Diversity for What?

Examining Ten Rationales for Diversity in Faculty Hiring

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Abstract

Diversity is much discussed in faculty hiring. The rationales behind precisely why diversity is a goal worth pursuing are, however, less discussed, and often left implicit. While diversity is generally assumed to enhance fairness, improve student outcomes, and foster innovation, these motivations are rarely articulated and often conflated. I present a taxonomy of ten of the most common diversity rationales, grouped into five overarching categories: *Social Justice, Heterodoxy, Role-Modeling, Hidden Merit* and *Institutional Signaling*. In addition to outlining these rationales, I discuss relevant empirical evidence that supports or challenges key claims associated with them, offering a clearer understanding of the impact of diversity within the academy. Finally, I present survey data from department heads across various disciplines, highlighting their priorities and motivations regarding diversity. The results reveal both shared motivations for diversity and gaps in how these rationales are discussed and prioritized in hiring decisions. By surfacing these often-hidden rationales, this paper aims to sharpen the conversation around faculty diversity, and why to pursue it.

Keywords: Diversity, Faculty Hiring, Social Justice, Hiring Bias, Role-Modeling

Increasing faculty diversity has become a key priority in academic hiring. During the 2020 hiring season, 68% of posted job ads mentioned diversity–a figure that rose to 78% at elite institutions [1]. What form that diversity should take remains a matter of discussion [2], with recent years having seen calls to increase diversity in the form of ethnicity [3], gender [4], sexual orientation [5], nationality [6], political viewpoint [7], and socioeconomic status [8]. More rarely discussed—indeed typically not even recognized as something that needs to be addressed—is the rationale for pursuing

diversity in the first place. Questions of what type of diversity to pursue, in what proportion, and at what level (e.g. within departments/institutions/fields), are all downstream of this more fundamental question of why. The lack of clarity about the rationale for pursuing diversity has led to confusion, suspicion, and an incoherence between stated goals and actual hiring practices.

For some, the value of diversity may be so obvious as to be not worth wasting time discussing. People may implicitly understand that a more diverse faculty is a fairer one, or better serves a diversifying student body, or is critical for innovation. However, making those implicit goals explicit can bring several important benefits. For one, actively discussing and clarifying values about one's rationales can lead to more effective decision-making. Search committees may explicitly, but superficially, be on the same page about diversity, but at the same time be implicitly motivated by different goals and thereby supportive of different actions. This can leave colleagues at cross-purposes or confused about each other's motivations. Clarifying diversity rationales, can help decision-makers align, or at least understand each other's approaches. Second, precisely articulating the goals that motivate the prioritization of diversity keeps the focus on achieving those underlying objectives. When the actual goals are left implicit, the focus risks shifting to diversity as the end in itself. A faculty may have grown more diverse, but the problems that people actually care about–such as hiring biases or unrealized student potential–may persist unaddressed. Third, and potentially most importantly, transparently explaining the precise aims and justifications behind large-scale investments in diversity can backstop or even restore some of the sliding trust in academia among the wider public [9].

Existing discussions about diversity rationales (e.g. [10, 11]) tend to draw a distinction between instrumental (sometimes called performance or benefits) rationales and justice (sometimes called equity or moral) rationales. Instrumental rationales focus on the benefits that increased diversity can offer in terms of improved performance, creativity, or knowledge, whereas justice rationales focus on correcting inequities caused by past or present injustices. However, the instrumental versus justice binary fails to capture the complexity and multiplicity of diversity rationales for faculty hiring. First, it lacks granularity; within either the instrumental or justice distinction may be found different rationales with different goals that imply different actions. Further, it doesn't capture the unique reasons that the professoriate might benefit from diversity. Although there are more universal rationales for pursuing diversity, certain institutions, such as the military [12] and police [13], have diversity rationales that are specific to their missions and social dynamics. This is also true of academics, whose role in research and teaching create unique cases of diversity, different from those for other professions or even for student admissions [11]. Finally, given the special role of academia in society, certain rationales–such as role-modeling–may blur the instrumental-justice distinction.

Below I propose a finer-grained taxonomy of ten rationales (Table 1), grouped into five families, in hopes of advancing a more explicit and nuanced discussion of diversity in faculty hiring. Each of these rationales involves deep debates about values, but some rationales also depend on empirical debates within the social sciences. Where

Family		Rationale
Social Justice	1	**Social Restitution** Giving preferences to members from disadvantaged groups as a form of compensation for injustices previously visited on the group
	2	**Social Reorganization** Elevating members from disadvantaged groups in order to create more equitable power balances between groups
Heterodoxy	3	**Raising Different Questions** Including people from different backgrounds and interests broadens the topics, targets, and methods of scholarship
	4	**Improved Team Creativity and Performance** In group tasks, more diverse people are able to pool their differences to achieve beyond the sum of their parts
	5	**Reducing Groupthink** Having people with different perspectives ensures more ideas receive appropriate scrutiny and that dissenting opinions are heard
Role-Modeling	6	**Improving Learning Outcomes** Having more faculty members who are similar to the students in order to improve learning
	7	**Improving Non-Learning Outcomes** Having more faculty from underrepresented groups can undermine stereotypes, provide role models, etc.
Hidden Merit	8	**Avoiding hiring bias** Overcoming any biases and prejudices that would prevent the hiring committee from selecting the best application
	9	**Accounting for disadvantage** Correcting for the reduced opportunities that might disguise potential at the time of application
Signaling	10	**Institutional Signaling** Signaling that one's faculty is more representative of the community can improve the perception of a university in the eyes of key stakeholders. More potential students may see it as welcoming, more of the community may be open to its research and expertise, etc.

Table 1: Ten Rationales for Diversity in Faculty Hiring

applicable, I summarize this relevant evidence. Finally, I briefly report results of a new survey of department chairs on attitudes towards these rationales.

1 Social Justice

Certain groups in every society have experienced substantial state-sanctioned historical injustices that have created lasting disparities in wealth and power. Social justice movements have sought to rectify these past injustices and present inequities. In higher education, these goals were the first to animate efforts to diversify the student body, and, soon after, university faculties [10]. The social justice argument for changing the composition of universities grew out of the civil rights movements in the United States and elsewhere, and are frequently distinguished from the instrumental "business case" arguments for diversity that followed and—many argue—*crowded out* the justice-based argument [14–17]. Still, even within the social justice motivation hide at least two rationales that, though related, differ in both aim and execution.

The first I label **Social Restitution**. Under this rationale, members of previously disadvantaged groups should be elevated in hiring priority in order to make amends or redress for injustices previously visited on the group. In other words, the value of diversity is the just redistribution of professional opportunities towards members from previously disadvantaged groups.

Social Restitution is an example of what affirmative action theorists have labeled as a "backwards-looking" justification [18, 19] insofar as its focus is on compensation for past discrimination. This is contrasted with forward-looking justifications, which

seek not to remedy the past, but to improve the future. Social Restitution remedially improves the lot of individuals from disadvantaged groups as an end in itself. The **Social Reorganization** rationale, on the other hand, is focused on improving the lot of disadvantaged groups by using individual faculty appointment as a means to an end—the end being a more equitable overall balance of power between groups in the future. The hired faculty member is not a beneficiary under this rationale, but an active agent in its achievement. Although academics do not wield the economic or political power of many other elite professions, their role as ambassadors of knowledge and the stewards of young minds, gives professors a degree of cultural power. This cultural power can be wielded in the service of greater intergroup equity. In that sense, whereas the aim of Social Restitution is just that–restitution for past wrongs–Social Reorganization is focused on a much broader goal of social transformation of current inequities.

Such a goal could be advanced through other hiring strategies. For example, in fields where scholarship is relevant to social justice aims, those aims may be better served by hiring on the basis of the research agenda, rather than the identities, of its candidates. But this approach decouples social justice goals from faculty diversity; so long as their scholarship advances the goals of social justice, candidates from dominant groups may be preferred over those from disadvantaged ones. In contrast, Social Reorganization is focused squarely on hiring members of underrepresented groups, and Social Restitution even more narrowly on members from specifically disadvantaged groups.

2 Heterodoxy

Social Restitution and Reorganization are clear examples of justice rationales. Heterodoxy rationales, which focus on the epistemic benefits of diversity, may be considered clear examples of instrumental rationales. Diversity benefits the cognitive division of labor, and the cognitive division of labor in turn benefits the production of new knowledge [20, 21]. However, even within the Heterodoxy family, several different rationales can be distinguished—each with different implications for hiring.

One of the most obvious benefits of the inclusion of those with different backgrounds and perspectives is that doing so expands the scope of inquiry by **Raising Different Questions** and choosing novel and important topics. This has been particularly evident in the social sciences. Female anthropologists from Mead [22] to Hrdy [23] expanded the field by investigating topics previously ignored by the male-dominated discipline. The inclusion of Black scholars into a previously White-dominated sociology expanded inquiry about race in America. Rather than treating the dominant WASP culture as default and African Americans as the target of explanation, DuBois flipped the "explanatory burden" [24] onto the contributions of the White majority to racial disparities. The emergence of prominent East Asian cultural psychologists undermined Western assumptions about psychological universals, and by doing so, revealed the powerful influence of culture on the human mind [25–27].

Importantly, whereas the Social Justice rationale speaks primarily to increasing demographic diversity, the Raising Different Questions rationale (as well as the other

	Demographic Diversity	Cognitive Diversity				
Harrison, Price & Bell (1998)	Surface-level	Deep-level				
van Knippenberg et al. (2004)	Social category	Informational/ functional				
Schimmelpfennig et al. (2021)	Ancestry or physical characteristics	Cultural trait				
Jackson et al (1995)	Relations-oriented	Task-oriented				
Jehn et al. (1999)	Social Category	Informational	Value			
McGrath et al (1995)	Demographic attributes	Task-related knowledge, skills, and abilities	Values, beliefs, and attitudes	Personality and cognitive/ behavioral styles	Status in group's organization	
Mannix & Neale (2005)	Social category	Knowledge or skills	Values or beliefs	Personality	Organizational or community status	Social and network ties

Table 2: **Diversity Categorizations**. Whereas some scholars have created three-, five-, or even six-factor categorizations [29–35], most of the diversity literature carves diversity into two factors. Although not perfectly overlapping, these distinctions roughly capture a mind/body divide between diversity based on characteristics such as knowledge, viewpoint, personality, or skills (here called *cognitive diversity*) and diversity based on demographic characteristics like age, gender, and race (here called *demographic diversity*).

rationales in the Heterodoxy family) instead prioritizes the type of diversity in perspective and background, here called cognitive diversity (see Table 2). But as the examples of Black sociologists, female anthropologists, and East Asian psychologists above illustrate, cognitive and demographic diversity are not wholly independent. Although there is nothing necessary or sufficient about these scholars' demographic identities that led them to their scholarly breakthroughs, there does tend to be a statistical relationship. People from different backgrounds have measurably different research interests, on average [28]. It was possible—but less likely—that White men would have made the breakthroughs discussed above. And indeed, they didn't. In addition to the field-level benefit of having a wider array of perspectives, diversity may have the more local benefit of **Improving Team Performance and Creativity**. Researchers with differences in cognitive styles, working methods, and value preferences can complement each other in ways that create more effective teams than ones in which researchers are more homogeneous with overlapping traits. Attempts to study this possibility across industries have produced conflicting results. A recent meta-analysis of 615 studies [36] found highly variable, and, on average, very small effects of diversity on team performance—explaining under 1% of the variance. Effects were moderated by type of diversity; relationships with team performance were positive with measures of cognitive diversity (e.g. type of degree, nationality) and job-related diversity (e.g. job function), but—with the notable exception of gender—negligible for measures of demographic diversity (e.g. ethnicity, age). However, effects were stronger in jobs requiring high

complexity, such as those involved in research and development, and those characterized by creativity and innovation. This suggests that a highly complex and creative arena like academic scholarship may particularly benefit from team diversity [37]. Supporting this, several studies have found that research groups that are more diverse in terms of ethnicity, gender, age, discipline and institutional affiliation tend to produce more novel and impactful research [3, 38, 39]. However, the precise mechanisms that explain this relationship remain unclear.

A final epistemic benefit of diversity is that the inclusion of different perspectives can aid in **Reducing Groupthink**. Academics neutralize their own biases via organized critique from other scholars [40, 41]. However, homogeneous groups risk sharing collective blindspots that undermine this process. Diversity can help. Having a diversity of viewpoints can serve as a bulwark against groupthink by ensuring that otherwise absent perspectives are considered and otherwise dominant perspectives are scrutinized [42]. In an analysis of over 230,000 Wikipedia articles, Shi et al. [43] found that homogeneous sets of article editors consistently produced lower quality articles than those edited by ideologically balanced editor teams. In another study, markets randomly assigned to contain more ethnic diversity were more likely to see prices converge towards their true values, whereas more ethnically homogeneous markets failed to see this correction and were thus more susceptible to price bubbles [44]. The authors speculate that people in ethnically homogeneous markets were more trusting of others' judgments and less likely to scrutinize prices than when the market was more diverse. This study is a good illustration of how some of the well-documented costs of diversity in terms of reduced coordination, trust, and harmony [45–47] can be beneficial in academia. Homogeneity can be appealing for the very same reasons that it can encourage groupthink: it is more comfortable to be surrounded by like-minded people who generally deliver positive feedback [48]. Knowing that their work will face scrutiny can incentivize scholars to critique it more themselves and raise the standards of evidence. In fact, simply being in a more diverse group prompts people to expect different perspectives and, as a consequence, more carefully consider their own [49, 50]. Being confronted by people who challenge their ideas—although unpleasant—can foster more debate and skepticism, exposing academic work to sharper criticism, thereby improving it.

3 Role-Modeling

While the first two families of rationales—Social Justice and Heterodoxy—neatly fit the respective descriptions of justice and instrumental rationales, that distinction gets blurrier when we turn to the next family: role-modeling.

Faculty demographic diversity has lagged behind that of the changing student body [51–53]. An analysis of a 2001 dataset of undergraduates' freshman and sophomore years at 28 selective universities, reveals that 32% of Asian and Black students, and 41% of Hispanic students, never had a professor of their own ethnicity. The comparable figure for White students was 0% [54]. One argument for diversifying the professoriate is that disparities at the faculty level can create inequities in student outcomes.

For instance, being taught by those who share their backgrounds or identities may **Improve Learning Outcomes** among students.

The research testing this possibility tends to focus on gender and race, and most of the work is focused at the K-12 level. Nevertheless, there are a handful of studies testing "teacher match" in grades and graduation rates at the collegiate level. This literature reveals mixed and sometimes inconsistent results, but is suggestive of a modest effect. For instance, Fairlie and colleagues [55] found that underrepresented racial minorities see a roughly 2% increase in the likelihood of passing a class, and a 3% increase in the likelihood of scoring a B or above, when taught by someone of their own race—effects that are most robust for African American students. Another analysis of 176 four-year public institutions found a 1% increase in the proportion of Black faculty translates to 0.59% more Black students graduating, although, no comparable effects are seen for Hispanic, Asian, or White students [56]. This analysis also found no relationship between female graduation rates and the proportion of female faculty. An analysis of over 34,000 Canadian undergraduates did find evidence of gender match on student grades, but this effect was very small and appears to be driven by male students performing better under male instructors [57]. More recent research does find gender match effects for female students, at least in small classes [58, 59].

In sum, professor match effects on educational measures appear modest. However, **Improving Non-Learning Outcomes** of various kinds is another avenue by which students may benefit from more faculty diversity. For one, having faculty from similar backgrounds could inspire students to pursue similar academic and professional paths. Several studies have found supportive evidence for this possibility [58, 60, 61], with others showing mixed or null effects [57, 62–65]. Another suggested benefit is that having underrepresented faculty behind the podium can undermine pernicious stereotypes held by those in front of it, although studies testing this effect in the context of gender tend to find null results, [66–68]. Finally, university faculty can offer guidance and advice beyond the purely academic content of their classes. To the extent that underrepresented students feel more comfortable seeking this type of informal mentorship from faculty members who share their background, they stand to benefit from faculty diversity. Although this type of informal mentorship is rarely measured in quantitative studies, it may be quite prevalent nonetheless.

Are these role-modeling effects instrumental rationales since they lead to improvements in educational outcomes, or are they justice rationales since those benefits tend to accrue to students from historically disadvantaged groups? In any case, the role-modeling rationales hinge on the evidentiary base for role-modeling effects—an evidentiary base that currently remains inconclusive. Further research may provide clarity. The conflicting findings and high social stakes of the gender and race research make this an area ripe for adversarial collaboration [69, 70]. Researchers might further consider investigating professor match effects for other types of diversity, including social class, political orientation, and gender identity.

4 Hidden Merit

There are still other implicit rationales that further complicate the instrumental versus justice distinction. Two rationales fall under the family of "Hidden Merit" (elsewhere called the "Talented Workforce Rationale" for diversity, [71]). Universities lose out when the best and most likely-to-succeed (however defined) candidates are overlooked and thus fail to join the ranks of the faculty. A homogeneous faculty may be the outcome of the systematic overlooking of members of underrepresented groups. This can occur in two ways. First, via hiring biases; a strong application may be discounted due to the stereotypes and prejudices of the hiring committee. **Avoiding Hiring Biases**–whether it be by blinding application materials [72], using pre-defined rubrics [73], or composing search committees to minimize homophily [74]–can help ensure that the most meritorious candidates are not derailed from consideration.

But what if the candidate with the strongest application is not the candidate with the most potential? A second way to prevent promising scholars from being overlooked is by **Accounting for Disadvantage**. Hiring for an academic position uses past performance as a predictor for future performance. But it is an imperfect predictor. When comparing candidates, a different history of opportunities can lead to a systematic over- or under-prediction of performance in the future. Disadvantaged groups may experience longer review times and acquire fewer citations for textually similar papers than those in majority groups [75]. Non-native speakers may struggle to match the productivity of native English speakers at early stages of their career, but not later [76]. A straight comparison of applications across diverse researchers with disparate backgrounds can create systematic distortions in finding the most promising applicant.

The two Hidden Merit rationales are unique among the ten. For the other rationales, diversity is expected to lead to the various benefits (e.g., improving learning outcomes or reducing groupthink). For Avoiding Bias and Accounting for Disadvantage, the relationship with diversity is not only causally reversed but often overstated. The expectation is that removing these barriers will increase diversity as a byproduct. In practice, however, homogeneity is frequently treated as an indicator of bias itself. Doing so ignores the many additional factors that could explain disparities, such as cultural preferences, differences in qualifications, and–given the duration of academic careers and the slow pace of hiring–demographic inertia. Using diversity as a straightforward measure of fairness, or disparity as a proxy for discrimination, oversimplifies the complexity of these dynamics. Using these concepts as barometers for each other should be done with caution [77]. Instead, if the goal is to uncover hidden merit, it may be more sensible to target bias directly.

5 Institutional Signaling

Finally, it is impossible to ignore the rationale of **Institutional Signaling**. Signaling gets a bad name (e.g. [78]), but can have several important benefits when it comes to faculty diversity. For one, institutions that signal a credible commitment to diversity can make universities appear as more welcoming institutions to a wider array of students (and faculty members), allowing them to recruit from a larger population

of interested applicants. An informal survey of over 20,000 high school seniors found that faculty and staff diversity was one of the most important features that college aspirants look for in a campus community, second only to student body diversity [79]. Compared to more easily embellished signals of diversity [80], investments in hiring a diverse faculty are "hard to fake" credibility enhancing displays.

A more diverse faculty can likewise appeal to a broader base of donors and community partners. Relatedly, signaling that one's faculty makeup is not overly unrepresentative of a university's community on key dimensions can also build credibility with the community, making it a more trustworthy source of scholarship. In contrast, homogeneity can sow distrust. A survey by Clark et. al. [81] found that the more that conservatives perceived professors to be uniformly left-leaning, the less they trusted them, and the less they deferred to their expertise. Similarly, some of the recent and bipartisan decline in American confidence in higher education has been attributed to perceptions among conservatives that the academy has become too uniformly politically liberal [9]. The more the professoriate reflects the community it serves, the broader its influence.

6 Current Attitudes

Together, these form a novel taxonomy that can advance the discussion on just why faculty hiring ought to prioritize diversity. To gauge the current attitudes of faculty hiring decision-makers, 1297 American, British and Canadian department heads from disciplines across the arts and humanities, the social sciences, and STEM fields were invited to complete an anonymous survey. Three hundred and twenty-two surveys were completed (female=31%, non-white=16%), for a 25% response rate [82]. The survey reveals that virtually all respondents—98%—discuss diversity as a factor in their searches. And, although 24% of the sample believed their department did not adequately factor diversity into hiring decisions, nearly twice as many—46%—believed their department did not adequately discuss and explain the rationales for pursuing diversity.

In terms of which rationales department heads reported were the strongest motivations for diversity in faculty hiring, there was remarkable agreement across discipline categories (Figure 1a). Avoiding Hiring Biases was the most strongly endorsed rationale, and Social Restitution the least, irrespective of whether heads represented arts/humanities, social science, or STEM departments. In fact, significant disciplinary differences only emerged for two rationales. First, Social Restitution, although relatively weakly endorsed in all three disciplinary categories, was relatively more strongly endorsed by the heads of arts/humanities departments than those from STEM departments, with heads from the social sciences in between and not significantly different from either. Second, Raising Different Questions showed the largest disciplinary differences, with strongest endorsement among those from the arts/humanities, somewhat weaker endorsement among those from the social sciences (although still the second most endorsed rationale), and then somewhat weaker endorsement still from those in STEM fields.

Department heads also reported on which forms of diversity they prioritized in faculty searches. As shown in Figure 1c, Race/Ethnicity and Gender were the two most prioritized forms, and the only two with clear majorities identifying them as a "high priority". Political Viewpoint was the least prioritized, and the only facet where a majority listed it as a "low priority". There was more disciplinary and national variability in these responses than in those for the diversity rationales. For example, gender diversity was a lower priority for department heads in the arts/humanities and social sciences than it was for those in STEM fields, presumably because female underrepresentation is more acute in STEM fields [83]. Indigeneity was a very high priority in Canada, a moderate priority in the US, and not a priority in the UK. Full details are available in the Supplement.

Finally, a series of regressions report which forms of diversity are associated with which endorsed rationales (Table 3). For instance, among the five families of rationales, the strongest predictor for prioritizing gender diversity in searches is the Hidden Merit family of rationales (and to nearly the same extent, the Role-Modeling rationales). Put differently, those who are more likely to endorse a talented workforce rationale for pursuing diversity in faculty hiring, also report a higher priority for increasing gender diversity. For gender conformity, sexual orientation, disability, and indigeneity, Social Justice was the best predictor. Of the five families of rationales, Social Justice and Role-Modeling were the strongest predictors of prioritizing racial and ethnic diversity. Heterodoxy was the strongest predictor among the five families of rationales for diversity of nationality, socioeconomic class, and political viewpoint (although, for the latter, this was no longer statistically significant once controls were added to the model).

These results should be interpreted in light of some caveats. Department heads are not just operating, but also responding to this survey, in an environment with constraints. First, this is a sensitive topic. When asked about how comfortable people in their department felt discussing faculty diversity, over half the sample responded at

Fig. 1: **Diversity Rationales Survey Results**. n=322 department heads. (1=Not a motivation, 2=A moderate motivation, 3=A strong motivation). Statistical comparisons can be found in the Supplement.

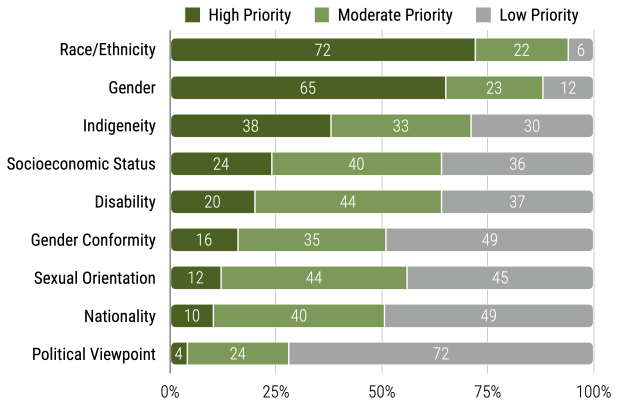

Fig. 2: **Diversity Priorities Survey Results.** n=322 Department heads.

or below the midpoint of the scale, and only 13% reported these conversations to be "very comfortable". A number of respondents noted in open responses that the climate for discussion of these issues was not one conducive to openness or honesty. Although the department heads were assured that this survey was anonymous, socially desirable responding among the department heads cannot be fully discounted. It remains possible that respondents may have explicitly supported certain more acceptable rationales, while being privately motivated by different rationales in the list, or by other reasons entirely, or not motivated to pursue diversity at all.

This possibility is exacerbated by the second issue. Beyond normative pressures, department heads were also responding against a shifting landscape of *legal* constraints (e.g.[84–86]) that limit how or what forms of diversity could be prioritized, and under what justifications. In open responses, several department heads noted that their own opinions were moot since much of the decision-making was out of their hands. Instead, decisions about how much or little to prioritize diversity were made above them—either by institution-level decisions that allocate hiring slots in line with diversity initiatives, or by governmental-level laws about what actions were permissible, and on what basis. Such responses underscore the fact that, although this survey targeted department heads, candid and transparent discussions of diversity rationales ought to occur at multiple levels—departmental, institutional, and legislative.

7 Conclusion

Academia is in a moment of self-reflection, wrestling with new norms that will shape its future. However, that future will be most shaped by the decisions made about who gets hired to fill its ranks in the coming years. Given the weight of these decisions, the role diversity should play should be deeply considered and rigorously debated. Some of those debates will be empirical, but many will be ethical and political. Although they have lingered in the background of this paper, these value-laden debates have not been directly addressed, let alone resolved. They are debates that involve the challenging prioritizations of values, and they should, and will, continue. The debates

can, however, be clarified and informed by discussing rationales for diversity in faculty hiring.

I have argued that these rationales are too often left unexamined. When they have been discussed, they are frequently conflated, leading to confusion and muddled policies. In response, I have proposed a taxonomy of ten rationales. Readers may disagree with this current list, quibbling with the framing, objecting to certain distinctions, noting key omissions. But the taxonomy can hopefully be a provocation for discussion, an invitation to departments and universities to examine their own diversity policies and clarify–to candidates, to their communities, and to themselves–what values they are pursuing: *diversity for what*?

Different goals imply different strategies. Decision-making about diversity initiatives can be strengthened by having a more open, systematic, and evidence-based discussion of rationales. Without such an explicit discussion, diversity will remain for many a box to check, a happy but vague ideal, its purpose unspecified, and its value unrealized.

	Race/ Ethnicity		Gender		Gender Conformity		Sexual Orientation		Disability		Indigeneity		Nationality		Political Viewpoint		Socioeconomic Class	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Social Justice	0.14***	0.12***	-0.01	0.05	0.18***	0.12**	0.20***	0.17***	0.16***	0.16***	0.29***	0.16***	0.09*	0.09*	0.03	0.01	0.11*	0.10*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Heterodoxy	0.04	0.03	-0.03	0.00	0.08	0.07	0.10**	0.08*	0.14***	0.13**	0.03	0.05	0.19***	0.16***	0.08*	0.06	0.15***	0.10*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Role-Modelling	0.14***	0.14***	0.11*	0.09*	0.09*	0.07	0.10*	0.10*	0.06	0.06	0.13**	0.09*	-0.02	0.00	-0.07*	-0.06	0.00	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Hidden Merit	0.07*	0.04	0.12**	0.09*	0.12**	0.11**	0.03	0.02	0.15***	0.13**	0.10*	0.11**	-0.03	-0.03	-0.06	-0.04	0.07	0.06
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Signaling	0.00	-0.01	0.03	0.01	0.07	0.08*	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.01	-0.03	0.02	0.05	0.05	-0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Arts/Humanities		0.12		-0.24*		0.13		0.00		0.05		0.16		0.15		0.32***		0.17
		(0.08)		(0.10)		(0.10)		(0.09)		(0.10)		(0.10)		(0.10)		(0.08)		(0.11)
Social Sciences		-0.11		-0.37***		-0.11		-0.03		-0.21*		0.01		0.12		0.31***		0.17
		(.07)		(0.09)		(0.09)		(0.08)		(0.09)		(0.09)		(0.09)		(0.07)		(0.10)
Canada		-0.11		-0.10		0.14		0.03		0.25**		0.52***		-0.07		-0.09		-0.31***
		(0.06)		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.07)		(0.09)
UK		0.16		0.31*		0.05		0.15		0.60***		-0.81***		0.10		-0.31**		0.14
		(0.11)		(0.14)		(0.14)		(0.13)		(0.14)		(0.14)		(0.14)		(0.11)		(0.15)
Race (White)		0.14		0.27*		0.06		0.01		0.00		-0.11		-0.03		0.09		-0.15
		(0.08)		(0.10)		(0.11)		(0.10)		(0.10)		(0.10)		(0.10)		(0.08)		(0.12)
Gender (Male)		0.02		0.22**		-0.12		-0.15		-0.19*		-0.01		-0.17*		-0.11		-0.14
		(0.06)		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.07)		(0.09)
Conservatism		-0.14***		0.03		-0.09*		-0.07		0.01		-0.14***		0.05		0.08*		-0.01
		(0.03)		(0.04)		(0.04)		(0.04)		(0.04)		(0.04)		(0.04)		(0.03)		(0.04)
Constant	2.66***	2.56***	2.52***	2.36***	1.66***	1.65***	.1.67***	.1.74***	1.83***	1.89***	2.08***	2.03***	1.61***	1.66***	1.33***	1.16***	1.88***	2.06***
	(0.03)	(0.09)	(0.04)	(0.12)	(0.04)	(0.12)	(0.03)	(0.12)	(0.04)	(0.12)	(0.04)	(0.12)	(0.04)	(0.12)	(0.03)	(0.10)	(0.04)	(0.14)
Adjusted R^2	.19	.29	.05	.15	.19	.22	.19	.19	.19	.28	.20	.40	.11	.12	.03	.13	.08	.12
N	321	309	321	309	320	309	320	308	320	309	319	307	321	309	321	309	321	309

Table 3: **Relationships between diversity type priorities and diversity rationales.** Note. * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001. Discipline category reference group = STEM. Country reference group = USA. Continuous variables were standardized (mean = 0, SD = 1). Dummy variables were not standardized.

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