



AMERICAN
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APA Task Force Report on Promotion, Tenure and Retention of Faculty of Color in Psychology



APPROVED BY APA COUNCIL OF REPRESENTATIVES, AUGUST 2023

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THE CHARGE AND GOALS

In 2021, the Board of Scientific Affairs (BSA) of the American Psychological Association (APA) and the Council of Graduate Departments of Psychology (COGDOP) collaborated to form a task force to examine the issues facing faculty of color within psychological science. After issuing an open call for participants, the Task Force, formally entitled APA Board of Scientific Affairs Task Force on Inequities in Academic Promotion and Tenure, began meeting in late 2021 to consider strategies to fulfill its charge (See Appendix, p. 31). The Task Force selected two co-chairs and elected to conduct a comprehensive empirical literature review on this topic. A full description of the methodology is provided in the Appendix of this report.

Per the Charge, a major goal of the report is to provide recommendations for best practices for the promotion and tenure process for faculty of color that aspire to foster meaningful systemic change across the psychological sciences. This report seeks to educate college and university administrators (i.e., psychology department chairs, chairs of promotion and tenure committees, external evaluators, deans, and chief academic officers) about the matter to begin creating systemic change. To that end, the report contains an action letter that departmental review committees can include with requests to outside reviewers for external evaluations of candidates being considered for promotion and tenure. The letter is based on the best available empirical evidence that can inform campus efforts to foster equity in the promotion and tenure process. The Task Force concurs with the Association of American Universities (AAU; 2022) Advisory Board on Racial Equity in Higher Education Report and the National Academy of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (2023), namely that evidence-based analyses and concrete recommendations are needed to improve the recruitment, retention, and promotion of faculty of color in the psychological sciences.

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) defines tenure as “an indefinite appointment

terminable only for cause or under extraordinary circumstances, such as financial exigency” (Tiede, 2022, p. 1; AAUP, 2022). The possibility of tenure has been widely available at public and private non-profit colleges to faculty hired in a tenure track after a probationary period of fixed length, often not to exceed seven years¹ (AAUP, 1940). For many faculty, being a tenured professor is a highly desired status. It is *the* symbol of professional accomplishment and recognition; it represents job security, and it is a vehicle granting its recipients with prized academic freedom to pursue their scholarly pursuits.

The Task Force Report is based on an extensive review of empirical studies, including quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-methods designs and selected reports to inform the recommendations based upon the best empirical evidence available. The Task Force applied an intersectional lens (Crenshaw, 1989; Deo, 2015) to include research on marginalized faculty more globally where appropriate, including women and individuals identifying as LGBTQ+ (Corneille et al., 2019; Fox Tree & Vaid, 2022). The Task Force sought to use terms for racial and ethnic groups consistently throughout the report; there is considerable variation across the literature with how terms are used to describe faculty of color (e.g., underrepresented, marginalized, minoritized). As such, nomenclature used by study authors is used in this report to ensure clarity about generalizability. Furthermore, the Task Force acknowledges the use of the term Equity, Diversity, Inclusion (EDI) employed by the APA (APA, 2021). However, to maintain consistency with terminology in wide use in the literature and in industry, the Task Force used the terminology Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) throughout the report.

The report is accompanied by an *Executive Summary*, a *Suggested Blueprint for Administrators*, and an *Appendix*. The *Appendix* contains a cover letter for chairs of departmental tenure committees to send to external reviewers evaluating candidates for promotion and tenure.

¹ There is heterogeneity in the length of the probationary period for tenure-track faculty across institutions.

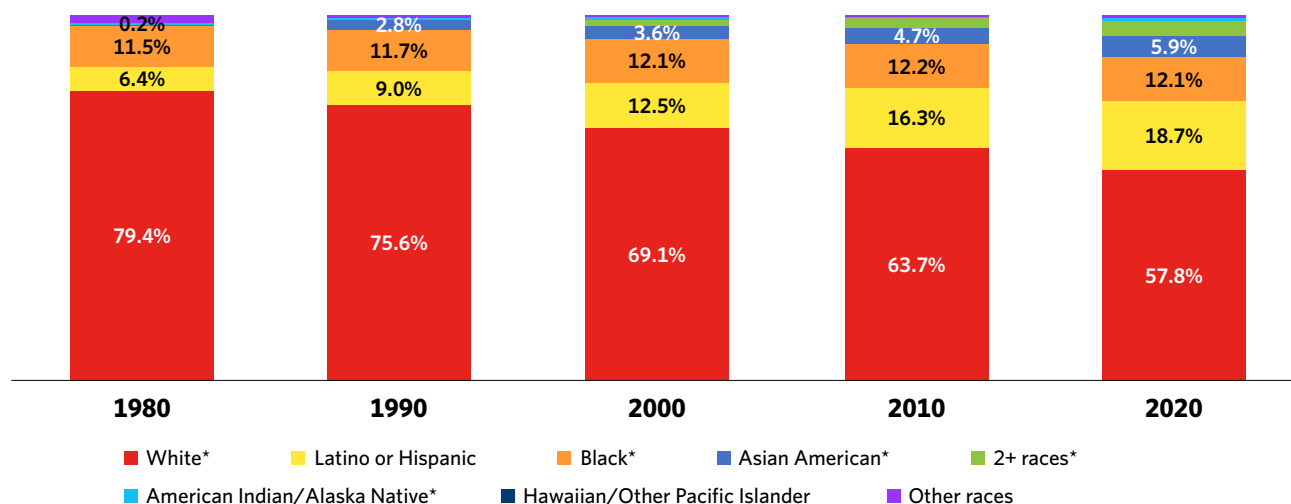
A PERSISTENT PROBLEM: BARRIERS TO DIVERSIFYING THE U.S. PROFESSORiate FOR FACULTY OF COLOR

Recruitment, promotion, tenure, and retention of **faculty of color**² is a longstanding problem within academia in the United States (Alex-Assensoh, 2003; Finkelstein et al., 2016; Matias et al., 2022; Zambrana, 2018). One would experience great difficulty identifying an accredited institution of higher education lacking a mission or policy statement endorsing a commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI; Agate et al., 2022). Yet, despite the presence of these widespread commitments to DEI, the faculty ranks across American colleges and universities remain severely lacking in racial and ethnic diversity (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2022). This state of affairs will continue if institutional and societal changes are not implemented (Matias et al., 2022).

According to 2020 U.S. Census data, the U.S. population has become increasingly racially and ethnically diverse (See Figure 1; Frey, 2021; Jones et al., 2021). Data indicate that more than 40% of the population now consists of people of color (Frey, 2021). However, as of fall 2021, only 24.6% of tenure-track faculty across faculty ranks consisted of self-identified faculty of color, the bulk of whom are assistant professors (IPEDS³, 2023). Two significant challenges in diversifying the professoriate by race and ethnicity are: (1) the small numbers of people of color entering faculty positions despite measurable growth in the number of people of color completing doctoral degrees over time (Griffin, 2020; Liu et al., 2019) and (2) the decision by many people of color to leave academia at different points in their careers (Doležal, 2022; Zambrana, 2018).

FIGURE 1.

Race and ethnic profiles of U.S. population, 1980-2020



Note. The data source: Frey (2021) analysis of the 2020 United States Census data. The way in which race and ethnicity data are collected has changed since 1980. In the 1980 and 1990 census, the category of two or more races was not an available option. Additionally, Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islanders were classified as Asian Americans in the 1980 and 1990 census.

2 The term *faculty of color* is an adaption of the term *people of color*. In this report, faculty of color denotes professor who identity as Asian, Black, Indigenous, Latinx/Latine, Middle Eastern/North African [MENA], Multiracial, or Pacific Islander. It includes faculty that are immigrants that might be classified as people of color and U.S.-borne faculty members who identify with the aforementioned racial-ethnic categories (American Psychological Association, 2019).

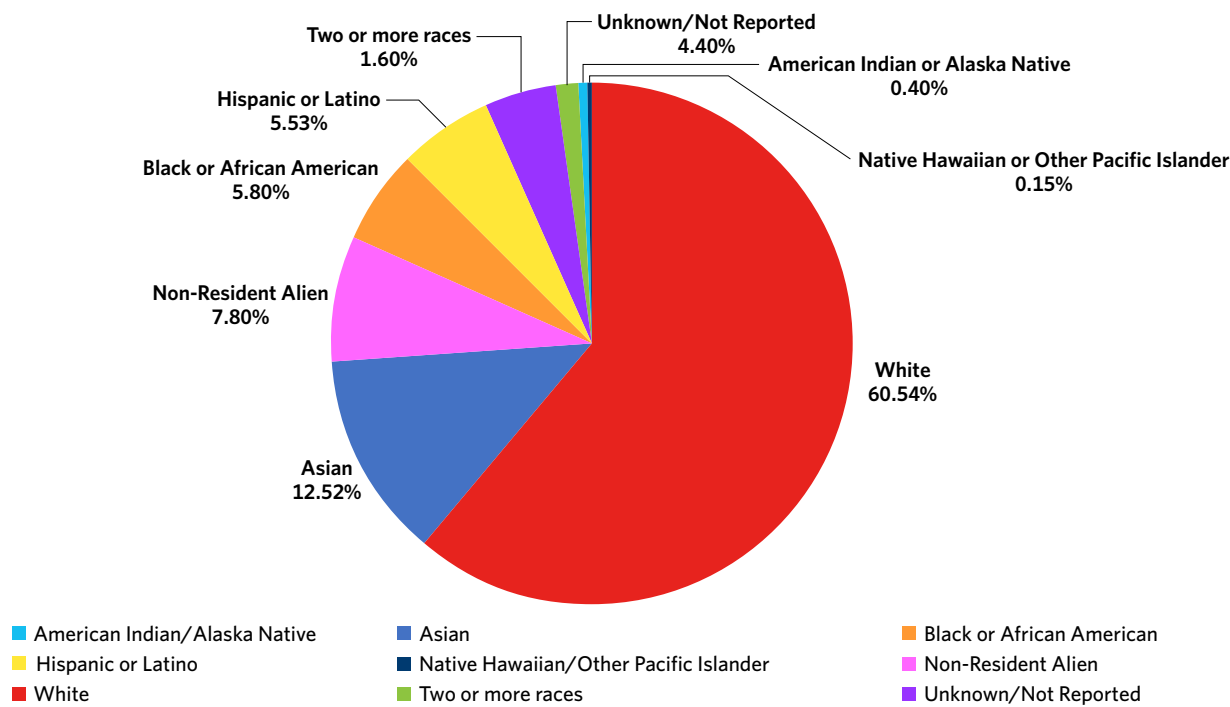
3 Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, U.S. Department Education's National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). <https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/>

Fall 2021 data from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS; 2023) indicate that clear disparities exist by faculty rank, race, and ethnicity, with greater disparities present at the associate and full professor ranks, respectively. As can be seen in Figures 2-4, Specifically, over 60% of Assistant Professors identify as White. White professors comprised 70% of tenure-track faculty at the Associate Professor level and nearly 76% of tenure-track faculty at the Professor level. A close examination of the data indicates that faculty of color are sorely underrepresented at each faculty rank. Data on the racial and ethnic backgrounds of faculty born overseas are not collected, limiting capacity to understand how the experiences of international faculty of color factor into this picture. These patterns indicate two challenges, a lower number of doctoral professionals of color electing

to enter academia and significant barriers for faculty of color to ascend through the faculty ranks to full professor (Finkelstein et al., 2016).

With respect to the small number of people of color entering faculty positions, Matias and colleagues (2022) proposed moving beyond the individual and institutional level of analysis to consider implementation of coordinated “sector-wide” change across the higher education industry (p. 1608). While the “pipeline” metaphor and argument are powerful and pervasive, Matias and colleagues (2022) note that narratives about leaky educational and career pathways are not fully borne out by the data (i.e., Griffin, 2020). Therefore, despite this increase in the pool of qualified candidates of color for the U.S. professoriate, many of these individuals are not entering academia. They state the following:

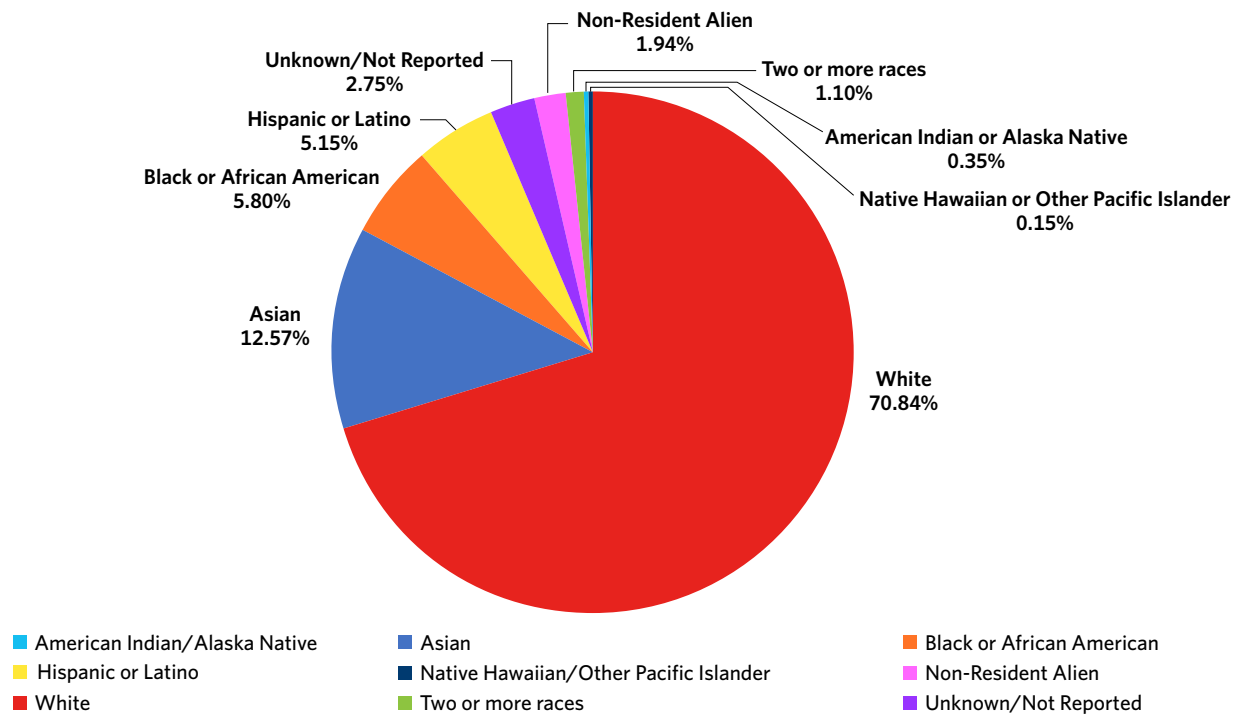
FIGURE 2.
Percentage of assistant professors by race and ethnicity, fall 2021



Note. The data source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Human Resources, final fall 2021 data. This graph presents data collected from Title IV degree-granting institutions in the United States. The data do not include full-time instructional staff from institutions that have less than 15 full-time staff. Full-time instructional staff from administrative offices are not included.

FIGURE 3.

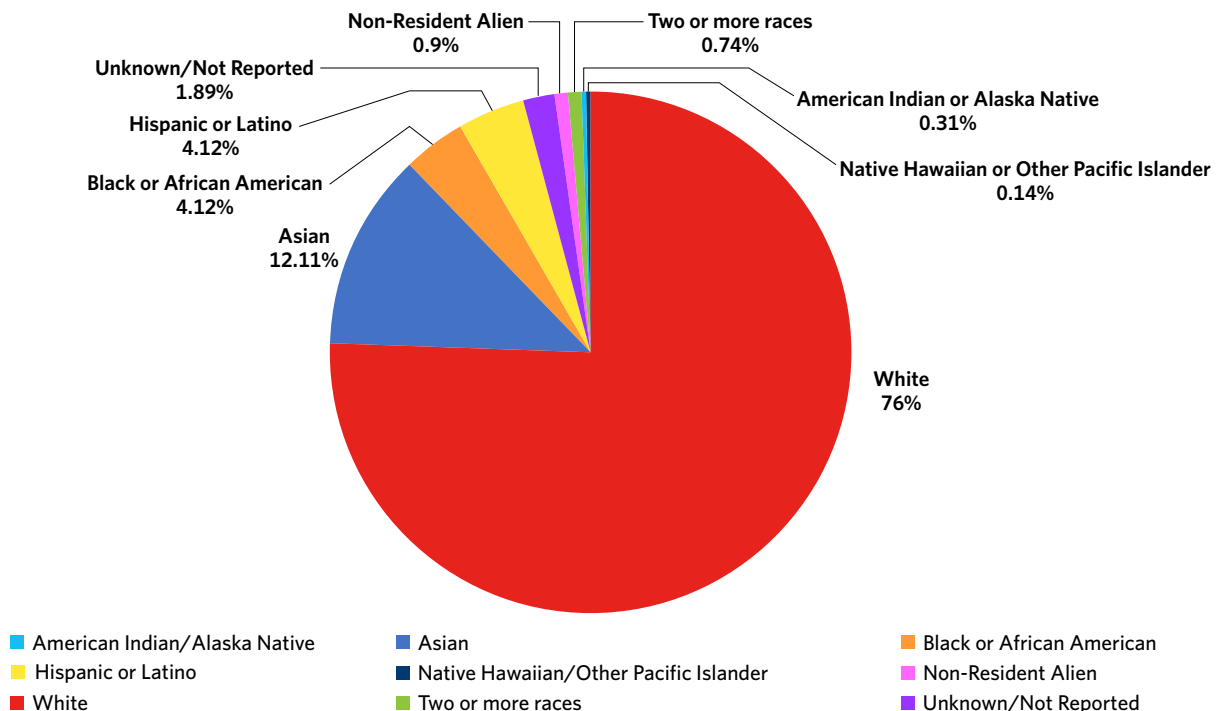
Percentage of associate professors by race and ethnicity, fall 2021



Note. The data source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Human Resources, fall 2021 data. This graph presents data collected from Title IV degree-granting institutions in the United States. The data do not include full-time instructional staff from institutions that have less than 15 full-time staff. Full-time instructional staff from administrative offices are not included.

FIGURE 4.

Percentage of professors by race and ethnicity, fall 2021



Note. The data source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), Human Resources component, fall 2021 data. This graph presents data collected from Title IV degree-granting institutions in the United States. The data do not include full-time instructional staff from institutions that have less than 15 full-time staff. Full-time instructional staff from administrative offices are not included,

"Accounting for time to tenure, we estimate that between 2013 and 2020, 45,309 people from underrepresented groups who had PhDs granted by U.S. higher education institutions were not hired into tenure-track positions. The number of people with PhDs from underrepresented groups who were not hired into U.S. faculty jobs increased by 3,394 on average per year during this time. Overall, since 2007, the number of unhired individuals with PhDs who are from underrepresented groups is equivalent to 10.58% of all tenure-track faculty in the U.S. in 2020. Clearly, there has been an increase in the pool of qualified candidates from underrepresented groups" (Matias et al., 2022, p. 1607).

Hence, these data beg the question as to the factors influencing the career decisions of doctoral degree recipients of color, especially those shaping the decision not to pursue tenure-track positions in academia.

Several explanations have been offered for the decision to choose other career paths (Golde & Dore, 2001; Griffin, 2020). Research has shown that interest in academic careers declines over time as candidates get close to completing their degrees (Fuhrmann et al. 2011; Sauermann & Roach 2012). Reportedly, these declines are steeper for women and men of color (Gibbs et al. 2014). Graduate students across disciplines cite lack of funding to support faculty research and reduced number of tenure-track faculty positions as reasons to choose other research career paths. Moreover, doctoral students often acquire substantial student loan debt to complete their training, an issue more salient for first-generation college students and aspiring professionals of color, many of whom have limited generational wealth to draw upon to fund their education (Doran et al., 2016; Jackson & Reynolds, 2013; Scott et al., 2022; Webber & Burns, 2021). Other realities that lead to decreased interest include the length of training needed to be competitive for academic positions (i.e., postdoctoral positions) and the relatively low compensation for the faculty talent in higher education (Fuhrmann et al. 2011; Gibbs & Griffin, 2013; Gibbs et al., 2014; MacLachlan 2006; Stephan, 2012). Finally, the faculty lifestyle often requires that individuals prioritize work and scholarly productivity over all other areas of their lives. Collectively, these features can reduce the appeal of tenure-track jobs for all doctoral-level profes-

sionals, including faculty of color (Griffin, 2020). Despite these challenges, people of color who enter the academy face their own set of unique challenges and barriers.

The next sections of this report review several themes that affect the lives of faculty of color in higher education. They are: (1) The culture of academia as a workplace for faculty of color; (2) The mismatch of academic culture and the cultural values of faculty of color; (3) Visible and invisible service and labor for faculty of color; (4) Experiences of faculty of color with mentoring and faculty development; and (5) The importance of scholarly engagement beyond the academy for faculty of color.

The Culture of Academia as a Workplace for Faculty of Color

Academia is an attractive employment destination for doctoral graduates who derive great satisfaction from focusing on intellectual pursuits, the opportunities to shape young minds, and develop future talent within their field. It also offers flexibility and creativity in work endeavors (Hamermesh, 2018, Ziker, 2014). Individuals attracted to tenure-track faculty employment in higher education are often passionate about their fields of study (Holland, 1999; HuMetricsHS Team, 2022). Under the auspices of academic freedom, tenure-track faculty can pursue research questions about which they are passionate (Castellanos et al., 2022; Reichman, 2019)⁴. Moreover, faculty positions offer the possibility of national and international recognition for one's professional accomplishments. By virtue of their faculty appointments, tenure track faculty are afforded a platform to leverage their expertise and research to address major societal problems, shape policy in a variety of arenas, and provide professional expertise to the media, legal matters, state and federal institutions, and in legal and policy matters. Indeed, faculty from all backgrounds find these opportunities attractive and rewarding in intrinsic and extrinsic ways.

Despite the potential for the professional rewards of academia, it is also essential to acknowledge that the academic workplace for faculty of color is distinguished by significant, often harmful, realities related to their minoritized status (Griffin, 2020). Many faculty of color are the only one of their racial-ethnic background in an academic department, resulting in extreme cultural and

4 At the time of the writing of this report, a surge of activities in a significant number of states across the U.S. are seeking to [change the terms of academic freedom] by restricting course content, eliminating diversity, equity, and inclusion funding, and eliminating tenure. (APA, 2023; Gecker, 2023; Hollingsworth, 2023; Kelderman, 2023)

social isolation and tokenism (Mangan, 2023; Pettit, 2019). They also confront overt racial discrimination from students and colleagues (Griffin, 2020; Pittman, 2012; Zambrana, 2018). Examples include but are limited to: (1) racially hostile treatment in the classroom and faculty meetings, (2) enduring racist questions about their professional qualifications, (3) merit of their research pursuits, and (4) exposure to racially insensitive comments about people of color more generally (Agate et al., 2022; DeCuir et al., 2020; Griffin, 2020; Haynes-Baratz, 2021; Heffernan, 2022; Zambrana, 2018). These realities are stressful and potentially debilitating for faculty of color. They sap one's capacity to execute the intellectually intense work involved in academic pursuits (Griffin, 2020; Matthew, 2016). They undermine a faculty member's physical and mental health (Doležal, 2022; Zambrana, 2018). As faculty advance to the higher ranks of the professoriate, the numbers decrease, exacerbating the social isolation already present.

The Mismatch between Academic Culture and the Cultural Values among Faculty of Color

Scholars have written about the mismatch of cultural values between the institution and those of faculty of color (Buchanan et al., 2021; Holland, 1999; Settles et al., 2019). Institutional values are reflected in the emphasis on individual achievements and traditional achievement metrics, such as *h*-indices, journal impact factors, citation counts, and books in university presses (Bouwma-Gearhart et al., 2021; Dougherty & Horne, 2022; O'Meara, 2002; Spitzmueller et al., 2023). Moreover, diversifying the academy fosters greater agency by faculty to create a body of work that reflects their intellectual and creative professional activities and the impact of that work on their institution, the academy, and beyond (HuMetricsHSS, n.d.).

The aforementioned dynamics also have implications for the research conducted by faculty of color, which often is driven by a desire for research findings to be meaningful to and relevant to the communities from which they come (Few-Demo et al., 2016). Faculty of color also acquire "inequity taxes" as they work towards promotion and tenure, especially as related to their engagement in social justice work (Abo-Zena et al., 2022; Arnold et al., 2016; Arnold et al., 2021; Bankier, 2002; Buchanan, 2020; Gorski, 2019).

In their qualitative analysis of Black faculty experiences on the tenure track, Arnold and colleagues (2021)

argued that these taxes incurred by Black faculty are best understood in terms of academic labor costs and racial battle fatigue that have cumulative adverse impact. One study participant, a Black woman faculty stated, "If I go along with things, I am nice. If I critique certain things, I am a troublemaker" (p. 10). Similarly, another Black male faculty member stated, "When I confronted the faculty member about an incident with an African American student and how I felt like she was exhibiting some bias, she indicated that 'I wasn't being nice or collegial to my colleagues'" (p. 10). Arnold and colleagues (2021) also reported that Black faculty who conduct research or produce scholarly works on social justice and inclusion incur a credibility tax and must work harder for their work to be valued and to earn the respect of their colleagues than their White counterparts.

Moreover, scholars who focus on social justice and inclusion in their scholarship often rely on innovative qualitative approaches and publish in specialty or non-mainstream journals that are more welcoming of such research (Syed, 2017). Academic institutions often place a lower value on these types of approaches and a greater value on more established and perceived higher prestige journals that favor more traditional forms of research (Niles et al., 2020; Syed, 2017). Arnold et al. (2016) also identified Black faculty as paying a "leading edge tax" by pursuing research on newer or less mainstream topics. This is experienced in the form of penalties, such as not receiving funding or institutional support for projects that focus on the community or on social justice issues, as well as enduring inequities in salary and access to leadership opportunities. A third kind of tax faculty of color can pay is "group status tax," defined as identification with a certain diversity-related demographic. Black faculty who focus their scholarly writing on the lived experience of Black people reported that their research was seen as less rigorous and objective and as being narrowly-focused. Finally, "retaliation tax" refers to attacks faculty of color may experience for research, teaching, or service that is perceived as different.

Finally, the lives of faculty of color are intersectional (Deo, 2015). The faculty workforce brings to each campus all of the lived complexities that employees bring to any work setting. That is to say, in addition to the common elements (i.e., intellect, ambition, entrepreneurial instincts, creativity, passion) that cut across the professoriate, faculty live within the structural constraints that permeate American life more broadly (Buenavista et al.,

2023; Krukowski et al., 2021; Stankiscuaski et al., 2021). They live with the consequences of societal inequities based on race, gender, sexual orientation, hidden and visible disabilities, religion, and variation in caregiving responsibilities for children or older adult family members (Buenavista et al., 2023). And while the professoriate is generally considered a privileged class with respect to status and professional agency, social class variation in a faculty members' families of origin can translate into tangible and intangible disadvantages in terms of time available to devote to research and other faculty duties (e.g., summers devoted to research). Promotion and tenure processes traditionally offer limited acknowledgment of the aforementioned diverse needs of its faculty. In fact, recent data from one study with 4 institutions indicate that faculty who take approved leaves (e.g., change in family status, COVID-19 extension) during the probationary period are less likely to receive tenure (Spitzmueller et al., 2023). Such realities have a detrimental impact on the academy and send dual messages about higher education's capacity to be inclusive.

Visible and Invisible Service and Labor among Faculty of Color

A growing body of literature provides evidence that faculty who identify as people of color and women, especially women of color, carry a heavier burden of visible and invisible labor in institutions of higher education (Domingo et al., 2022; Griffin & Reddick, 2011; Matthew, 2016; National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine 2023; O'Meara et al., 2017a, 2017b; Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group [SSFNRIG], 2017; Zambrana, 2018). During the COVID-19 pandemic, women and faculty of color experienced increased responsibilities for mentoring and counseling students of color who were experiencing the traumas of isolation, financial and food insecurities, and the challenges of remote or hybrid instruction (Berheide et al., 2022;). This emotional labor made the transition to remote teaching even more difficult and exhausting for faculty of color (Elfman, 2022).

Invisible labor, the more widely recognized term, refers to a wide range of unacknowledged, unrecognized, and uncompensated forms of work within academia performed disproportionately by faculty of color and/or women faculty (O'Meara et al., 2017a, 2017b; SSFNRIG, 2017). Padilla (1994) defined **invisible labor** as a form of

cultural taxation within academia that is expected from, and performed by, faculty of color (Reddick et al., 2020). Padilla (1994) defined cultural taxation as "the obligation to show good citizenship toward the [academic] institution by serving its needs for ethnic representation on committees, or to demonstrate knowledge and commitment to a cultural group, which may even bring accolades to the institution, but which is not usually rewarded by the institution on whose behalf the service was performed" (p. 26). It also consists of educating White faculty about diversity matters, whether they feel qualified or comfortable doing so (Padilla, 1994).

This invisible labor often occurs in the following ways: unassessed diversity-related labor aimed at improving the campus climate for members of marginalized groups; informal mentoring and emotional support to students of color and junior faculty of color; creating and/or supervising affinity groups to support students of color; creating programming designed to affirm and engage students of color; writing letters of recommendation; intervening in crises to support students and colleagues from marginalized backgrounds; and the emotional labor in responding to conflicts between students of color and faculty or administrators (Bird et al., 2004; Flaherty, 2019; Gordon et al., 2022; Kim et al., 2020; Matthew, 2016c; O'Meara et al., 2017b; Padilla, 1994; Pettit, 2019; SSFNRIG, 2017; Williamson et al., 2021).

These realities present a quandary for faculty of color. On the one hand, engaging in such labor may indeed enhance inclusiveness for the campus, a goal that may be personally rewarding and that may help the faculty member feel more connected to the campus or a campus unit. On the other hand, such contributions require significant investments of time and emotional energy that are not required of other faculty (Padilla, 1994). Faculty of color are hyper-aware that they are often automatic role models for students of color and, as such, feel a greater obligation to support them. Turning down the requests can in and of itself be stressful (Zambrana, 2023). This burden is referred to as an **identity tax** (Wijesingha & Ramos, 2017), *minority tax* (Trejo, 2020), or *institutional penalty* (Zambrana et al., 2023) paid by faculty of color to sustain academia at the expense of their own career advancement and well-being. Invisible labor performed by faculty of color represents deep and sustained inequities inasmuch as these are additional demands that are uniquely placed on faculty of color and unshared by White faculty.

The Task Force defined **visible labor** as traditional

forms of campus faculty service that: (1) are captured in the institution's annual review assessments and tenure dossiers and (2) are considered for merit review. This definition acknowledges the variation across institutions with respect to labor that can contribute to merit reviews in a formal manner. Examples of traditionally recognized activities include service to the campus in the form of memberships on various departmental or college committees and thesis and dissertation committees. Service to the profession in the form of journal reviewing, editorships, editorial board memberships, and leadership activities in professional associations to name a few.

Non-promotable visible labor is defined as service activities captured in annual assessments and/or tenure dossiers that are necessary and act to enhance the campus climate but are viewed as less meritorious than other forms of campus service (Babcock et al., 2017). Examples include giving presentations to student groups or serving as an interview subject for students completing class assignments in the faculty member's area of expertise. Faculty of color often receive such requests for such labor from students of color on the campus. Faculty of color often feel a special obligation to be role models to those students and to support their efforts.

Low-promotability tasks, as the term suggests, can also impinge on the tenure, promotion, and advancement prospects of faculty at all ranks (Babcock et al., 2017). Though visible, faculty of color often field a high number of requests for such assignments and can be disproportionately vulnerable to being assigned such labor, especially when the tasks involve diversity, equity, or inclusion elements. As noted, turning down numerous requests from students of color to serve on thesis and dissertation committees is taxing for faculty of color because they know that they are often automatic—and the only—role models for students. Serving on such committees is a form of visible labor that typically has diminishing benefits for merit once a certain number of such activities are completed in a given academic year. Despite its benefits to the overall climate of a department, service and teaching rendered in the form of excessive visible labor and unacknowledged (i.e., invisible) is often devalued for tenure. In some cases, faculty of color are blamed for not juggling these unique demands and burdens effectively.

Taken together, the significant time and resources that faculty of color invest in visible and invisible labor have cumulative, adverse consequences for their tenure,

promotion, and career advancement (Dupree & Boykin, 2021; Guillaume & Apodaca, 2020; Joseph & Hirshfield, 2011; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2023; Rideau, 2021; Wijesingha & Ramos, 2017). A larger implication of the consequences of the burden of invisible labor is relevant to the overall success of academic institutions. If institutions continue to devalue and ignore the investment that faculty of color provides, such invisible labor will negatively impact faculty of color's emotional, personal, and financial health and well-being (Zambrana, 2018). These realities lead to burnout and greater risk of departure from the academic institution or the academy entirely (Mohamed & Beagan, 2019; Moore et al., 2010).

Experiences of Faculty of Color with Mentoring and Faculty Development

Mentorship is critical for the success of faculty at every stage of an academic career. Mentorship may take the form of formal institutional programming (e.g., workshops for faculty at different ranks, departmental mentoring programs). Institutions that offer formal and informal mentorship resources, and networking opportunities for women and faculty of color provide support and clarity regarding promotion and tenure processes and expectations (Davis et al., 2022; Taylor et al., 2017; Thorne et al., 2021). Mentorship may also occur on an informal basis. For example, faculty members might develop collegial relationships with faculty in their department or from other units on campus (Griffin, 2020). These relationships may serve as the source of important, useful guidance to faculty.

Colleges and universities vary in the degree to which faculty mentoring is formalized, incentivized, and valued as a part of the campus's institutional culture. And because the evidence shows that mentors and protégés are often more comfortable working with individuals from similar backgrounds, finding suitable mentoring can be a challenge for faculty of color, particularly in predominantly white institutions (PWIs; Griffin, 2020; Irby, 2014; Kelly & Winkle-Wagner, 2017; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, & Medicine, 2023). For instance, faculty of color at PWIs reported experiencing mentoring challenges including difficulty finding mentors, particularly mentors who can provide culturally relevant mentoring, insufficient institutional support for formal mentoring, and lack of post-tenure mentorship among

tenured faculty (Griffin, 2020; Zambrana et al., 2015). Additionally, Black and Latina women were most likely to describe barriers to mentoring (Davis et al., 2022; Thorne et al., 2021).

The Importance of Scholarly Engagement Beyond the Academy for Faculty of Color

As noted elsewhere in this report, many faculty of color are motivated to enter the professoriate to conduct research to benefit the communities from which they came (Agate et al., 2022; Edwards & Roy, 2017; Etengoff, 2023; Few-Demo et al., 2016; Matthew, 2016). They also often choose to study topics inspired by lived experiences, topics often construed as beyond the scope of mainstream journals and other traditional scholarly outlets (Buchanan et al. 2021; Harris, 2020; Roberts et al., 2020; Zambrana, 2018). Furthermore, publishing research articles and other traditional academic products are not the only desirable form of impact many scholars of color wish to have (Few-Demo et al., 2016; Kelly & McCain, 2014; Matthew, 2016; Settles et al., 2021). Faculty of color also wish to produce products consumed by the general public and members of their communities (Eaton et al., 2021; Reddy & Amer, 2023; Settles et al., 2019). Often, institutions do not weigh this public-facing scholarship as heavily as traditional scholarly products if they are considered at all (Klar et al., 2020; O'Meara, 2005; Ozer et al., 2021; Zambrana, 2018). Yet, these community presentations, podcasts, opinion editorials, blogs, and social media engagement are meaningful professional activities for many faculty of color. Consequently, disseminating information to the community, policy makers, and other consumers who use them to inform practice and benefit the public are viewed as essential professional activities for faculty of color, not activities that are ancillary or of lesser professional value (Bellmore & Graham, 2009; Eaton et al., 2021; Fine et al., 2021; O'Meara, 2005).

Moreover, research on communities of color involves long lead times in which trust must be established and effective partnerships built (e.g., via community-based partnerships). Such efforts are often poorly matched to the conventional expectations of the tenure-track process and may involve co-authoring articles, newsletters, and blogs with community partners (Collins et al., 2018; Ozer et al., 2022). Although research on this topic is limited in psychology, data from other scientific disciplines (Ellison, 2017; Silva et al., 2019) suggest that publications in nonacademic outlets are not valued to the same degree that journal articles are by promotion and tenure committees (Covarrubias et al., 2022; Eaton et al., 2021).

Using one's professional expertise to engage entities outside the academy is consistent with the mission of many public institutions to improve the public good (O'Meara et al., 2015). Often, scholars of color, however, are given advice to only publish in traditional outlets until they are tenured (Covarrubias, et al., 2022). In other words, faculty of color are explicitly given the message that behavior consistent with values inherent in community-based partnerships will not be rewarded for faculty tenure evaluations. While peer-review will likely remain the primary metric in which scholarly products are evaluated, the difference between the value the institution and the faculty member place on such products can lead to work stress, alienation, and disillusionment with the work environment (Zambrana, 2018).

The next major section of this report will address the mechanics of promotion and tenure more generally and review research describing how those mechanics play out for faculty in the evaluation of their accomplishments in research, teaching, and service. Implicit bias will be addressed in research, teaching, and mentoring⁵. Research on bias in the annual review process and in the external review process are also addressed. Finally, research on retention and attrition of faculty of color are also be addressed.

5 Impacts of invisible and visible labor are also key variables in promotion review. For details, the reader is referred to the earlier sections of the report.

EVALUATION OF FACULTY FOR PROMOTION AND TENURE

Evaluation of faculty for promotion and tenure traditionally includes three standard criteria: teaching, scholarship, and service (American Council on Education, 2000; Cahn, 2022; Dawson et al., 2022), with differential weight given to each factor, depending on the institution. Teaching-focused institutions (e.g., four-year colleges) generally emphasize teaching more than research, while research-intensive⁶ universities prioritize research. Traditionally, service is proportionally assigned a lower value than teaching and research, especially during evaluation for promotion from assistant professor to associate professor with continuous tenure. Despite the long-standing nature of these promotion and tenure criteria, there are important reasons as well as evidence that they are not applied consistently to faculty of color in an equitable manner (Matthew, 2016; Syed, 2017; also see Dougherty & Horne, 2022, Kozlowski et al., 2022, Wang et al., 2017).

Additionally, some colleges and universities have recently added *collegiality* criterion to their metrics for evaluating faculty for promotion and tenure (Dawson et al., 2022). Collegiality is subjective because it may be expressed differently across individual faculty through interpersonal style, cultural background, and other factors. Moreover, *informal* expectations for collegiality may also be weaponized in subjective and harmful ways (Arnold et al. 2021). Given the strong hierarchical culture of academia in general, departmental expectations of collegiality can be used to bully tenure-track faculty, (AAUP, 2016; Dawson et al., 2022). Activities that might constitute evidence of collegiality are faculty member's willingness to agree to various forms of visible and invisible service, implicit and explicit expectations of conformity to departmental norms, and silencing dissent (i.e., Arnold et al., 2022). For these reasons, the AAUP (2016) discourages including collegiality as a formal criterion for promotion and tenure.

Implicit Bias in Evaluation of Faculty Accomplishments

As the lack of racial and ethnic faculty diversity has persisted into the present day, the role of implicit bias in the

promotion and tenure process has gained substantial attention. In fact, implicit bias has been discussed and debated widely in American public discourse. Parker and colleagues (2023), authors of a recent review of the literature commissioned by the National Science Foundation wrote, "The concept of implicit bias has become firmly entrenched in American society" (p. 20). A full accounting of the literature is beyond the scope of this report. Still, attention to some key points of terminology is necessary for understanding the role of biases in the promotion and tenure process. Furthermore, **explicit bias**, defined as purposefully and intentionally acting on one's "[personal] biases or prejudicial attitudes" or overt discrimination, still exists in American society and institutions; higher education is no exception" (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Parker et al., 2023, p. 4). Thus, while implicit biases in promotion and tenure processes and decisions for faculty of color are critical to mitigate, the reality and harms of explicit racial and ethnic biases that faculty of color encounter must also be addressed (Arnold et al., 2016; Stanley, 2006; Zambrana, 2018).

Implicit bias is a multi-component construct, defined as, "prejudicial judgments, decisions, and behaviors a person enacts, but there is something about the bias about which the person is unaware" (Parker et al., 2023, p.4). People may possess implicit bias in one or more ways: They may lack *awareness that they actually hold a prejudicial attitude*, may lack awareness of the *impact* of their biased attitudes, and or the *source or basis* of their attitudes. The lack of awareness about the impact of their attitudes may show up as microaggressions in the workplace, diminishing the quality of the work climate for faculty of color.

One way that bias enters the review process is through the annual review of faculty. Typically, faculty receive annual evaluations of each area of performance commensurate with their career stage and institutional mission⁷ (i.e., research, teaching, and service; Fox Tree & Vaid, 2022). The research literature reveals that bias can show up in several ways. As noted, evidence indicates that faculty of color and women faculty often experience differential interpretations of their collegiality (Arnold et al., 2022; Quadlin, 2018; Stanley 2006). Women faculty

6 <https://carnegieclassifications.acenet.edu/>

7 The regularity of faculty evaluations may vary across institution and faculty rank.

of color are more likely to be judged as “unprofessional” or lacking in leadership skills (Hahn & Leonard, 2017; Quinteros & Covarrubias, 2023; Townsend, 2021).

Faculty of color also report discrepancies between feedback provided to candidates in annual evaluations regarding readiness for promotion and tenure. For example, faculty candidates may be told that they are “on track” and making good progress each year during the probationary period, and yet receive negative promotion and tenure decisions. Some high-profile tenure denials have been reported in national news outlets (i.e., Flaherty, 2019; Flaherty, 2020; Flaherty, 2022). Bias may also occur in uneven implementation of formal annual review processes during the candidate’s probationary period. For instance, faculty of color denied promotion and tenure report that new, critical feedback is never provided or not provided in a formal, timely manner (Flaherty, 2019; Flaherty, 2020; Flaherty, 2022). Additionally, new expectations for accomplishments are provided late in the probationary period, giving candidates limited time to act on such guidance. Disparagement of the scholarship and/or scholarly outlets can also occur, ostensibly justifying negative tenure decisions (e.g., Robertson, 2022). Collectively, these occurrences disadvantage candidates of color under review.

Research, Publications, and Funding

Metrics for research have traditionally included quantity, quality, and type of publication, journal prestige, ranking, and authorship (single- vs. co-authored and collaborative work; lead author vs. not); citation history; presentations at conferences and invited fora; funded grants and source of funding (public or private); and external reviews of research productivity in terms of quality and quantity. Other research metrics that have historically been emphasized are the *h*-index, journal acceptance rates, Google Scholar citations, publication downloads, and social media (Settles et al., 2021).

Researchers of color are more likely to contribute novel scholarly contributions and to publish on topics that reflect their racialized identities (Kozlowski et al., 2022). In examining topics, Black and Latinx populations are highly specialized in their choice of topics whereas White authors publish on a wide range of topics (Kozlowski et al., 2022). However, when examining the relationship between novel research and impact factors Wang and colleagues found that bibliometrics creates barriers for such researchers. Most novel publications that reach top 1% of highly cited

research does so in the long run (Wang et al., 2017). However, bibliometrics are often used in the short run and heavily relied on to inform funding institutions and universities. Since novel papers are less likely to be cited in high-impact journals they can appear to be of “less quality” when in actuality that is not the case. High-impact journals also tend to accept the “safer” submissions based on funding provisions (Arnold et al., 2021; Dougherty & Horne, 2022). Furthermore, the researchers themselves may abandon their research interests or topics that will advance the field for more popular topics because bibliometric outcomes incentivize researchers to maximize their citation counts (Dougherty & Horne, 2022).

Research on women and racially marginalized individuals in academia finds systemic bias and a more challenging environment for article authorship (Fox Tree & Vaid, 2022; Macaluso et al., 2016; Sato et al., 2021; West et al., 2013); in publishing (Adams & Miller, 2022; Dupree & Krauss, 2021; Roberts et al., 2020; Settles et al., 2021; Willis et al., 2021), editorial positions (Adams & Miller, 2022; Lerback & Hanson, 2017; Roberts et al., 2020; Willis et al., 2021), research grants (Bedi et al., 2012; Erosheva et al., 2020; Ginther et al., 2016; Hoppe et al., 2019; Palser et al., 2022; Rissler et al., 2020; Van der Lee & Ellemers, 2015), and tenure (Covarrubias et al., 2022; García Peña, 2022; Urrieta et al., 2015; Weisshaar, 2017). In an academic career, these indices work interactively to build an individual’s research portfolio (Bol et al., 2018; Sato et al., 2021). When there is weakness in one domain, this compounds the research portfolio over the course of the academic career (García Peña, 2022; Sato et al., 2021). Inequities in these indices result in less representation of faculty of color across promotion and tenure.

Research also reveals systematic biases in the evaluation of content and research approaches of scholarship in tenure/promotion review (National Academy of Science, Engineering, and Medicine, 2023). This translates into a need for contextualized evaluation of contributions in terms of development of new theories and measurement tools for faculty working in new areas of inquiry. Courtship of communities historically underrepresented in research is time-intensive. Faculty researchers must spend time gaining trust, developing effective collaborative relationships with communities that endured harm by research and, thus, developed deep distrust of researchers (George et al., 2014; Murry & Brody, 2004). Data have revealed that biases in the review process negatively affect whether faculty of color from specific backgrounds are awarded

external funding (Chen et al., 2022; Ginther et al., 2011; Hoppe et al., 2019), lack of financial resources can also affect their community outreach and ability to fund graduate students or research staff to assist with their research.

A review of trends in publishing of cross-cultural psychology and ethnic minority psychology across journals published by the APA and Association for Psychological Science (APS) found that the substantial majority of articles are published in specialty journals and journals with low impact factors (Hartmann et al., 2013). Further, little change in trends occurred between the 1990s and the 2000s. These patterns suggest that cross-cultural and ethnic minority psychology continue to be relegated to the margins of the field. The practice often translates into lower journal impact factors for that research, a metric often used to evaluate research merit (Fox Tree & Vaid, 2022). This dynamic is one way that faculty of color, who are often engaged in such scholarship, might experience devaluation of their research in the tenure and promotion process. (Fox Tree & Vaid, 2022). As demographic trends regarding race and ethnicity show (Frey, 2021), the longstanding practice of centering psychological research on White populations translates into a psychological science that is not representative of the U.S. population (Graham, 1992; Heinreich et al., 2010).

Editors and editorial boards can also serve as gatekeepers of knowledge, impacting which research by faculty of color and on people of color gets published. Roberts and colleagues' (2020) landmark meta-analysis examining the effect of the racial composition of journal editorial boards race on the proportion of articles ($n = 26,380$ studies) published that on samples with people of color in four highly ranked psychology journals between 1974 to 2018. They found that when Editors-in-Chief were White, only 6% of editorial board members were persons of color. In contrast, when Editors-in-Chief were people of color, the percentage of people of color the editorial board increased to 17%. Furthermore, the proportion of papers published on people of color between 1974 to 2018 also was higher when the editorial board was more racially and ethnically diverse.

As noted, funding is often essential for seeding, growing, and sustaining a program of research for tenure-track faculty in psychological science. Data show that faculty of color are less likely to be awarded federal grants

for their research (Chen et al., 2022; Dupree & Kraus, 2020; Erosheva et al., 2020; Ginther et al., 2011; Neblett, 2023). For example, women of color are less likely to secure an R01 grant from the National Institutes of Health (NIH) than White women and men (Ginther et al., 2016). Even when educational background, country of origin, training, previous research awards, publication record, and employer characteristics are controlled for, Black applicants are still less likely to be funded relative to White applicants (National Institutes of Health, 2022), suggesting persistent bias in the review process. Furthermore, the topic choice selected by Black applicants explained 20% of the variance in the likelihood of being awarded an R01 grant (Hoppe et al., 2019). Specifically, proposals examining research questions focused on community and population were less likely to be funded. This finding coincides with other realities that faculty of color report at their institutions in terms of the department and/or institutions' perceptions of the value of pursuing community engaged research.

Similarly, in a study contradicting the model minority myth⁸ (Alvarez et al., 2005; Yip et al., 2021), results indicated that Asian scientists were less likely to be awarded grants from the National Science Foundation than their White counterparts (Chen et al., 2022). Chen and colleagues also described other inequities in funding rates by race and ethnicity for Black and Latine researchers. Indeed, inequities in funding are problematic, resulting in gaps of theory and research on marginalized groups by marginalized scientists (Bharat, et al, 2021; Buchanan et al., 2021 Rogers et al., 2020; Sanchez, 2021; White et al., 2021), and these inequities, in turn, affect tenure, promotion, and the salaries of faculty of color. Thus, when promotion and tenure criteria heavily favor funding, faculty applicants of color may be significantly disadvantaged (Ginther et al., 2016).

Mentoring and Teaching

Traditional teaching metrics used in faculty tenure evaluation include the quality of course materials (e.g., course syllabi, assigned readings, grading rubrics, graded student assignments) and the academic rigor of courses, student evaluations or perceptions of teaching, peer observations of faculty teaching, and informal letters from past students. Numerous studies have documented systematic biases in these evaluations whereby faculty

8 Model minority is a term used to describe Asian Americans as a hardworking, successful, and law-abiding ethnic minority that has overcome hardship, oppression, and discrimination (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006; Lee & Joo, 2005).

of color (and women) receive lower evaluations than their White (and male) peers (Arnold et al., 2016; Deo, 2015; Williams, 2019). Faculty of color, linguistic minority faculty, and LGBTQIA+ faculty also receive lower student evaluations (Ewing et al., 2003; Reid, 2010; Smith & Hawkins, 2011). Furthermore, research on course evaluations for faculty of color, Heffernan (2022) reported that faculty of color received racially hostile and abusive open-ended written comments in their evaluations. These dynamics are especially common when faculty of color teach courses focused on race and other DEI topics (Arnold, 2016).

Similarly, a recent study using data from Academic Analytics across 165,666 tenure and tenure-track faculty at 399 universities in the United States and data from RateMyProfessor found that students rated faculty lower if they found the course difficult or if the faculty had an accent (Murray et al., 2020). Across studies, male students tend to favor male professors (Boring, 2017; Friederike et al., 2017; Mengel et al., 2019). These findings have been corroborated across different types of experimental studies, solidifying how lower teaching evaluations among women and racial-ethnic minority individuals are primarily due to biases and not teaching quality (Chávez, & Mitchell, 2020; MacNeil et al., 2015; Mitchell & Martin, 2018).

As a means to counter the influence of biases in student evaluations of teaching on faculty evaluation processes (e.g., promotion and tenure), institutions have been encouraged to incorporate peer review of teaching in the evaluation of faculty for promotion and tenure (Stark & Freishtat, 2014; Stewart & Valian, 2019). The underlying assumption within such evaluative processes is that peer review of teaching is likely to be less subject to biases than student evaluations because it relies on experienced and seasoned faculty to conduct the observations. Today, peer review of teaching has become an essential element of faculty promotion and tenure evaluation, and numerous institutions have established procedures for this assessment. Nonetheless, faculty conducting peer observations should be knowledgeable about the potential for implicit bias, particularly when faculty of color are teaching DEI-related content. Furthermore, no single peer teaching evaluation should be used as evidence of teaching effectiveness or lack thereof.

When making decisions regarding promotion and

tenure, evaluation of teaching may be best done through multimodal assessment (Kreitzer & Sweet-Cushman, 2021) that include faculty's self-assessment of teaching, peer and administrator observations, external review of course materials, or portfolios. Contextual information, such as racial, ethnic, and gender composition of the class, can also help minimize the impacts of bias when using student evaluations of teaching for these groups (Ewing et al., 2003; Kreitzer & Sweet-Cushman, 2021).

The External Review Process: Evidence of Bias in External Review Letters

At many institutions, External Review Letters (ERLs) are one of the most important factors considered when it comes to promotion and tenure decisions (Abbott et al., 2010) and candidates' career trajectories. External Review Letters (ERLs) are considered to be objective assessments of a candidate's dossier, but evidence shows that letter writers and the language they use can be biased (Madera et al., 2023). Furthermore, letter writers often rely on conventional metrics like the *h*-index or journal prestige to assess a candidate's record, indicators that do not consistently reveal the merit and import of a candidate's research contributions (Dougherty & Horne, 2022; Kozlowski et al., 2022; Wang et al., 2017).

Spitzmueller and colleagues (2023) sampled 8,022 ERLs submitted on behalf of 1,387 candidates up for tenure and/or promotion over a 5-year period, as well as data on promotion and tenure committee voting outcomes from four institutions. The study also examined whether there were biases against faculty of color and women and whether extensions of the tenure clock affected language used in ERLs and committee voting decisions (Spitzmueller et al., 2023). Results indicated clear biases against faculty of color and slight biases against women. More specifically, Hispanic⁹ faculty up for promotion to Associate were less likely to receive positive and unanimous votes at both the department and underrepresented minority (URM) faculty up for promotion to Associate Professor were less likely to receive positive votes at the department level and less likely to receive positive and unanimous votes at the college and university levels; at the university level, Hispanic faculty fared even worse and were the least likely to receive positive and unanimous votes compared to White and Asian faculty.

9 Term used in the research report.

In the same study, tenure clock extensions were found to be negatively associated with ERLs and to be detrimental for promotion and tenure and (Spitzmueller et al., 2023). Archival data showed that 4.3% of candidates requested non-COVID extensions (e.g., caregiver, birth of a child) and 1.5% requested COVID-related extensions. For those who took non-COVID extensions, ERLs contained less clout-based and analytic language, and the women who extended their tenure clocks received fewer unanimous and positive votes at the department level; COVID-related tenure clock extensions also lead to more university-level negative votes, as well as less clout, positive, and analytic language in ERLs. These data suggest that stoppage of the tenure clock can have detrimental consequences for faculty career trajectories (Spitzmueller et al., 2023).

Retention and Attrition

Successful promotion and tenure has been one of the most challenging issues facing faculty of color and, therefore, a significant factor related to retention not only in their institutions but also in academia more broadly. As reflected in the IPEDS 2020 data (p. 11), there are disparities in retention and promotion of faculty of color relative to White faculty that are especially serious for Black faculty. Faculty of color often encounter a different set of experiences in the academy than their White counterparts, which often translates into disadvantages and dissatisfaction among faculty of color (Jayakumar et al., 2009). Thus, although faculty of color may be satisfied with the intellectual aspects that come with being a professor, some may be less satisfied with the institutional climate, their experiences of cultural taxation, lack of mentoring and clarity of tenure expectations, and the personal and family stressors of being underrepresented at their institution and the community. Their dissatisfaction can result in faculty of color leaving academia (Doležal, 2022; Jones, 2019; Zambrana, 2018).

Research demonstrates that autonomy, job satisfaction, positive relationships with colleagues and leadership, supportive institutional climate, and valuing faculty research are considered important factors in retention (Guillaume & Apodaca, 2020; Redick et al., 2021). Faculty of color who perceive an unsupportive or hostile racial climate and whose contribution is underappreciated are likely to leave academia (Doležal, 2022; Guillaume et al., 2022; Jayakumar et al., 2009; Settles et al., 2022; Zambrana et al., 2018). The presence of implicit biases,

invisible labor, and the lack of empirical assessment of how the promotion and tenure process impacts marginalized faculty reflects the assumption that the privileged interactions of committee members will also involve bias and discriminatory practices. In one study, faculty of color report more scholarly devaluation than White faculty (Settles et al., 2021). Underrepresented faculty of color perceive that much of the promotion and tenure process and engagement in academia depend on likeability and collegiality, even when collegiality is not a formal factor in such considerations (Arnold et al., 2016). Collegiality is often poorly defined and yet may result in pressure on all faculty, including faculty of color, to conform to policies with which they disagree because of the possibility of repercussions (Arnold et al., 2016). Faculty who experience racial microaggressions reported additional stress and fatigue leading to reduced desire to persist in academia (Arnold et al., 2016).

Similar to institutions and departments having expectations regarding promotion and tenure, faculty also develop individual work expectations. Early career faculty are less likely to leave an institution when their own goals and expectations are met, such as experiencing fair treatment from department chairs, receiving clarity and transparency in the promotion and tenure process, developing communication and collaboration with colleagues, and having a voice in decision-making (O'Meara et al., 2016; Ward & Hall, 2022). Becoming aware of wage-gaps in their salaries as compared to those of White faculty can also impact marginalized faculty's mental health, productivity, and decision to remain at their institution and more broadly, academia (Li & Koedel, 2017). An equitable and systematic process of recognizing and acknowledging strengths and accomplishments in teaching, research, and service can lead to faculty of color experiencing less burnout and reinforce their own value of their work and efforts in the academic community (Garvey & Rankin, 2018).

Mentors, and especially faculty of color or White faculty knowledgeable about the experiences of underrepresented faculty, can be invaluable in retention and promotion, but their mentorship service must be made visible and contribute to their own merit evaluations in their department and the university. Departments and institutions would also benefit from training all faculty on implicit biases and other factors that affect the scholarly records of faculty of color, including publications in mainstream versus specialty outlets and grant funding, which privilege White faculty. Recruiting senior faculty

with expertise in faculty of color's program of research and when possible, senior faculty of color, for promotion and tenure evaluations is essential to retain and promote faculty of color.

Lastly, more attention needs to be paid to the career trajectories of mid-career faculty of color (i.e., associate

professors). As shown by Gordon and colleagues (2022), associate professors of color, and especially women, are often overburdened by visible and invisible service to the institution, students, and department, which affects their promotion to senior faculty and increased risk of burnout and potentially, disengagement.

CONCLUSION

Faculty of color encounter a myriad of obstacles and challenges in their pursuit of promotion and tenure. These hurdles include financial constraints, workplace complexities, issues of retention and attrition, and attaining the requirements for promotion and tenure. Faculty of color often begin the probationary period of their tenure-track appointments at disadvantage to their White counterparts when pursuing graduate degrees in psychology. Many of them have not inherited generational wealth and acquire large amounts of student loan debt to complete their training (Doran et al., 2016; Jackson & Reynolds, 2013; Scott et al., 2022; Webber & Burns, 2021). Furthermore, starting salaries for tenure-track faculty positions are often lower than those in other employment sectors, leading doctoral graduates to pursue research positions outside of academia (Doran et al., 2016; Jackson & Reynolds, 2013; Scott et al., 2022; Webber & Burns, 2021). When faculty of color do accept positions in academia, they often discover inequities in salary and funding for research. Furthermore, the limited availability of external funding for research poses financial challenges and delays development of new theory and novel research findings vital for advancing psychological science of marginalized communities.

In addition to grappling with challenges securing funding, faculty of color frequently encounter a challenging academic workplace environment while striving for promotion and tenure. These individuals often face social hurdles, including racial discrimination manifested through micro-aggressions, conflicting institutional values, social isolation, and mentorship difficulties (Griffin, 2020). Navigating these obstacles adds further complexity to their professional journey. These obstacles often contribute to low rates of retention and high attrition among faculty of color, primarily due to factors such as an unfavorable institutional climate, the burden of cultural taxation, underrepresentation within their institution or community, and a lack of adequate mentorship and support.

Lastly, research has demonstrated pervasive bias against faculty of color throughout the various stages of the promotion and tenure process. The tenure evaluation criteria encompass teaching, scholarship, service, and collegiality. In the assessment of teaching, faculty of color often faces bias in student evaluations, particularly when race intersects with the subject being taught. Regarding scholarship, research conducted by faculty of color is often evaluated with bias. Citation bias and authorship inequities arise in the use of bibliometrics such as the *h*-index, citation counts, and impact factors, as these metrics fail to accurately capture long-term impact or predict future contributions. Moreover, the valuable invisible service provided by faculty of color is frequently undervalued or disregarded in the promotion and tenure review process. Finally, the assessment of collegiality, a highly subjective aspect, can be manipulated by the university through bullying tactics to enforce certain expectations onto faculty of color.

The APA Task Force on Inequities in Academic Tenure and Promotion endeavored to produce an evidence-based report describing the systemic barriers faced by faculty of color in their pursuit of promotion and tenure in psychology. The findings described in this report underscore the financial constraints, workplace complexities, issues of retention and attrition, and biases within the tenure evaluation criteria that disproportionately affect faculty of color. It is imperative to act upon these findings and work towards fostering an inclusive and equitable academic environment where all faculty members, regardless of their racial or ethnic background, can thrive and contribute to the advancement of the field. The evidence clearly highlights that there is a need for longitudinal investigations to better the most effective approaches to reducing attrition and enhancing rates of promotion to the upper ranks. The Task Force provides an array of recommendations to eliminate systemic bias embedded in the promotion and tenure process in psychology programs are provided in the next section.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The systemic barriers to the promotion and tenure of faculty of color are well-documented in the research literature. To address the barriers, the Task Force provides recommendations drawn from the consolidated evidence outlined in this report. Much attention has been previously devoted to the promotion of assistant professors to the rank of associate professor. The evidence indicates a need for more empirical investigations and longitudinal studies to better understand and identify the most effective approaches to eliminating these barriers throughout the academic careers of faculty of color (i.e., promotion from associate to full professor) and in regards to faculty retention. With this limitation in mind, below the committee offers recommendations in hopes of addressing the concerns raised in this report and fostering systemic change.

Mentoring and Professional Development of Faculty of Color

1. Create professional development resources for faculty of color. Provide opportunities for intraracial/intracultural networking and mentoring, increase support from leadership during the tenure process, and evaluate and modify practices that involve the inequitable distribution of visible and invisible responsibilities placed upon faculty of color who represent intersectional backgrounds.
2. Provide faculty of color with effective, engaged mentoring from the time of hire through promotion, tenure, and advancement across all domains important to the institution (teaching, research, service), as well as the unwritten rules that drive campus culture, expectations, and perceived success.
3. Implement policies to ensure that effective departmental mentorship of faculty is properly structured, recognized, and compensated in the merit review process as an essential component of a well-functioning department.
4. Provide mentorship training programs at the institution to ensure mentor training (a) is culturally responsive, (b) promotes the professional growth of mentors, and (c) meets the needs and goals of the mentee.
5. Provide training for faculty mentors that embraces cross-disciplinary perspectives to enhance their skills supporting faculty and providing useful guidance to faculty mentees.
6. Provide faculty mentees with opportunities to evaluate the mentoring relationship and have an active role in deciding who mentors them.
7. Establish accountability checks to ensure mentorship is being delivered regularly and effectively.

8. Create campus-based faculty development programs aimed at cultivating faculty of color for leadership and administrative positions on campus. Provide monetary support for faculty to participate in academic leadership programs to position them to be competitive for such administrative leadership positions.

Bias in Annual Evaluations/Evaluation Metrics

1. Review current promotion and tenure processes to evaluate the presence of implicit biases. For example, removing or modifying components of the evaluation process that are known to be subject to significant implicit biases (e.g., collegiality).
2. Share the criteria for promotion and tenure in writing with all faculty upon hiring that outlines the next stage for professional advancement. Associate professors should receive an electronic copy of the written criteria at the beginning of their tenure to consult periodically as they advance.
3. Provide training for faculty voting within the department on faculty candidates so they understand the ways in which criteria for promotion and tenure advance the mission of the institution and department and the variety of ways the criteria may translate into outstanding professional accomplishments.
4. Standardize tenure processes and make promotion and tenure policies transparent. Create a checklist for promotion and tenure that highlights how the promotion and tenure committee, department/division, dean, and university committees make decisions and recommendations. Establish clear policies that outline what happens at each level of decision-making and what occurs if there are disagreements among these different units.

5. Use explicit rather than implicit criteria and eliminate criteria, such as collegiality, which are subjective.
6. Train faculty and higher administration who are performing promotion and tenure reviews to reduce bias in review decisions (i.e., address implicit bias through training, which is important, but appreciate as not sufficient in addressing *all* issues of bias).
7. Include diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) criteria in promotion and tenure processes. For example, tenure documents might include: (a) publications on the topic, (b) service activities that support and promote DEI, (c) how DEI is incorporated in teaching and research, and (d) mentorship of scholars from diverse backgrounds.
8. Embrace allyship. Institutions should provide training for all faculty to enhance the DEI skills needed for faculty service and cross-cultural mentoring. All faculty with institutional privilege should also engage in advocating for more equitable practices, including faculty service activities.
9. Provide guidance to promotion and tenure committees on strategies for properly contextualizing the scholarly and professional activities of all faculty candidates. Critically evaluate how promotion and tenure committees are structured. For example, if the selection of a promotion and tenure committee is by election and historically faculty of color do not win elections, seek a different way of populating committees. For example, allow individuals to nominate themselves and then members of the committee are then chosen by department chairs). If diversity of committees cannot be achieved by including faculty on campus, consider including committee members from other colleges and universities.

Eliminating Invisible Labor, and Valuing Visible Service and Labor

1. Provide education to department colleagues and academic administrators about the prevalence and scope of invisible labor expectations, demands, and its toll (professional, emotional, financial, and relational) on faculty of color at all professional ranks.
2. Formally recognize, value, and make visible non-traditional forms of labor routinely expected of and performed by faculty of color in annual merit evaluations and promotion and tenure reviews.

3. Provide mentoring, coaching, and support for faculty of color in negotiating service assignments and appropriate compensation for services performed to promote DEI and belonging.

Fostering Success in Research, Publications, and Funding

1. Include tenure expectations in research to align with opportunity and need. For example, institutions should not require external funding for research when such additional resources are not needed to accomplish research activities. Recognize that a researcher may publish in a niche area that has high impact for the specialty, even if not published in a high-impact journal.
2. Include metrics beyond traditional metrics such as citation counts, *h*-index, or similar indicators to evaluate impact of a promotion or tenure candidate's work. For example, provide opportunities for such candidates to discuss how their work addresses issues in society or the field that may be more informative than a traditional metric. Another strategy would be to reward faculty who are engaged in efforts to change public policy and that could have a meaningful impact on society when those efforts cannot be necessarily captured by a traditional metric.
3. Align promotion and tenure expectations with institutional values (e.g., while the university values interdisciplinary scholarship, promotion requires demonstrating research independence).
4. While identifying external reviewers from aspirational or peer institutions is a laudable goal, the first priority should be securing letters from external reviewers who have the needed scientific expertise, teaching, and/or service expertise to fairly evaluate the candidate even if those reviewers have faculty appointments at institutions other than those that are aspirational or peer.
5. Ensure external review letter writers are clear on the values and goals of the institution and that their letters reflect that emphasis.
6. External letter writers should contextualize productivity and quality within opportunity. Institutions are encouraged to provide external letter writers with a standard set of metrics that will guide their evaluation and reflect the experience of faculty of color. This list may include, for example, attention to the necessary

time for building trust with marginalized communities and cultivating campus-community partnerships. These criteria may not be included in traditional academic evaluation criteria. Yet, these activities serve the public good, a goal that is important to public colleges and universities. Moreover, the burden of invisible labor is an important consideration about which reviewers should be mindful when evaluating faculty of color in other areas of productivity.

7. Create a university-wide committee that collates emerging, innovative, or interdisciplinary scholarship to ensure that evaluation metrics reflect contemporary forms of academic scholarship.
8. Provide unit-level support on the evaluation and merit of non-traditional research to assist units in value-based decisions of what “counts” towards research to increase their effectiveness in mentoring early career faculty.
9. External and internal evaluators assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the candidate should be described with specific behavioral examples consistent with the evaluation criteria determined for promotion and tenure.

Fostering Success in Mentoring and Teaching

1. Include anti-bias language in the instructions for student evaluations.
2. Contextualize student evaluation ratings based on the gender and racial/ethnic composition of the students in the course.
3. Supplement student evaluations with peer observations, and evaluations from external letter writers (e.g., faculty going up for promotion and tenure may record sample classes that are sent to external reviewers for evaluation). To reduce potential bias that may also occur in peer observations and evaluations, include a clear rubric that guides peer reviewers and eliminates review criteria that are primarily subjective.
4. Add specificity to the areas that students assess and make these areas more concrete. Contextualize assessment of teaching through training for faculty charged with conducting annual evaluations and for departmental tenure committees. Training should address student evaluations of the instructor, associations with diversity-related course content.

5. Report student evaluations as the distribution of scores along with the number of responders and response rate.

Valuing Scholarship Engagement Contributing to the Public Good

1. Expand the definition of scholarly excellence to include contributions to the public good. Ensure that the institution’s mission with respect to community engagement and service to the public good are reflected in departmental and institutional criteria for promotion and tenure.
2. Value the distribution of peer-reviewed study findings to non-academic audiences through social media, face-to-face meetings, podcasts, opinion editorials in print media, and other delivery channels in the review, promotion, and tenure process. This public-facing dissemination strengthens ties with the community, promotes research partnerships, and brings recognition to the institution. This type of dissemination may also facilitate and accelerate the implementation of research-based practices and interventions within the community and its institutions (e.g., schools, community organizations, criminal justice systems).
3. Value equally publications co-written with community partners and published in peer-reviewed journals including papers where community partners are senior/lead authors.
4. Count presentations of scholarship to public audiences (e.g., schools, policy makers, and the community at large) as scholarly products in annual merit reviews and in promotion and tenure reviews.

Retention and Attrition of Faculty of Color

1. Set promotion and tenure expectations and processes that are realistic, visible, and transparent.
2. Highlight an institution’s responsiveness in its policies and procedures to racial microaggressions, implicit bias and overtly discriminatory behaviors.
3. Identify and address undermining and/or disparaging behaviors by colleagues that are not relevant to scholarship, teaching, and service.
4. Evaluate individual productivity and trajectory standing on their own and not compared to other candidates being considered for promotion and tenure.

5. Recognize and financially support the breadth of faculty efforts and scholarship (e.g., internal grant opportunities and awards).
6. Ensure faculty of color are aware of the unwritten rules, practices, and customs relevant to promotion and tenure in departments, colleges, and universities through faculty development and/or mentorship programming.
7. Diversify search committees to enhance the recruitment experience for candidates while being mindful that this may add additional burdens for faculty of color, particularly if the faculty of color who could serve in this role is one of few at the institution.
8. Organize recruitment visits to include communicating culture/community to candidates to enhance the candidate's sense of belonging.
9. Provide candidates with opportunities to meet with faculty in other departments and identify affinity groups to meet with, during recruitment visits. Providing candidates with opportunities to identify faculty in other departments with whom they would like to meet during a recruitment visit is important to include when planning recruitment visits.
10. Seek cluster and target hiring to enhance shared interest and sense of community when clusters are hired. Importantly, when planning cluster hires, ensure that clusters reflect faculty of color at all levels of the professoriate level (assistant, associate, full).
11. Plan for successful onboarding and mentoring (e.g., mentors helping candidates create networks and providing opportunities to learn the cultural milieu).
12. Offset service stress to protect faculty from being overburdened with committee or service obligations that take away time from their scholarship. Set limitations, equally distributing service responsibilities across faculty, or increasing the value of service in promotion and tenure.
13. Establish tools to document service so that it is easily and meaningfully included in the promotion and tenure process.
14. Identify and create proactive policies and procedures to address the conditions in an academic department that lead to attrition and retention challenges for faculty of color.
15. Articulate the value/contribution of a faculty member's expertise in job offer letters and/or annual faculty reviews. Chairs should state how a faculty member's hire and expertise brings value to the unit and aligns with the departmental and institutional missions.
16. Explicitly state viable opportunities for growth in annual reviews.
17. Develop institutional policies that address factors that impact recruitment and retention of faculty of color, including epistemic exclusion, tokenism, and discrimination.
18. Ensure that as disciplinary values change, policies and practices change in tandem.
19. Consider providing an opportunity for all faculty and staff of color to voice their perception of DEI on campus. In turn, discuss the results of this type of data collection and how the institution will address the challenges identified. Include demographic questions that will allow interpretation of results to identify if the perception of faculty of color differs from their White colleagues. Importantly, if there is a minimal number of faculty of color, then anonymity should be considered first and foremost.
20. Create recognition and awards for the work of faculty of color that enhances DEI on and off campus to highlight the difficult and often unrecognized work of such faculty and staff across higher education. If a financial component is included for other awards on campus, be sure to provide DEI financial awards as well.

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APPENDIX

The Charge

The APA Board of Scientific Affairs and Council of Graduate Departments of Psychology (COGDOP) charged the task force with writing a report that described the problem of promotion and tenure for psychologists who are faculty of color in October 2021. Specifically, attention to the systemic barriers and inequities that affect the evaluation of psychological scientists of color under review for promotion and tenure decisions throughout the report. Furthermore, the report was to target administrators, departmental faculty members, and external reviewers.

These guidelines should offer concrete guidance and suggestions for internal and external reviewers, and promotion and tenure committees, both within academic departments where psychological scientists have faculty appointments and on institution-wide committees that may benefit from better understanding of our discipline's systemic disparities.

In addition to producing the aforementioned guidelines, the task force should also provide recommendations to the Board of Scientific Affairs about next steps in addressing equity issues in promotion and tenure that fall outside the current charge.

Examples of systemic barriers and biases that affect promotion and tenure decisions can include the candidate's scholarship, differences in the number and nature of service expectations, increased pressures to mentor/advise students of color, journal gatekeeping, negative attitudes towards specialty journals, and bias in teaching evaluations.

Cover Letter for External Letter Writers in Psychological Science

Dear External Reviewer,

Thank you for taking the time to bring your expertise to review and evaluate [NAME], as Dr. [NAME] seeks promotion and tenure in the [DEPARTMENT NAME] at the [INSTITUTION NAME].

Contained herein, are best practices that reflect evidence-based approaches, findings from empirical literature, and emerging discourse that, taken together, reflect initiatives that seek to evaluate candidates fairly, consistently, and with consideration of the broader context of the academic ecosystem. This guidance is informed by the 2023 American Psychological Association's (APA) Task Force Report on Promotion, Tenure, and Retention of Faculty of Color in Psychology. This task force was established by the APA Board of Scientific Affairs and the Council of Graduate Departments of Psychology (COGDOP) in 2021 to comprehensively review the empirical literature to better understand systemic biases that are persistent barriers to the promotion and tenure of psychological scientists of color.

As you write your letter, we request that you keep in mind the following guidance. For ease of review, this guidance is organized into three main areas:

1. Evaluation of Teaching, Research, and Service

- a. Review the values and goals of the institution and highlight how the candidate's scholarship aligns with those values and goals.
- b. Evaluate the candidate's trajectory in comparison to other candidates.
- c. Focus on the quality of the scientific contribution versus the prestige of the outlet (i.e., journal impact factor). For example, did the research study advance the field in a meaningful way? In what way? This is particularly important for faculty of color who may publish in niche journals and/or on scientific topics that may be less mainstream and devalued by the scientific community (epistemological bias), despite their importance as areas of study.
- d. When evaluating scholarship, include the many ways in which a faculty member can impact the public good with their scholarship. For example, are they disseminating their research findings to the community with whom they have partnered for the work? Does their scholarship impact policy? Has their scholarship led to new lines of research?
- e. Focus and emphasize evaluation comments on objective indicators rather than metrics that are more subjective and likely to be impacted by bias (e.g., collegiality, student evaluations of teaching).
- f. Focus on behavior specific examples rather than feelings/opinions about scholarship.

2. Appreciation of Experiences of Faculty of Color in the Academy

- a. Student evaluations are subject to significant bias, influenced by the gender and racial composition of the students providing the evaluation. If not provided to you, request from the institution information that would be helpful to you in better understanding the context of the evaluations. Alternatively, focus comments on student evaluation questions that are less subject to bias and place less emphasis (if at all), on those questions especially subject to bias (e.g., evaluation of the instructor overall).
- b. Appreciate that faculty of color are disproportionately overburdened with invisible labor, labor where faculty represent and exist in spaces related to their group membership (e.g., mentoring students of color, serving on committees to diversify committees, educating non-minority faculty on topics of diversity, inclusion and equity, building relationships with community members). Invisible labor detracts from scholarship important for promotion and tenure and is a broader context that must be considered when evaluating scholarly productivity and achievements.

3. Attention to Language

- a. Review the overall tone of the letter. Does your letter inspire confidence in the candidate to continue to make important progress and generate scholarly products? Does it include doubt raising language that may call into a question a candidate's dossier? For example, research shows that letters of evaluation for women are more likely to include doubt raising language.

Methodology

SEARCH PARAMETERS, WRITING PROCESS, DELIBERATIONS

Prior to beginning the literature search, Task Force members agreed to several search parameters. First of which was recording the search engines used. Task force members used PsycINFO, Google Scholar, and PubMed for all searches. Members also identified other sources through their exploration of this topic, including ERIC, university websites, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and others. Second, searches focused on empirical studies conducted in the last 5 years (2017-2022), with an intention to bring to light the most recent and contemporary influences on the promotion and retention of faculty of color. That said, if there was seminal work and papers that were important to bring to the review, even if older, those papers were considered. As many publications literature consisted of first-hand accounts of experiences with promotion and tenure by faculty of color, members agreed to exclude these from the search. Members were given discretion to review selected compelling accounts as long as they were considered separately from the empirical search yields.

The Task Force worked over the summer of 2022 in subcommittees to review the literature and identify suitable research and other documents (i.e., university reports). Each subcommittee prepared monthly reports on their progress between June and September 2022. In September 2022, the subcommittees presented their findings to the rest of the Task Force. The Co-Chairs thoroughly reviewed this feedback and developed a work plan in preparation for fall writing retreats. The Task Force participated in two half-day writing retreats in October and November 2022, respectively. During these writing retreats, the subcommittee members met to discuss areas needing clarification and further development and to write in community together. Action items were generated at the end of each day of the retreat. An initial draft of the report was completed by mid-November 2022. The Task Force Co-Chairs and members of the APA staff continued drafting the report. In March 2023, the draft report was circulated for review and feedback to two members of the APA Board of Scientific Affairs and two members of the APA Publications and Communications Board. The Board of Directors of the Council of Graduate Departments of Psychology (COGCOP) also reviewed the report and provided feedback. The feedback from these stakeholders was incorporated into the report in the subsequent weeks.

SEARCH TERMS GENERATED BY TASK FORCE MEMBERS

Affirmative Action
African American
Asian/Asian American
Attrition
Barriers
Bias/implicit bias
BIPOC
Biracial/Multiracial
Black
Disparities
Equity
Promotion AND
Faculty of color
Faculty evaluation
Faculty review
Indigenous
Inequity
Intent to leave OR intent to stay
intersectionality
LGBTQ+
HBCU (Historically Black College/University)
Hispanic
HSI (Hispanic Serving Institution)
Racial ethnic minority faculty
Racial minority
Latino/Latinx/Latine
Minoritized
MSI (Minority Serving Institution)
Native American
PWI (Predominantly White Institution)
Pacific Islander
Peer observation
Psychology/psychologist AND
Retention
Systemic barriers
Structural barriers
Tenure
Tribal Colleges
Turnover
Underrepresented



AMERICAN
PSYCHOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION