types, accounting for race, gender, ability, and institutional degree.
- Build on the Hearn and Burns (2021) study, which found no evidence of cost-savings among institutions that increased contingent faculty hiring.
- Explore how market-oriented considerations guide search committee decision-making.

The Network Frame

The network frame examines how one's social and professional ties generate unearned access, opportunities, and perceptions of prestige. We found extensive evidence of network-based research in our review. This literature consistently showed that search committees grant unearned merit to graduates of elite programs and institutions. Network researchers have commonly accounted for gender disparities, but a labor justice lens would encourage:

- Network researchers to go beyond the binary to include nonbinary or gender queer people and to examine racialized effects as well.
- To use a more inclusive definition of academics, labor justice encourages a look at postdoctoral placement and contingent faculty placement as well.

The Exclusionary Frame

Simply put, the exclusionary literature reveals how exclusion is built into the higher education. From taken-for-granted practices, structural arrangements, and highly prized rituals, like hiring, these activities and processes were built for some, from the perspective of some, and as a result, they are exclusionary. Across the literature, we observed all sorts of evidence of exclusion. Some studies surfaced how gendered assumptions about family structure pushed out married women and/or mothers; other studies showed that even progressive measures, like dual couple hiring marginalize queer scholars. And still other studies showed that whiteness is so baked into academic culture that scholars of all backgrounds avoid conversations around race and racism to the detriment of diversifying their faculty, often using an notions like "fit" to disqualify Candidates of Color.

Still, even exclusionary research can be improved in that most of these studies privileged tenure-track faculty. Most exclusionary studies are also focused on genderism/gender and racism/race with only a few papers focused on cis-heterosexual privilege and/or ableism, and even with race work, there are few

studies that look at the experience of Indigenous faculty or multiracial faculty. A labor justice lens would nudge researchers within the exclusionary frame to

- Grapple with overlapping identities and isms (e.g., being queer, Black, and disabled or being Latinx, nonbinary, and a graduate from a lesser-known institution) to understand how isms manifest all at once in the recruitment, hiring, and negotiation process.

Conclusion

As noted in the introduction, because faculty are viewed as professionals with deep knowledge and the unique capacity to steer their profession, they have been entrusted with great latitude over their workplace practices and culture. More specifically, academics (although this varies across institutions and across appointment types) are charged to build and foster a robust and creative academy, particularly through hiring and promotion. A robust and creative academy, of course, demands diversity and inclusion. It also demands a safe workplace. Further, it requires that all academic workers have access to the resources (e.g., material, informational, and otherwise) needed to accomplish their respective and unique charges. Our review of the literature – across all frames – suggests that faculty have taken their professional jurisdiction and operationalized it in ways that do not include or advance but in ways that gatekeep, particularly at the point of hiring. We encourage faculty to consider how they might repurpose their professional jurisdiction to foreground labor justice. Hiring represents a crucial opportunity for faculty, particularly those with evaluative power (e.g., search committees, tenured), to advocate for colleagues and remake the academy into a more just place.

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Appendix A: Scopus and Targeted Journal Search Results

Search phrases	Scopus	<i>ADVANCE Journal</i> ^a	<i>Equity and excellence</i> ^a	The Journal of the Professoriate ^a	Post-screening results
Academic hiring	1368	0	1	4	61
Adjunct hiring	36	0	0	0	3
Adjunct faculty hiring	32	0	0	0	0
Contingent hiring	89	0	0	0	1
Contingent faculty hiring	7	0	0	0	0
Faculty hiring	1013	0	1	4	89

(continued)

Search phrases	Scopus	<i>ADVANCE Journal</i> ^a	<i>Equity and excellence</i> ^a	The Journal of the Professoriate ^a	Post-screening results
Faculty recruitment	2659	0	0	2	17
Non-tenure-track faculty hiring	25	0	0	0	3
Postdoctoral hiring	0	0	0	0	0
Postdoctoral scholar recruitment	3	0	0	0	0
Tenure-track faculty hiring	84	0	0	0	8
<i>Total</i> , after eliminating duplicates					182

^aNote: We conducted searches in the journals listed here because they are not indexed in Scopus. Search conducted January 2023

Appendix B: Notable Discipline-specific Findings

Field/discipline	Notable findings
Academic dentistry	Relies on adjunct faculty; dentists increasingly do not want to serve in these roles (Howe et al., 2017)
Academic libraries	Bias exists in hiring (Tokarz & Mesfin, 2021) Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (Zhu & Yan, 2017; Zhu et al., 2016) Qualifications sought by hiring committees. Traditional career pathways are favored (Antúnez, 2018; Gaspar & Brown 2015; Hodge & Spoor 2012; Thielen & Neeser, 2020; Wang & Guarria, 2009)
Academic medicine	Predictive variables known at the time of hire connected to whom an institution retains (being a woman, being from the United States) (Elias et al., 2022) Bias and exclusionary practices exist in academic medicine (Khan et al., 2023; Meer et al., 2021; Valsangkar et al., 2016; Sella et al., 2022) Interventions can mitigate bias in hiring (Braileanu et al., 2020; Harris et al., 2018, 2022; Lin et al., 2016; Morgan et al., 2022b; Peek et al., 2013; Pitts et al., 2020; Shubeck et al., 2020; Villablanca et al., 2017) Qualifications sought by hiring departments (Irwin et al., 2021; Ragavan et al., 2021; Shubeck et al., 2020; Smith et al., 2015)
Anthropology	Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (Kawa et al., 2019) Gap between number of degrees produced and number of tenure-track jobs (Speakman et al., 2018)
Archeology	Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (Shott, 2022)
Biology	Gender and racial bias exists in hiring (Eaton et al., 2020) Qualifications sought by hiring committees (Fleet et al., 2006; Marshall et al., 2009)

(continued)

Field/discipline	Notable findings
Business	<p>Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (Baldo et al., 2020; Bair and Bair 2001, 2002; Bundy et al., 2022; Hadani et al., 2012; Hadlock & Pierce, 2021; Stammerjohan et al., 2009; Wang & Kardes, 2015)</p> <p>Recruitment processes exclude Faculty of Color (Grier & Poole, 2020; Miller et al., 2021)</p> <p>Interventions can promote more diversity in hiring (Moshiri & Cardon, 2016, 2019). Innovative hiring practices more likely at non-elite schools (Finch et al., 2016)</p> <p>Competition among faculty candidates is fierce (Butler & Crack, 2022)</p> <p>Qualifications sought by hiring departments (Wang & Kardes, 2015).</p> <p>Mismatch between what candidates want and what institutions desire in terms of qualifications (Basil & Basil, 2008; Pagani et al., 2008)</p> <p>Contingent faculty are increasingly prevalent (Callie & Cheslock, 2008)</p>
Chemistry	<p>Career patterns of women across stages show recruitment obstacles (Kuck, 2006; Kuck et al., 2007)</p> <p>Bias exists in letters of recommendation (Schmader et al., 2007)</p> <p>Interventions that mitigate bias exist (Stockard et al., 2008)</p>
Communication	<p>Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (Barnett et al., 2010; Barnett & Feeley, 2011; Mai et al., 2015); some evidence that the networks are growing more diverse (Feeley & Tutzauer, 2021)</p>
Computer science	<p>Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (Way et al., 2016)</p>
Criminology	<p>Qualifications sought by hiring departments (Applegate et al., 2009; Sitren & Applegate, 2012)</p> <p>Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (Fabianic, 2011)</p>
Economics	<p>Qualifications sought by hiring departments vary by institutional type (Allgood et al., 2018)</p> <p>Market conditions shape the prevalence of elitism in hiring (Gallet et al. 2005)</p>
Education	<p>Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (DiRamio et al., 2009; Tomlinson & Freeman, 2018)</p> <p>Hiring practices in schools of education exclude Faculty of Color (Gasman et al., 2013)</p> <p>Campus interviews are a prime place where candidates experience bias (Cartwright et al., 2018)</p> <p>Increasingly clinical faculty are being hired (Mayes, 2000)</p>
Engineering	<p>Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (Ermagun & Erinne, 2022; Saigal & Saigal, 2012)</p> <p>Bias is present in the hiring process (Blair-Loy et al., 2017; Constant & Bird, 2009), including pertaining to pipeline perceptions (Rios et al., 2020), but strategies exist to expand diversity and mitigate bias (Bates et al., 2017; Blair-Loy et al., 2017; Somerton, 2002)</p> <p>Qualifications sought by hiring departments have changed to emphasize innovation (Harichandran, 2007), credentialism (Hildebrant et al., 2018), and applied focus (Hill et al., 2014). Some departments now emphasize teaching more (Pilcher et al., 2021)</p>
Geography	<p>The Great Recession significantly lowered the availability of academic jobs (Coomes et al., 2022; Franklin & Ketchum, 2013)</p> <p>Bias and exclusionary practices in who is encouraged to apply for graduate school and faculty positions limit the representation of women (Kobayashi, 2006)</p>

(continued)

Field/discipline	Notable findings
International relations	Faculty trained in US institutions are most likely to be employed in this field, but there is more epistemic diversity/openness (Maliniak et al., 2018)
Kinesiology	Implicit bias among academic leadership and faculty has negative impacts on the hiring, retention, and promotion of faculty from underrepresented backgrounds, contributing to the lack of faculty diversity in kinesiology (Russell et al., 2019)
Law	Clinical faculty experience challenges in terms of hiring and promotion (Adamson et al., 2012) Affirmative action applies to the hiring of Faculty of Color (Lai, 2015) Low pay drives lawyers away from the faculty (Pjesky & Sutter, 2011)
Mathematics	More women are being hired into TTK and contingent positions in mathematics (Jahan et al., 2022)
Neuroscience	Qualifications sought by hiring committees and what candidates think they need to be successful (Hsu et al., 2021)
Nursing	Bias can infiltrate multiple aspects of the search process for nursing faculty, but there are strategies that can be used across the process (Bradford et al., 2022; Salvucci & Lawless, 2016) Qualifications sought by hiring committees (Agger et al., 2014; Oermann et al., 2016). Credentialism is present in hiring in nursing education though all nursing faculty are primarily teaching (Agger et al., 2014; Oermann et al., 2016)
Physics	Gender and racial bias exist in hiring (Eaton et al., 2020)
Political science	Interventions can mitigate the role of bias and increase diversity in hiring (Thies & Hinojosa, 2023; King, 2023; Michelson & Wilkington, 2023)
Psychology	Gender bias exists in hiring (Steinpreis et al., 1999) Qualifications sought by hiring committees. Some qualifications are universal, but teaching and research skills are prioritized differently across institutional types (Boysen et al., 2019)
Public affairs	Qualifications sought by hiring committees. Credentialism is a barrier (Slage et al., 2022)
Public health	Most clinical faculty are at the lowest rank and have contracts that are less than 2 years (August et al., 2022) Qualifications sought by hiring committees (Rojas-Guyler et al., 2004), dependent on program emphasis/institutional type (Rojas-Guyler et al., 2004)
Recreation and leisure	Qualifications sought by hiring committees. Teaching, research, and service skills desired across institutional types (Elkins & Ross, 2004)
Religion	Stereotypes are reproduced in job ads (Fuerst, 2020)
Social work	Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (Bair & Bair, 2002) Qualifications sought by hiring committees. Hiring departments want practical experience (Barsky et al., 2014). Credentialism is an issue (Barsky et al., 2014; Mackie, 2013)
Sociology	Elitism in networks does not change over time (Burris, 2004; Weakliem et al., 2012). Highly productive women are employed at lower prestige institutions (Wilder & Walters, 2021)
Urban planning	Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (Lee, 2022)
Veterinary medicine	Efforts have been made to increase diversity in hiring (Burkhard et al., 2022; Greenhill, 2009)

(continued)

Field/discipline	Notable findings
STEM	<p>Gender (Casad et al., 2021; Eaton et al., 2020; Glass & Minnotte, 2010; McNeely & Vlaicu, 2010; Mosley & Hargrove, 2014; Moss-Rascusin et al., 2012; O’Connell et al., 2015; Sheltzer & Smith, 2014; Roper, 2019), racial (Gibbs et al., 2016; Mosley et al., 2016), and sexual orientation (Nadeau, 2005) bias exclusion exists in recruitment and hiring. There is some evidence that gender bias is not as prevalent as is commonly thought to be the case (Ceci & Williams 2015; Williams & Ceci, 2015)</p> <p>Interventions can mitigate the role of bias and increase diversity in hiring (Blair-Loy et al., 2022; Boyle et al., 2020; Constant 2011; Cresiski et al., 2022; Devine et al., 2017; Fortino et al., 2020; Golubchik & Redel, 2018; Laube, 2021; Lord et al., 2015; Moher et al., 2018; Shea et al., 2019; Smith et al., 2015; Su et al., 2015)</p> <p>Elitism and prestige networks shape job placement (Rosser et al., 2006; Sandekian et al., 2022)</p>

Appendix C: Special Vocabulary (i.e., Jargon) Used in Academic Hiring

Term	Definition
Adjunct faculty member	A faculty member hired on a part-time contractual basis who is not eligible for tenure; often called contingent faculty
Assistant professor	A tenure-eligible (e.g., tenure-track) entry-level appointment held by individuals. Assistant professors are typically eligible for tenure and promotion after a period of 6 or 7 years. Granting of tenure and promotion involves several layers of peer review, including peer review internal to the employing institution and peer review external to the institution
Associate professor	The associate professor rank is typically the second “step” or “rank” in the tenure-track ladder. Individuals are typically promoted from the assistant professor rank to the associate level and granted tenure simultaneously. In some cases, faculty might be granted a promotion to associate but not tenured
Campus visits	Campus visits are a stage of the selection process, spanning 1–2 days, where “job finalists” are invited to campus. These visits typically include job talks, a teaching demonstration, various interviews, as well as social interactions (e.g., shared meals, campus tours)
Clinical faculty	Clinical faculty are non-tenure-eligible professors who teach and/or supervise students in some of clinical setting (i.e., in the treatment of patients), sometimes called professors of practice
Contingent faculty	A contingent faculty member refers to faculty who either teach part-time or teach full-time but are not on the tenure-track and thus not eligible for tenure. Often referred to as non-tenure-track faculty

(continued)

Term	Definition
Diversity, equity, and inclusion statement	A statement candidates submit as a part of their application to demonstrate their commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion, as well as how it relates to their scholarly work, teaching, and service
Dual couple accommodations	Dual-career academic couples are couples wherein partners are faculty members. Dual-career accommodations are hiring policies that facilitate the hiring of both members of the couple to the institution
Equity officer or equity advocate	Equity officers and advocates are administrators (sometimes faculty with administrative appointments) who oversee compliance with fair employment practices in the hiring process and/or are faculty members who are assigned to help search committees think about making hiring decisions more equitable and inclusive
Failed search	A failed search occurs when a candidate(s) declines an offer and the position remains vacant
Full professor	A tenure-eligible, likely tenured professor of the highest rank. Full professors are often referred to as senior scholars; in the context of academic hiring, a job notice might call for “senior faculty” or “advanced career faculty” to signal interest in a full or advanced associate professor
Job talk (or chalk talk)	The job talk or chalk talk, as it is called in some disciplines, is an opportunity for candidates to present prior and future research to students and potential colleagues
Long-short list	After narrowing down the initial applicant pool based on standard evaluation criteria, the screening committee develops a long-short list of applicants. These applicants undergo “first-round” phone or online interviews
Non-tenure-track faculty member	A non-tenure-track faculty member refers to faculty who either teach part-time or teach full-time but are not on the tenure-track and thus not eligible for tenure. Often referred to as contingent faculty
Open search	Refers to a search wherein a job advertisement is posted and any candidate can apply
Search or screening committee	Because most faculty search committees do not possess hiring authority, they are referred to as search or screening committees. Accordingly, their charge includes recruitment, reviewing and screening applicants, identifying a list of finalists to be invited to campus, developing interview and campus visit protocols, and collecting feedback to draft recommendations
Search waiver	A search waiver is formal approval to hire an individual directly into a faculty position without conducting an open search
Short list or finalist list	The finalist candidates in a search; typically, these candidates are brought for on-campus interviews
Target-of-opportunity hiring	In contrast to open search, target-of-opportunity hiring occurs when departments do not have an active job posting wherein anyone could apply but, rather, make a bid to hire a specific candidate outside of the normal search process

(continued)

Term	Definition
Tenure	An indefinite academic appointment that can only be terminated under extraordinary circumstances. Tenure safeguards academic freedom
Tenure-track faculty member	Faculty members who, after completing a probationary period, are eligible for tenure or the guarantee of lifelong employment (typically assistant professors)
Tenured faculty member	Faculty members who have completed the probationary period and been deemed by the colleagues and institutions as meriting lifelong employment (typically, associate and full professors)

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