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ABSTRACT
        This study examined affirmative action policies at
the campuses of the University of California (UC) and other
universities to determine effective approaches to increase
opportunities for women and minority faculty and promote faculty
diversity. Using a qualitative, ethnographic approach, project staff
interviewed faculty and administrators about their experiences and
attitudes in regard to faculty diversity. Part 1 of the report
reviews the issues and conclusions found in the literature on
affirmative action for university faculties. Part 2 provides an
inventory of successful programs uncovered at UC campuses and other
institutions. Part 3 describes and analyzes four effective strategies
for achieving faculty diversity: (1) creatively searching for quality
faculty; (2) enhancing faculty members' chances for success; (3)
using a pipeline approach; and (4) making optimum use of different
leadership styles. Part 4 summarizes the report's conclusions and
recommendations for faculty, department chairs, and senior
administrators. Three appendixes present comparisons of the
representation of minority and women faculty at UC and comparable
institutions, a note on the study's methodology, and a list of
institutions visited. (Contains 68 references.) (MDM)

The University of California in the Twenty-First Century:

Successful Approaches to Faculty Diversity

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CALIFORNIA

Spring 1987

The University of California in the Twenty-First Century:

Successful Approaches to Faculty Diversity

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Spring 1987

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Executive Summary

Background

With other major research universities, the University of California has been attempting to improve its recruitment and retention of women and minority faculty. Statistically, despite problems in comparing institutions, the University of California is doing as well or better than its comparison institutions in terms of representation of minority faculty at all faculty ranks, as UC has the highest overall proportion of underrepresented minority faculty of any of these institutions (see Table 1, p. 28), as well as a comparatively high proportion of women faculty (see Table 2, p. 29).

Perhaps the most important aspect of such comparisons, however, is to demonstrate the scale of the problem nation-wide, to indicate how much work remains to be done by the academy at large. The comparisons suggest, as well, that if the University of California is to meet the challenge of diversifying its faculty in the twenty-first century, it must make extraordinary efforts in the next two decades, due to both the slow rate of progress being made by all institutions, and to UC's need to maintain a competitive edge.

With many other postsecondary institutions across the U.S., the University of California faces a high rate of turnover in its faculty between now -- and especially after 1989 -- and the early 2000s. In this period, it is projected that approximately 40 percent of the current ladder rank faculty members will retire; simultaneously, enrollments are expected to increase. Thus about 6,000 new ladder rank faculty will be needed by the year 2000, or somewhat over 400 per year, compared to a present rate of approximately 300 per year (Faculty Turnover Projections, 1986). The next two decades present an unusual opportunity for the University to improve dramatically the representation of women and minorities on its faculty -- but only if it takes certain extraordinary measures.

Procedures of Study

Using a qualitative, ethnographic approach, project staff interviewed faculty and administrators at each UC campus and a variety of comparative institutions (see Appendix 2). Institutions selected for site visits were limited to research institutions with national reputations whose environment approximated at

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least one of our campuses (see list in Appendix 3). They were chosen on several grounds detailed in the report and its appendices.

Throughout visits to the University's own campuses, the study team implicitly compared the experiences of UC faculty and insights of UC administrators with those described in the literature and encountered across the country. This report's recommendations, therefore, begin with the successes encountered at other campuses and our own; they aimed at overcoming the obstacles uncovered in interviews with the University's faculty, and at building on those programs and processes identified as the University's strengths.

Overview of the Report

- Part One of the report reviews the issues and conclusions found in the literature on affirmative action for university faculties.

- Part Two provides an inventory of the successful programs the research team uncovered across the country and on the University's own campuses. The inventory is organized to highlight critical points in which intervention can most successfully achieve goals for faculty diversity.

- Part Three analyzes the approaches that have succeeded in diversifying university faculties, and focuses on four strategies for achieving success. Powerful and compelling, these strategies have been informed by the experiences of our respondents; they reflect as well the conclusions suggested in the literature survey.

- Part Four summarizes our conclusions and recommendations.

Part One: Directions from the Literature

Despite the fact that postsecondary institutions have been under pressure to diversify their faculties for two decades, the literature reveals a discouraging picture for both minorities and women.

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- Since the pool of academically-trained members of minority groups remains quite small, the problem of increasing minority representation on university faculties, particularly through usual recruitment procedures, remains intractable.

- Because tne number of women available in the pool has increased visibly in the last few years, public perceptions (reflected in the literature and in our interviews) are that, if appropriate search procedures are followed, there is no longer an affirmative action problem for women.

- Statistics support the public perceptions regarding the sizes of the relative pools for both minorities and women -- numbers are increasing at abysmally small rates for minorities, although substantially larger numbers of women are enrolling for graduate work.

- But how these statistics translate into tenured faculty suggests that serious problems remain for women candidates. For instance:

    - Women faculty are still concentrated in two- and four-year colleges, rather than in major research universities, and at women's colleges.

    - Women are concentrated in the lower academic ranks or in part-time or non-tenure track positions.

    - Women are also concentrated in fields tradition- ally associated with women (e.g., education, English, foreign languages, nursing, home econom- ics, fine arts, and library science).

    - Women faculty are still paid less than male faculty at all ranks; women rise through the academic ladder more slowly than men; women still receive tenure at lower rates than men.

- Similar problems for minorities are exacerbated by the few potential candidates in the pool.

    - Minorities tend to be concentrated at certain kinds of institutions -- generally in two- and four-year colleges, with more blacks at histori- cally black institutions (HBCUs) in the South, and more Hispanics at Catholic and small state universities in the Southwest.

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- Minorities, particularly blacks and Hispanics, are also clustered in lower ranks; in part-time and non-tenured positions; and in certain fields (notably social sciences, humanities, and education, rather than in the sciences and technological fields).

- Even in fields with the greatest pool of potential faculty, relatively few minorities have been hired.

- Moreover, minority women experience even less success than minority men.

Thus, the literature suggests that many of the barriers facing women and minorities in their efforts to be hired and to rise through the ladder ranks still exist, while competing political and economic forces draw many potential faculty members into other professions. Barriers to the success of women and minorities in the academy, as detailed in the literature, are discussed in the report. These include:

- a lack of adequate preparation (particularly as that is measured in research universities);

- a lack of effective sponsorship;

- overt discrimination;

- the pressure of competing obligations; and

- obstacles that prevent a scholar from a productive career in research and publications.

Part Two: Inventory of Successful Initiatives

This section of the report arranges, in the order in which the processes of recruitment and retention occur, examples of the kinds of strategies that other universities as well as UC campuses have undertaken to improve faculty diversification. We believe that intervention at these points can have the greatest impact on an institution's affirmative action profile. These points of interaction include:

- outreach,

- identifying and attracting the candidate,

- retention to tenure, and

- retention beyond tenure.

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Part Three: Approaches for Success

Based on analysis of the information we collected in our interviews, the four sections in this part of the report discuss the extraordinary efforts we recommend to faculty and administrators as the most effective responses to the challenge of diversifying the University's faculty for the twenty-first century. These four approaches include:

A.   creatively searching for quality;

B.   enhancing faculty members' chances for success;

C.   using a pipeline approach; and

D.   making optimum use of different leadership styles.

The approaches are predicated on the assumption that current practices emphasizing excellence and research can be made to work for women and minority faculty, making available to them the resources and processes that have worked so well for white males. The first two sections also presume that -- given the system of shared governance in which the Regents have delegated many functions to the faculty -- much of the responsibility for diversification must rest with faculty.

A. Excellence AND Diversity: The Creative Search for Quality

The approach discussed here builds on what the University's departments already do very well: pursue excellence tenaciously.

- We examine ways in which quality can be creatively pursued, arguing that the innovative pursuit of excellence will enable departments to increase the number of women and minority faculty they hire.

- Often departments need not use standards of excellence that differ from current ones, but must use other methods to discover a more diverse range of scholars; such strategies are detailed in the report.

- Departments cannot look for excellence only when they are ready to hire; they must also create an environment in which students, visitors, and junior faculty can grow and excel.

- Creation of an environment is accomplished by providing institutional support for scholarly production, as well as affecting the "quality of life" of scholars to enhance their output.

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- "Quality of life" issues range from clear, consistent and frequently articulated expectations of junior faculty, to efforts to provide additional research time by the third year.

- Curricular expressions of institutional support for minorities and women concerned with their own communities can be important as well: social science and humanities faculties should structure their graduate programs to integrate closely methodological training and subject matter especially relevant to minorities and women.

B. Enhancing Chances for Success: The Art of Sponsorship

Identifying and developing potential scholars to standards of excellence will prove essential in the coming decades to maintain both the institution, in particular, and the academy, in general. While this process is not new, the scale at which it must function in the next few decades may well be unprecedented. Moreover, if underrepresented groups are to be brought into the academy during this critical replacement period, the training process must be broadened dramatically.

- Academic careers are apprenticeships in the classic sense of the term; historically, the most successful scholars have been "groomed" for their roles by higher-ranking sponsors and by near-peer mentors.

- The group selected and trained through personalized relationships with mentors and sponsors must be broadened to include women and minorities in new and larger numbers.

- The larger community of scholars must be perceived as encompassing a much extended academy, with ties built between the University's nine campuses and appropriate historically black colleges and universities as well as Hispanic equivalents.

- These ties can directly benefit UC campuses through student recruitment (for summer programs as well as graduate training) as well as visiting faculty.

C. One Thing Leads to Another: The Pipeline Approach

In this section, we shift from the specific detail of particular programs, to the broader vision encompassing the entire process. Our interviews suggest that this is not an easy

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transition to make, for most faculty and administrators involved
seemed to lack a clear vision of how one program depends on
others.

- The "pipeline approach" refers to the strategy that
  posits a series of programs to build logically,
  starting from the earliest point for effective inter-
  vention -- the junior high school years -- and contin-
  uing through tenure and beyond.

- Success of the pipeline depends on the movement of
  underrpresented faculty all along the career trajec-
  tory, with the institution providing material and
  personal support at key points to keep them excelling
  and productive.

- When taken together the programs are much more than the
  sum of their parts. They represent a continuum, all
  along which the institution must intervene effectively.

- Thus, campuses should not be tempted to pick and choose
  one or more new programs to introduce.

- Although the conceptualization of a pipeline implies
  that an institution is willing to wait (for this
  approach unquestionably takes time to produce results),
  we do not recommend it in isolation.

- Some elements of the pipeline can also address issues
  with more immediate solutions, including providing
  campus exposure for minority and women role models, and
  the assignment of additional FTEs to departments who
  find outstanding candidates.

D. Leader and Manager: Implications for Management
   in University Administration

Significantly, we were told that CEOs, whether called
Chancellors or Presidents, do make a difference; that the
commitment of an institution can be measured by the relative
weight the chief executive places on affirmative action success
and his/her ability to translate commitment into action.

- CEOs are either leaders or managers. Few are both.
  Our premise is that administrators need to recognize
  and apply to the full both their own styles of leader-
  ship and that of managers who practice the complemen-
  tary style.

- Leaders are important to a campus, for the emphasis
  they place on symbolic action, and their ability to

weld together disparate interest groups through moral appeals.

- <u>Managers</u> are important for their ability to translate affirmative action into specific goals, and measurements that gauge the extent to which their management teams fulfill these goals.

- CEOs with both styles should send clear messages to their administrative personnel that they will be held accountable for affirmative action success.

- Yet much of the locus of power in faculty affirmative action rests with the department, or more specifically its chair. Leadership and incentives for department chairs must be provided by CEOs and their management teams if faculty support is to be created.

- Many of those interviewed were convinced that the placement of the affirmative action officer in the administrative hierarchy is crucial: to whom she/he reports and the scope of her/his responsibilities constitute evidence to the rest of the institution of the commitment given to affirmative action by its administrators.

Part Four: Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations

As should be clear from the preceding text, our literature search and nation-wide interviews have underscored two important aspects of affirmative action efforts. On the one hand, perceptions matter. Thus it will be important that the extraordinary efforts mounted by the University of California in the next two decades include important symbolic acts, designed to convey the message that the University and its constituent units have made a commitment to achieving a diversified faculty.

On the other hand, we feel that affirmative action, generally speaking, may have suffered from an undue emphasis on symbols. For that reason, most of the recommendations listed below concentrate on that important transition from institutional commitment to action. Only through extraordinary <u>actions</u> will the University accomplish its goal for the twenty-first century.

We recommend to the faculty, particularly to departments, that:

(1) Creative searches for quality cannot be invoked only when recruiting. They must inform the teaching done by departments for students at various levels, the interaction with postdoctoral fellows and visiting scholars, the searches for new faculty, and the dealings with tenure-track junior faculty.

(2) Expressed differently, faculty must always be conscious of the fact that actions they take in relation to undergraduates, graduates, junior and senior faculty colleagues, all affect the "pipeline" and its ability to attract, prepare and promote minority and women along an academic career trajectory.

(3) Departments and individual faculty members should design summer and other programs that enable undergraduate students, including those recruited from other institutions (such as HBCUs and state university campuses with substantial populations of minority students), to participate in faculty research projects. Successful models in the sciences should be adapted to the social sciences and humanities, as well.

(4) An important way to build quality into the graduate training of minority and women students interested in researching their own communities, is for social science and humanities departments to ensure that subjects especially relevant to minorities and women be integrated more fully with the methodologies of each discipline.

(5) Research and teaching assistantships, in particular, need to be viewed by faculty as experiences designed to "groom" women and minority graduate students to achieve excellence. To accomplish this goal:

- The timing of awards of these sources of financial assistance should be deliberately structured to provide maximum training.

- Thus research assistantships (RAships) should be provided for the first two years; teacher assistantships (TAships) should be awarded after these two years, when a student has amassed enough information to perform well.

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- Both RAships and TAships should include close interaction with a faculty sponsor.

- In addition, faculty should see their support of the final years of graduate work as similarly crucial. They need to assist graduate students to find fellowships to support the research and write-up phases of the doctoral process. [As is now the case with white male students, they should see their ability to facilitate minority and women students' successes in gaining financial support to be a measure of their own effectiveness in their fields.]

(6) Senior faculty members, particularly white males, need to work very consciously on involving minority and women junior faculty members in their departments in near-peer mentor and higher-ranking sponsor relationships. While our observations suggest that formal mentorship programs are often unsuccessful, the goals of such programs could be accomplished informally if senior faculty conscientiously took on these responsibilities voluntarily.

(7) Particularly senior faculty members, but all members of the University of California faculty, must consciously work to expand their conceptualization of the larger community of scholars of which they are members. Specifically, they should:

- build institutional ties between particular departments, or even subfields within particular disciplines, and faculty involved in those fields who teach at HBCUs and Hispanic equivalents.

- consciously work to include minority and women graduate students and faculty (at other institutions as well as UC campuses) in the variety of collaborative enterprises fostered by academia -- including conferences, essay collections, professional meetings, and large-scale research projects.

- consciously seek out minority and women scholars with whom to exchange research conclusions and drafts prepared for publication.

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- as well-informed members of a profession that relies heavily on research fellowships, work to ensure that minority and women candidates become fully informed, assisting where possible to make them competitive applicants for grant support.

(8) Departments with insufficient numbers of minority and women faculty members need to work consciously to redress the lack of role models they provide graduate students.

- Perhaps the most effective short-term solution to this problem is to initiate scholars' exchange programs, in order to bring to campus visiting minority and women faculty, particularly those from HBCUs and Hispanic equivalents. These visits could range from two weeks to a semester or longer.

We recommend to department chairs:

(9) Innovative recruiting measures, to ensure the broadest and most diverse pool of candidates possible, should include the following:

- more broadly defined specialties listed in job descriptions, perhaps encouraging the option of a specialization in minority and women-focused subject matter within the broader topic area;

- recruitment outside the standard locales (of equivalent research universities), including:

    - HBCUs and Hispanic equivalents

    - where applicable, applying professional school-style searches for practitioners who have achieved excellence outside academe

    - looking for active researchers who earned PhDs but now support themselves in jobs outside the academy

    - providing fuller consideration for those currently occupying ancillary positions in the University, including part-time, temporary, or non-tenure track slots.

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(10) Departments can foster the aspects ⌐ excellence that encourage productive faculty in several ways. Among the more important, is providing security through clear expressions of departmental and campus expectations for the level and quality of work needed for promotion and tenure, as well as regular and reliable indicators about how each individual is progressing towards these measures. (These ought, in fact, to begin during the interview process.) Where possible, discussion with junior faculty of "successful files" seems especially effective.

(11) To encourage maximum productivity before junior faculty are reviewed for tenure, department chairs should ensure judicious and timely use of release time, reduced teaching loads, and assistance/support in preparing fellowship applications.

- For maximum effectiveness, we recommend that use of these forms of departmental support be combined with reviews of junior faculty progress, to ensure the clarity of the department's evaluation message, and to convey the department's active support of the growth and professional progress of the faculty member. [p.33]

(12) More difficult is the department's ability to control "quality of life" issues, but these often adversely affect the faculty member's ability to be a productive participant of the department. Department chairs need to pay careful attention to the range of issues inherent in living in the campus community, including housing, schooling, maternity leave and other related issues. Assisting the faculty member in finding solutions to these kinds of problems not only reduces the frustrations and distractions of academic life, but further conveys departmental support.

We recommend to UC chief executives and their administrators:

(13) The University should take a national lead in identifying and collecting the data that is necessary to track the training and careers of potential minority faculty.

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(14) Rather than attempting piece-meal solutions, the
University must conceptualize its approach as an
integrated series of interventions all along the
pipeline. Its strategy must encompass a series of
programs that build logically.

- From early outreach programs to efforts to
retain full professors, campus and systemwide
administrators must see their efforts at each
point as building on, and dependent on the
success of, previous efforts.

- In particular, the connections need to be
emphasized between points of intervention
within departmental purview, and those
affected by administrative intervention.
This emphasis is a management responsibility.

(15) Whatever the management style, affirmative action must
be measured by the ability of an administrator to
translate commitment into action.

- All managers should be held responsible for
their contributions to this institutional
commitment; measurements of their rates of
successes should be included in every review
of their work.

(16) Chief executives (and their top managers) who practice
a "leader" style of management, should invest much of
his/her personal reputation and discretionary resources
in developing new programs.

- Each program should target a particular
subgroup, and focus on providing support --
financial, social, psychological or academic.

- In this context, we reiterate our concern
that the programs be conceptualized as points
along the supply pipeline.

(17) Chief executives (and their top managers) who practice
the administrative style we have characterized as
"managers," should define what constitutes success.

- They should establish standards against which
success will be measured, and offer rewards
for achieving affirmative action goals.

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• Through an emphasis on "accountability," senior managers should understand that they will be held responsible for achieving institutional goals.

(18) Chief executives should analyze the management styles of their institutions, making sure that:

• They are getting the maximum results from the strategies most amenable to their management style.

• They have, within their administrative ranks, enough administrators with the complementary style to achieve maximum results.

(19) To underscore the responsibility of department chairs to fulfill institutional commitments to affirmative action, managers should institute appropriate communication and incentive structures.

• Orientation sessions for new chairs should include a module on affirmative action, including training on how to conduct searches; how to identify underrepresented candidates through nontraditional strategies; how to expand interviewing techniques and review procedures to enhance successes, etc.

• Campuses should set a specific, institution-wide goal each year, delineating the role to be played in each department and unit in the community in filling the goal. This "encourages all members of the institution to strive to achieve the goal, provides a specific way to measure success, and allows" a campus "to celebrate together" the annual achievements.

• Administrators should enlist departments by providing special funds for those that introduce innovative new ways to enhance their affirmative profiles.

• Awards of positions (FTEs) should be considered, for departments who identify outstanding minority or women faculty even when they do not fit a specialty. This strategy has proven the most effective incentive for affirmative action hiring.

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(20) Many campuses will be able to send a special message of commitment to affirmative action by repositioning their affirmative action officer.

● This repositioning may include a direct reporting line to the chief executive, enabling the affirmative action officer to ueal informally with potential problems.

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The University of California
in the Twenty-First Century:
Successful Approaches to Faculty Diversity

Part One

The Problem is National: What the Literature Says

She said to him,
The academic life must be pleasant--
You're a professor, how nice.
Well, maybe some day
you'll marry one.
She said to him,
Why should I marry one
when I can be one
(Josefowitz, 1980: 2)

Only two words can be
used to characterize
the presence of blacks
on the faculties of
predominantly white
colleges and universities:
small and nonexistent
(Harvey, 1986)

With the twin goals of enriching the intellectual atmosphere of the university setting and providing more equitable academic opportunities for talented minorities and women, institutions of higher education have been under pressure to diversify their faculties for two decades (Harvey, 1986; Valverde, 1980). Perceptions about success play a significant role in this effort. Perhaps because the numbers of women available in the pool have increased visibly in the last few years, many people feel that, if appropriate search procedures are followed, there is no longer any problem for women. By contrast, they perceive that, as the pool remains quite small, the problem for minorities is more intractable. Yet such perceptions about women have been misleading. The literature suggests, for instance, that many of the barriers facing women and minorities in their efforts to be hired and to rise through the ladder ranks[1] still exist with surprisingly similar end results. Moreover, competing political and economic forces draw many minority group potential faculty members into other professions. The literature on affirmative action allows us to draw conclusions relating to these facts and perceptions.

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The Status of Minorities and Women on University Faculties

The Education Amendments of 1972 were enacted to increase representation of, and prevent discrimination against, women and minorities in all educational institutions. Since that time, improvements have been made in appointing minorities and, particularly, women to university faculties (Astin & Snyder, 1982).

The overall statistical picture for women seems, superficially, to be quite optimistic. For example, in 1983, women constituted 27.1% of full-time faculty, up 4.8% from a decade earlier (Etaugh, 1984). In 1967-72, 16.7% of the new hires were women; this percentage had increased to 24.5% of the new hires between 1975 and 1980. Thus the percentage of women hired had increased 50% (Astin & Snyder, 1982). Not only has the number of women grown in research universities, where they have traditionally been underrepresented, but women are also attending graduate school in record numbers, as well as entering traditionally male bastions such as the natural sciences and engineering ("Women Account for...," 1986; McMillen, 1986b).

Fewer national statistics are available for minority faculty (Menges & Exum, 1983; Aguirre, 1985). In fact, this lack of information may be getting worse. It has become more difficult to track progress for students as well as faculties, according to a recent report on the status of minorities in education ("Minority Enrollment...," 1986). (We might note here that our first recommendation will be that the University collect and disseminate information that will be more useful in this effort.) However, it does appear that a certain number of minority professionals are "academically employed"[2].

In 1981, slightly over 60% of U.S. born minorities[3] employed in science and engineering fields, and 81.6% of those employed in areas relating to humanities, were in academia (Vetter & Babco, 1986). On the whole, however, figures for minorities tell a sorry tale: despite slight increases in undergraduate enrollment for Hispanics and Asians, numbers for minorities are very small, in general, and declining in the case of blacks, and they reveal little to suggest that minorities have been successful at research universities (Elmore & Blackburn, 1983; "Minority Enrollment...," 1986).

The gloomy picture for minority students and faculty has become the major focus in the literature for those concerned with affirmative action. Concerned about the perceived decline in minority enrollments in higher education, many analysts have expressed deep concern that affirmative action efforts are failing, or at least not having the desired measure of success.

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They argue that minorities are not entering the "pool"[4] and thus fewer will join university faculties (Menges & Exum, 1983; Staples, 1986; Elmore & Blackburn, 1983; Astin & Burciaga, 1981; Preer, 1981). They also are quite concerned about declines in black enrollments at all institutions of higher education, including historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs).

Yet enrollment figures from the American Council on Education (Office of Minority Concerns, 1985) suggest tha. the pattern is one not so much of decline as of very slow growth, leading to a widening gap between expectation and experience. Not only has the total number of students in four year institutions steadily, albeit slightly, increased from 930,000 in 1976 to 1,070,000 in 1982, but their proportion of the student body in these institutions has also risen from 13.1% in 1976 to 14.0% in 1982. During this period the proportion of the student body of these institutions who were Hispanic increased steadily from 2.4% to 3.0% and the proportion who were Asians increased from 1.7% to 2.5%, while the proportion of American Indians remained relatively stable. Of more concern, the number and proportion of black students has declined slightly from 8.5% in 1976 to 8.0% in 1982. This trend is substantiated by recent figures in ACE's most recent report ("Minority Enrollment....," 1986). The number of students at historically black colleges has increased slightly from 12,200 to 13,200 in the same period. Meanwhile, the number and proportion of minority students has increased slightly in two year institutions as well.

Expectations were for numbers higher than these figures, not least because the proportion of each minority group is growing in the total U.S. population. Implications, then, of this widening gap between enrollment figures and demographic trends for growth constitute an important issue for faculty affirmative action in research universities. If the numbers of minority students in higher education continue to be small, relatively few will be prepared for, much less choose, an academic career. The "pool," in those circumstances, continues to be an important facet of the problem and related perceptions.

The figures are even more discouraging when analyzed for trends among minorities. Minority employment tends to be concentrated at certain kinds of institutions -- generally in t o- and four-year colleges, with more blacks at historically black institutions in the South, and more Hispanics at Catholic and small state universities in the Southwest (Astin & Burciaga, 1981; Aguirre, 1985; Office of Minority Concerns, 1985).

Minorities, particularly blacks and Hispanics, are also clustered in lower ranks; in part-time and non-tenured positions; and in certain fields, notably the social sciences, humanities, and education, rather than in the sciences and technological

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fields, where Asians tend to cluster (Syverson, 1983; Aguirre, in press; College Entrance Examination Board, 1985). There is evidence, however, of a shift of concentrations in some fields: the number of black undergraduates in education and the social sciences, for example, dropped from 40% in 1966 to 17% in 1978, while their proportion in business rose from 15% to 22% during the same period (Preer, 1981). However, even in the fields with the greatest pool of potential faculty, relatively few minorities have been hired (Harvey, 1986).

These trends have not changed to any great extent since the 1970s. Moreover, minority women experience even less success than minority men (Escobedo, 1980); for example, black women earn fewer PhDs than black men and do not rise as far in academic ranks as black men (Menges & Exum, 1983), and a study of Chicano faculty found Chicanas concentrated at the assistant professor rank while Chicanos are found at all ranks though slightly more at the upper levels (Aguirre, in press). With so few minorities positioned to move through the "pipeline," the underrepresentation of minorities on university faculties is, thus, likely to be a major problem for some time to come.

Comparatively speaking, given the more encouraging enrollment numbers for women than for minorities, it is not surprising that popular perceptions see women as having achieved decided affirmative action progress over the past few years. Observers have argued that the gap between male and female academic employment is rapidly closing -- that women will soon reach parity (Astin & Snyder, 1982; Astin & Kent, 1983; McMillen, 1986b). Yet a careful scrutiny of the larger picture tempers excessive optimism. Despite some improvement since 1972, the patterns in the status of women in academia compared to that of men have changed relatively little in terms of salary discrepancies, rank and tenure patterns, and employment in administrative posts (Etaugh, 1984; Howard, 1978). Moreover, a preliminary study at one of our comparison institutions suggests that women may be dropping out of academia, before they reach tenure review, at a much higher rate than men.

Women faculty are still concentrated in two- and four-year colleges (rather than in major research universities) and at women's colleges: for example, in 1982-83, 19.6% of the faculty at public and private universities were women, as compared to 27.3% of the faculty at public and private four-year colleges, and 39.9% of the faculty at public and private two-year colleges (Vetter & Babco, 1986:114). Women are also concentrated in the lower academic ranks or in part-time or non-tenure track positions: for example, in 1982-83 at public universities 6.3% of the full professors and 17.9% of the associate professors were women, as compared to 30.7% of the assistant professors and 51.5% of the generally part-time instructor and lecturer positions.

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Moreover, women are also concentrated in fields tradition-
ally associated with women (e.g., education, English, foreign
languages, nursing, home economics, fine arts, and library
science), despite an increase of women on science and engineering
faculties. Studies show that women faculty are still paid less
than male faculty at all ranks; women rise through the academic
ladder more slowly than men; and women still receive tenure at
lower rates than men -- thus fewer women are in the hig. est
professorial levels (Etaugh, 1984; Finkelstein, 1984; Menges &
Exum, 1983; Tuckman & Tuckman, 1981). Even in a traditionally
female field such as education, despite an increase in the number
of PhDs conferred on women, women are not well represented in the
higher academic ranks in schools of education (Stark, Lowther, &
Austin, 1985). Thus, complacency about the status of women in
higher education has, at best, a tenuous foundation; there is
still much room for improvement.

These trends for women and minorities must be placed against
a backdrop of projections indicating a tremendous need for
faculty over the next twenty years (Watkins, 1986; McDonald,
1984). Approximately 500,000 faculty -- almost as many as there
are at the present time -- will be needed to fill upcoming
vacancies (Watkins, 1986). These prospects for hiring present an
unprecedented and unrepeatable opportunity for universities to
diversify substantially their faculties in the near future.

A major question, however, is whether present university
hiring patterns can meet this challenge. Even if hiring is done
in excess of the availability pool, a mathematical model
internally prepared for a University of California campus
predicts that it will take more than thirty years to bring women
proportionally into all the ranks, though progress will be more
rapid at the assistant professor level. Similarly, a recent
study by the Harvard Business School calculated that, based on
current hiring practices, it would take more than fifty years for
that school to meet its admittedly modest goals of 10% women and
10% minority faculty.

If these models are correct in their predictions, it seems
clear that traditional university hiring and retention policies
will not be able to meet the challenge for diversity over the
next few decades. Thus, we must return to the literature to ask
what kinds of barriers tend to preempt minorities and women from
successful academic careers, if we are to discover strategies to
overcome these obstacles.

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Barriers for Women and Minorities in Academia

Much of the literature on affirmative action analyzes why more women and minorities are not as likely to have successful academic careers as white males. Research on career paths has focused primarily on women, perhaps because they exist in sufficient numbers to provide suggestive results. The major explanation proffered for minorities, by contrast, has focused on the "pool": fewer minority high school students go to college than white men and women; many of those who do attend, pursue careers outside academia -- thus resulting in few minorities moving through the pipeline to the higher ranks (College Entrance Examination Board, 1985; Harris, 1986; Arciniega, 1985; Astin & Burciaga, 1981; Heth & Guyette, 1985).

Yet, beyond the differences in preparation, the barriers experienced by women and minorities seem to be very similar, including a lack of effective sponsorship, overt discrimination, barriers to productivity, and stress from trying to balance professional obligations with obligations to one's community and/or family (College Entrance Examination Board, 1985; Manpower Comments, September 1985; Chavers 1980). Each of these major obstacles will be discussed in turn.

(1) Lack of Preparation: Because more and more women are going to college and graduate school in a variety of fields, it cannot be said that they lack preparation for an academic career. In fact, studies show there are few differences in the profiles of men and women students within the same fields (Shann, 1983). Women undergraduate and graduate students have been found to make as high or higher grades and complete doctorates as fast as men students in all fields (including the physical sciences); to be equally successful at attaining fellowships and assistantships; and to have similar commitment to their fields (Berg & Ferber, 1983; Shann, 1983; Committee on Education and Employment of Women in Science and Engineering, 1979). Despite these statistics, common perceptions label women as less prepared for an academic career; they often receive fewer rewards in terms of prestigious awards, salary, and promotion (Berg & Ferber, 1983; Shann, 1983; Committee on Education and Employment of Women in Science and Engineering, 1979; Menges & Exum, 1983; Finkelstein, 1984).

By contrast, few minority students go to college and even fewer go to graduate school (Preer, 1981; Staples, 1986), although there is some evidence that Hispanic college graduates enter graduate school in the same proportion as whites (Astin & Burciaga, 1981). Once there, however, many minorities are either underprepared for academic life or decide to go into a profession (such as law or medicine) or business. These professions are perceived as having higher economic rewards and allowing minority

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members to do something for their communities; however, such decisions do limit the numbers of minorities pursuing academic careers. Another obstacle is the financial cost of a college degree and graduate school, particularly since many American minority students come from low-income families (Preer, 1981). It has been argued that cutbacks on financial aid, in effect, have turned minority students away from college (Preer, 1981; Office of Minority Concerns, 1985; College Entrance Examination Board, 1985).

(2) **Lack of Effective Sponsorship:** A successful academic career is a product not only of intelligence and ability to do outstanding scholarship but also of ambition, dedication, hard work, circumstances that foster an orientation toward scholarship, and acceptance into a small fraternity of scholars. Despite intelligence and ability, women and minorities have until recently received little of the last two ingredients for success; nor have they benefited from consistent encouragement from family or faculty to pursue academic careers. Yet this missing ingredient, sponsorship (also referred to as mentorship or role modeling in this report), has generally been considered a major ingredient for career success in a variety of fields (Merriam, 1983; Rowe, 1981; Josefowitz, 1980).

One analyst contends that at least two types of professional supporters are essential for climbing a career ladder (Josefowitz, 1980). One type is a <u>mentor</u> -- someone who teaches one "the ropes" or the practicalities of the job, even if he or she is unable to influence one's career. Another type is the <u>sponsor</u> -- an influential person who helps shape one's career by opening up opportunities and speaking on one's behalf. This analyst suggests that both types are necessary all along the career ladder but that mentoring is more useful earlier in one's career while sponsoring is more useful later.

The most successful academics tend to be those who received both kinds of support; that is, those who went to the best graduate schools in their field, had more financial aid, and were proteges of well-established researchers. Indeed, studies document that academic success often depends to a large extent on support by influential sponsors (Clark & Corcoran, 1986; Merriam, 1983; Larsen & Wadlow, 1982; Cameron & Blackburn, 1981; Reskin, 1979; Josefowitz, 1980). This mentorship and/or sponsorship has resulted in greater access to resources for research, advice, and collegial networks which are the foundations for academic productivity (Clark & Corcoran, 1986). This pattern seems to be related as well to the calibre of the university which trains graduate students, since affiliation with a major research institution also opens doors to students (Reskin, 1979).

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White men have been the usual beneficiaries of this kind of sponsorship. Because few minorities attend prestigious universities (Astin & Burciaga, 1981), they are precluded from the kind of training and sponsorship that this environment affords to prospective academics. An interesting exception to this pattern is presented by black scholars trained at historically black colleges, who apparently have learned how to succeed in academic and other professional life (Elmore & Blackburn, 1983; Evans, 9/24/1986).

Women are more likely to attend prestigious institutions than are minorities. Once there, however, women -- and the few minority students in attendance -- face similar problems. Sponsors of women and minorities too often have channeled their proteges into situations which do not afford them eventual access to higher academic positions (Clark & Corcoran, 1986). Moreover, there is some evidence that the eventual success of women academics is associated with having had a female advisor, as students of both sexes report forming the closest professional relationships with a faculty member of the same sex (Denmark, 1980; Berg & Ferber, 1983) or, in the case of minorities, with having a role model of the same ethnic group (Jacobs, 1982; Rendon, 1981). Owing to the small number of women and minorities in many departments, however, there are few such role models or sponsors available for graduate students (Berg & Ferber, 1983). With these patterns in mind, an article offering advice for successful mentoring suggests the importance for women and minority graduate students of determining which white male professors have the best networks with other universities, know editors of critical journals, have good records for publishing and grantsmanship, and have produced students with good records for publishing, grantsmanship, and academic employment (Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1983).

The need for effective sponsorship does not end after graduate school. Many women and minority academics have complained about the lack of collegiality in their departments -- which isolates them from professional networks, resources for research grants, and publishers (Theodore, 1986). This argument suggests that mobility in academia depends heavily on the support of one's departmental colleagues and that, without effective sponsorship, many women and minorities falter at the early end of the pipeline.

(3) Overt Discrimination: Another barrier to women and minorities in higher education may be the low status they hold in society. Research evidence and the favorable disposition toward womens' court cases suggest that in many instances women do experience overt discrimination or suffer from imposition of a double standard (Denmark, 1980; Finkelstein, 1984; Gray, 1985; McMillen, 1986a). One reviewer of research on this question

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found that studies of the pre-affirmative action era showed women being offered lower rank, non-tenure track jobs, while later studies indicated that departments tended to hire women primarily to fill slots "designated" for a woman, but rarely filled other vacancies with women (Finkelstein, 1984). Other studies have documented sexist bias in letters of reference for women, student attitudes toward articles written by women, attitudes toward assertiveness of women (as opposed to men) faculty, and salary differentials between men and women faculty (Finkelstein, 1984; Denmark, 1980; Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1982; Tuckman & Chang, 1984).

Similarly, academia is frequently perceived to practice overt discrimination against minorities as well (Harvey, 1986; Romero, 1977). In some cases, authors have inferred this conclusion from other kinds of evidence. For instance, one author has argued that the fact that only 2% black faculty teach at predominantly white institutions -- a number that does not begin to approach the number of black PhD recipients -- demonstrates the existence of racism (Harvey, 1986).

Other charges relate to negative attitudes of white researchers about the capabilities and type of research conducted by ethnic researchers. Those minority scholars who choose subjects related to their ethnic communities complain that the undervaluation of their work denies them mobility in academic careers (Valverde, 1980; Heller, 1986). There is also some evidence of selective perceptions regarding discrimination that make interesting distinctions between departmental and institutional environments. In a study of black and white faculty at predominantly white research institutions, the black faculty sampled expressed the view that in general these major institutions were racist, but at the same time agreed with whites that "there is a positive racial climate in their individual departments" and that criteria for rewards (i.e., tenure and promotion) were universally applied and not based on race (Elmore & Blackburn, 1983: 8).

(4) Competing Obligations: Another obstacle for women and minorities is the tug-of-war they experience in trying to balance professional with family and community responsibilities. However, this factor arises from different causes for the two groups. Culture and society tend to channel women into marriage and families rather than into demanding careers; or, for women who attempt both a career and marriage, society tends to place more familial burdens on wives than on their husbands.

This fact of women's life may result in subtle discrimination. It also affects women's ambitions and the kinds of choices they make in their careers, both of which may ultimately contribute to the barriers erected before the higher echelons of

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academia (Clark & Corcoran, 1986; Steinkemp & Maehr, 1984; Shann, 1983). Evidence indicates that women in traditionally female fields are less clear about their plans and ambitions to succeed than women in male-dominated fields, even though they express as much commitment to their fields (Shann, 1983). Moreover, many women report mixed messages from family members and faculty which alternately (even, sometimes, simultaneously) push them towards an academic career because of their potential, and pull them towards traditional family obligations. Women themselves often report ambivalence about their ability and desire to manage these competing demands. They are concerned about what they will have to sacrifice of family life in order to pursue an academic career (Clark & Corcoran, 1986).

For faculty members from American minority groups, this stress is often based on the pull between the academy and their particular ethnic community. Many feel acutely a sense of obligation to their "roots" -- to their families and ethnic community -- or are actively reminded of this duty by their communities (Valverde, 1980; Chavers, 1980; Escobedo, 1980; Black, 1981; Menges & Exum, 1983). They take seriously the need to serve minority students by advising them, mentoring them, raising their awareness of the history and culture of American minorities, teaching them, and serving as role models for them.

As their numbers on campus are so limited, minority faculty also feel a keen responsibility to serve on a variety of campus committees and participate in a wide range of activities -- as both a "reminder" minority role model for majority group faculty, and as possessor of a minority perspective on a range of issues (Aguirre, in press; Valverde, 1981). Many feel an obligation to conduct research on some aspect of their ethnic group. Moreover, since many minority faculty members are from closely-knit families, they have strong obligations to tend to family matters as well as community and other professional concerns (Escobedo, 1981; Heth & Guyette, 1985). This situation presents a difficult dilemma to many minority researchers who also have ambitions to rise in the academic world.

(5) Obstacles to Productivity: Another possible explanation for women's and minorities' relative lack of success in academia is that they are less "productive" (Menges & Exum, 1983; Arciniega, 1978; Black, 1981; Valverde, 1980; Chavers, 1980; Escobedo, 1980; Aguirre, 1985 & in press). That is, they are perceived as doing less research and publishing than white males do, in a career which makes high demands for visibility in both arenas (especially in research institutions). This perception emerges despite some evidence that they have similar views on what it takes to get ahead in academia (Elmore & Blackburn, 1983; Berg & Ferber, 1983; Shann, 1983).

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There is some basis for this negative perception of women's and minorities' level of productivity. Both anecdotal and empirical research evidence has been presented to indicate that women and minorities are less productive than male faculty (Menges & Exum, 1983; Theodore, 1986). Women have been found to spend about half as much time as men on research and are about twice as likely to do no research at all, receive fewer grants, and publish significantly less than men (Finkelstein, 1984).

Other reports, however, shift the definition of "productivity," arguing that women and minorities are very productive in other ways -- ways that provide important service to the university but which unfortunately, carry little weight in tenure and promotion decisions, and which consume vast amounts of time, thus cutting deeply into time available for research and writing (Theodore, 1986; Menges & Exum, 1983; Franzosa, 1981; Tidwell, 1981; Romero, 1977). As a consequence, many do not reach tenure or the higher ranks (Menges & Exum, 1983; Romero, 1977).

Women also are pulled toward other academic responsibilities. Research shows they tend to spend more time teaching; and more time preparing for teaching, report counseling more students than their male colleagues; tend to spend more time on university and departmental committees; and are assigned to teach more undergraduate courses than are men. Yet they also may be criticized later for their inexperience in teaching graduate courses (Astin & Bayer, 1972; Menges & Exum, 1983; Theodore, 1986).

The lower number of articles published by women in prestigious journals or by prestigious publishers has been correlated to the fact that women are concentrated at less prestigious universities and in the lower ranks (Astin & Davis, 1985). The limited access to research grants may reflect a lack of training in how to get them and/or in being outside the networks of those successful in getting grants. Minorities similarly report limited access to publishers, and many publish in ethnic journals, which are not considered prestigious by the established academic community; thus the publications carry less weight in departmental evaluations of productivity (Fikes, 1978).

These are the most important barriers described in the literature. They suggest why many minority and women academics have not achieved full success in their fields; they also imply the limits underrepresented faculty experience in terms of the kinds of institutions in which they teach and the heights to which they can aspire. The literature also makes it clear, however, that these trends are national in scope. Thus, the problems faced by the University of California in overcoming these barriers are those faced by all first-rank research universities.

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Genesis of this Study

Within this national context, the University of California has been attempting to improve its recruitment and retention of women and minority faculty. In terms of a nation-wide problem, Tables 1-3, based on their respective 1986 EEO-6 Reports, compare the University of California with a number of major research universities.[5] In this context, it may be said that the University of California is doing quite well regarding representation of minority faculty at all levels; UC has the highest overall proportion of underrepresented minority faculty of any of these institutions.

There are, however, serious problems with these kinds of comparisons, not least being the fact that the UC figures represent a system, while the others are individual campuses, among which there is great variation (e.g. some have nursing schools and thus larger numbers of women; others have few or no health-related professional programs). To gauge the seriousness of these constraints on comparability, we also compared the two most similar and comprehensive institutions -- University of Michigan at Ann Arbor (with 38,000 students) and UCLA, our most comprehensive campus (30,000) [Tables 1-3]. The results, which still reflect some differences (e.g. our campus has no Optometry and Pharmacy programs), are close enough to the over-all comparisons reflected in Table 2 that these have been retained as reasonable representations. (See also the additional graphs based on EEO-6 data in Appendix 1.)

TABLE 1
A Comparison of the Most Comprehensive UC campus
with a Similar Institution
Tenured and Non-tenured On-Track Faculty

Ranked by Underrepresented Minority Representation

NON-TENURED ON TRACK FACULTY (ASSISTANTS ONLY)

Code	Total% Underrep	Total %Min.	%Min. Men	%Min. Women	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian	%Amer Indian
UCLA	7.7	18.1	12.7	5.4	4.2	2.7	10.4	0.8
UM	6.3	12.6	8.4	4.2	5.1	1.3	6.3	0.0

TENURED FACULTY (FULL & ASSOCIATES)

Code	Total% Underrep	Total %Min.	%Min. Men	%Min. Women	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian	%Amer Indian
UCLA	4.2	9.6	8.4	1.2	1.4	2.7	5.4	0.1
UM	3.1	7.4	6.4	1.0	2.3	0.6	4.3	0.3

Source: 1986 EEO-6 Reports

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TABLE 2
University of California and Comparable Institutions
Tenured and Non-tenured On-Track Faculty

Ranked by Underrepresented Minority Representation

NON-TENURED ON TRACK FACULTY (ASSISTANTS ONLY)

Code	Total% Underrep	Total %Min.	%Min. Men	%Min. Women	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian	%Amer Indian
UC	7.9	16.2	11.7	4.5	2.6	5.0	8.3	0.3
B	7.0	14.0	9.4	4.5	5.9	0.7	7.0	0.3
L	6.5	14.0	9.2	4.8	4.8	1.5	7.5	0.2
C	6.3	12.6	8.4	4.2	5.1	1.3	6.3	0.0
G	5.9	10.8	8.1	2.7	3.2	2.7	4.9	0.0
J	5.8	12.3	10.1	2.2	2.9	2.2	6.5	0.7
H	5.6	22.2	18.1	4.2	4.2	1.4	16.7	0.0
E	5.5	10.7	7.0	3.7	4.9	0.6	5.2	0.0
K	5.0	11.1	8.6	2.5	1.9	3.0	6.1	0.0
A	4.0	14.1	NA	NA	3.0	1.0	10.1	0.0
I	2.9	9.8	6.8	2.9	2.0	0.9	6.8	0.0
D	2.6	11.4	9.8	1.5	1.3	1.3	8.7	0.0
F	2.2	7.1	6.2	0.9	1.1	0.9	4.9	0.2

TENURED FACULTY (FULL & ASSOCIATES)

Code	Total% Underrep	Total %Min.	%Min. Men	%Min. Women	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian	%Amer Indian
UC	4.4	9.9	8.9	1.1	1.7	2.5	5.5	0.3
B	4.1	8.4	7.0	1.4	2.5	1.3	4.3	0.3
K	3.8	5.8	5.0	0.8	1.0	2.4	2.0	0.4
L	3.3	8.5	7.1	1.4	1.8	1.4	5.2	0.2
C	3.1	7.4	6.4	1.0	2.3	0.6	4.3	0.3
I	3.0	6.3	5.7	0.6	2.0	1.0	3.3	0.0
J	2.5	5.9	5.6	0.3	1.7	0.8	3.4	0.0
H	2.5	8.1	7.8	0.3	1.7	0.7	5.6	0.1
D	2.4	8.2	7.3	0.9	1.2	0.9	5.8	0.2
F	2.3	5.5	4.8	0.8	1.2	1.0	3.2	0.1
G	2.2	5.0	5.0	0.0	1.8	0.5	2.7	0.0
E	2.1	3.7	3.5	0.3	1.2	0.9	1.7	0.0
A	2.0	8.1	NA	NA	1.1	0.9	6.1	0.0

Source: 1986 EEO-6 Reports

*For institution M, data were unavailable for the full range of
ethnicities.

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By contrast, the University is doing less well with regards to the representation of women faculty at both tenured and non-tenured levels, as shown by Table 3. UC ranks about midway in comparison with the other institutions. Additional graphs in Appendix 1 illustrate in various ways the proportions of minority and women faculty at each institution.

TABLE 3
University of California and Comparable Institutions
Tenured and Non-tenured On-Track Faculty

Ranked by Female Representation

NON-TENURED ON TRACK FACULTY (ASSISTANTS ONLY)			TENURED FACULTY (FULL & ASSOCIATES)		
Code	Total % Women	Minority Women	Code	Total % Women	Minority Women
M	35.0	NA	B	14.0	1.4
L	33.0	4.8	K	13.7	0.8
K	31.0	2.5	M	13.3	NA
F	29.4	0.9	H	12.7	0.3
H	29.2	4.2	C	11.2	1.0
B	29.0	4.6	F	11.2	0.8
UC	28.6	4.5	D	11.0	0.9
G	28.6	2.7	L	10.5	1.4
C	26.7	4.2	UC	10.1	1.1
D	25.3	1.5	E	7.9	0.3
I	23.6	3.0	A	6.7	NA
E	22.0	3.7	G	6.4	0.0
A	18.7	NA	J	5.0	0.3
J	17.4	2.2	I	4.3	0.6
UCLA	30.8	5.4	UM	11.2	1.0
UM	26.7	4.2	UCLA	10.5	1.2

Source: 1986 EEO-6 Reports

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In any case, although we have responded to our charge by including these statistical comparisons, they provide only an approximation, and are of limited relevance to this study. Perhaps their most salient feature is to demonstrate the scale of the problem nationwide, to indicate how much work remains to be done by the academy at large. They suggest, as well, that if the University of California is to meet the challenge of diversifying its faculty in the twenty-first century, it must make extraordinary efforts in the next two decades.

Concern about this limited diversity among UC faculty is timely. Like many research institutions across the U.S., the University of California faces a high rate of turnover in its faculty between now -- and especially after 1989 -- and the early 2000s. In this period, it is projected that approximately 40% of the current ladder rank faculty members will retire; simultaneously, enrollments are expected to increase, indicating further demands for additional faculty. At this rate, the University may need to hire about 6,000 new ladder rank faculty by the year 2000, or somewhat over 400 per year, compared to a present rate of approximately 300 per year (Faculty Turnover Projections, 1986). Moreover, given the vagaries of the academic job market in the last decade, many campuses face a large gap between the older, senior faculty who are about to retire and younger junior faculty, a number of whom will not receive tenure or will leave for other reasons. In some departments and on some campuses during the next few years, there is likely to be a shortage of outstanding faculty to assume the senior positions that enable the University to maintain its national and international reputation. Thus, the next two decades present an unusual opportunity for the University to improve dramatically the representation of women and minorities on its faculty.

Similarly faced with faculty renewal/turnover issues (Watkins, 1986), many other research institutions are seizing the opportunity to diversify their faculties and, in the process, to bring in outstanding individuals at senior levels. We even have been informed that English universities have begun to plan ways to resist the recruitment efforts of American universities during this period! If the University of California hopes to retain a competitive edge during this period, additional efforts will be required.

The timeliness of this challenge relates as well to coming demographic changes. In this respect, the University of California will be pressed by these issues before they emerge as problems for its comparison institutions. For example, this same period of faculty renewal, minority groups are projected to constitute approximately 40-50% of California's population (based on preliminary projections by the Center for the Continuing Study

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of the California Economy, 1985). As a public institution, the University needs a more diverse, excellent faculty and staff to provide educational guidance to students from these groups and to be more responsive to the research and public service needs of the state. Yet, as we have seen, the pool of available scholars from minority groups is limited, and in the case of blacks, shrinking (Staples, 1986; Heller, 1986; Arciniega, 1985). As other institutions also are forced to face these issues, competition for outstanding minority scholars will become increasingly intense across the nation. This situation suggests that if the University is to reflect the diversity of the state in a superior faculty, extraordinary efforts will be needed to compete for the best and the brightest.

The immediacy of this challenge cannot be met simply through existing hiring and retention procedures as outlined in University policies. Clearly, the University of California cannot wait the fifty or even thirty years projected in mathematical models to assemble a diversified faculty; these faculty will be needed urgently needed during the next twenty years. Therefore, at the June 20, 1985, meeting of the Regents' Special Committee on Affirmative Action Policies, the President reported that, after consultation with the Chancellors and Vice Presidents, it had been decided that a study would be made comparing the University's affirmative action programs with those of the University's comparison institutions. Chancellors were asked to nominate senior faculty members with administrative experience to serve on an advisory committee on the design and execution of the study (see list at the beginning of this report); the committee was chaired by Professor Eugene Cota-Robles, formerly Provost of Crown College, Santa Cruz campus, and now Assistant Vice President in the Office of the President. The study was intended to capture those elements which contribute to campus success in attracting and keeping minority and women faculty, utilizing not only existing affirmative action data but qualitative data on program strengths, level of campus support, quality of life, and other variables that contribute to campus successes.

Using a qualitative, ethnographic approach (see Appendix 2), project staff interviewed faculty and administrators at each UC campus and comparative institution. Among the categories of people interviewed were senior academic administrators, affirmative action officers, and deans; department chairs in a variety of fields, and chairs of senate affirmative action committees: recently hired faculty, and faculty involved with special interest groups such as women's organizations and ethnic caucuses.

The specific institutions to be visited were limited to research institutions with national reputations, whose environment approximated at least one of our campuses (see list in

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Appendix 3). They were chosen on three grounds: (1) insti-
tutions included in the University's annual survey of salaries --
which, therefore, are assumed to be institutions with whom the
University competes for faculty; (2) institutions identified by
the Advisory Committee as those to whom the University has lost
significant numbers of women and minority faculty members; and
(3) institutions with larger percentages of women and minorities
-- as likely sources for successful affirmative action programs.

Throughout visits to the University's own campuses, the
study team implicitly compared the experiences of UC faculty and
insights of UC administrators with those described in the
literature and encountered across the country. This report's
recommendations, therefore, begin with the successes encountered
at other campuses and on our own; they are aimed at overcoming
the obstacles uncovered in interviews with the University's
faculty, and at building on those programs and processes
identified as the University's strengths.

The remainder of the report is designed to convey those
implicit evaluations, and the recommendations that resulted from
them. Part Two provides an inventory of the successful programs
the research team uncovered across the country and on the Univer-
sity's own campuses. Arranged in the order in which the pro-
cesses of recruitment and retention occur, the inventory is
intended to highlight the critical points at which intervention
can most successfully achieve goals for faculty diversity. Part
Three analyzes approaches that have succeeded in diversifying the
faculty. In this section, the research team focuses on four
strategies for achieving success that have been distilled from
the insights of our respondents, both faculty and administrators.
Powerful and compelling, they reflect as well the conclusions
suggested in the literature survey. Part Four summarizes the
report's conclusions and recommendations.

Part Two

Inventory of Successful Initiatives

This section describes successful programs and procedures discovered at comparable research universities and cn University of California campuses. As we sometimes found variations of the same program or procedures on several campuses, we have listed here only examples of the kinds of strategies that can be undertaken. Occasionally, recommendations which seemed useful have been included as well. The programs and procedures are listed in an order which emphasizes the important points of intervention throughout academic careers; implementation at these points could have the greatest impact on an institution's affirmative action profile.

A. DEVELOPING THE POOL

1. Outreach

a. Identify early undergraduate and graduate students with potential for academic careers.

   1) Name Exchange. A network of universities provides members with the names of their minority and women undergraduate students in various fields. This service is one way institutions can begin to contact departments in other universities to identify potential graduate students and to encourage them to apply. [Several UC campuses participate.]

   2) Identify minority undergraduate students. Students should be sought not only at more prestigious campuses, but also at middle-level institutions, historically black colleges and universities, and universities with significant numbers of Hispanics (e.g., small state and Catholic universities in the Southwest). These students can be targeted for fellowships as well as summer and other training programs.

b. Motivate students to qualify for graduate school.

   1) Summer research programs for undergraduates. In addition to practical training in the research methods of their field, such programs indirectly provide a mentoring experience for students. They also help faculty identify and encourage promising students to consider an academic career. Examples include the

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Minority Biomedical Research Support Program (MBRSP), funded by the National Institutes of Health (NIH), which competitively selects students for a summer research training program with close interaction with faculty; many have publications by the time they graduate. This program also has a graduate component. An NIH-funded honors program, Minority Access to Research Careers (MARC), has similar goals. This kind of program has been applied successfully to the social sciences as well, and could, we think, also be applied to the humanities. [UC Division of Agriculture and Natural Resources has a pilot program with Southern University which places black students at four UC campuses. Several UC campuses participate in MBRSP & MARC.]

2) Role models of outstanding women and minority faculty in various disciplines. Even in departments with few women and minority faculty, providing role models can be accomplished by bringing in visiting scholars for periods ranging from a few lectures to a year.

2. Financial Assistance

a. Develop a coherent package of financial support. This package should address financial need at each stage of postsecondary, graduate and postgraduate work to keep minority students on an academic career path. In particular, this means a minimum reliance on loans to finance students' careers, as increased indebtedness directs students towards more lucrative employment opportunities in private industry. Guaranteed support not only minimizes financial worries but also helps reduce the amount of time students need to complete a doctorate.

1) One state university, for example, has a series of financial aid programs to help students from their undergraduate years through their doctorate, including a Chancellor's Scholarship Program which is funded by private monies and defrays about one-fourth of a student's academic expenses up to five years; a Dean's Scholarship Program in the College of Letters and Science which provides a four-year scholarship and other assistance to promising minority or low income students; and an Advanced Opportunity Fellowship Program for Minority and Disadvantaged Graduate Students which provides support for up to four years of graduate study.

2) Another type of comprehensive program combines financial support for graduate studies with specific kinds of training in research and teaching beneficial to an academic career (see below). A similar program partially funded by the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) provides up to five years of support for minority graduate students. It includes one year of fellowship, two years' research assistantship, one year teaching assistantship, and a final year for dissertation write-up. Another similar program provides four years of support, including two years of teaching assistantships,and two years for research assistantship and dissertation write-up; in the sciences a fifth year postdoctoral fellowship is also provided. [Several UC campuses have such programs.]

b. Tie as much of this support as possible to scholarly and other professional activity. In this way students will receive important training in research, theory and teaching to help prepare them for academic careers. [UC's graduate and professional student research and teaching assistantships, mentorship programs, and dissertation fellowships all contribute in this way. The UC research assistant/mentorship program is described below.]

3. Additional Training Opportunities

a. Doctoral training programs. A highly successful doctoral training program in the social sciences, originally federally-funded, includes a careful, coherent integration of minority field work results with the theoretical and analytical approaches of the discipline, in addition to giving graduate students training in research procedures. [UCB]

b. Postdoctoral fellowships. A good example of this strategy is UC's President's Fellowship Program, which has proven very successful in attracting women and minority students to UC campuses while they prepare publishable reports of their research. Pioneered by UC Berkeley's Chancellor's Fellowship Program, this program selects candidates through a nationwide search for postdoctoral training. Now in its fourth year, this program has contributed several additional minority candidates to the pool, some of whom have been hired by the sponsoring institution and the remainder by other major universities. The key to a successful fellowship program, several respondents told us, is to ensure that department faculty play a central role in recruitment, selection, and mentoring of the fellows.

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c. Research Assistantship/Mentorship Awards. It is important
    that minority and women graduate students have experience
    in research and other training that will enhance their
    chances of success in an academic career. One way to do
    this is to provide research assistantships on projects of
    faculty who also act as mentors to the students. Other
    variations, described above, integrate research and
    teaching experiences with financial support throughout the
    graduate program. {Pioneered by UCI, now available on all
    campuses.]

B. IDENTIFYING AND ATTRACTING THE CANDIDATE

1. Identifying Opportunities

a. Delay filling a vacancy for a year to encourage the
    department to analyze its programmatic needs. The college
    we found using this strategy finds it a useful way to
    promote departmental introspection and long-range
    planning; it counters the tendency of white male faculty
    members to "replicate themselves and their specialties."

b. Carefully write descriptions for positions to ensure that
    they attract the widest possible range of candidates. In
    one example provided to us, a department replacing a
    retiring Labor Historian agreed to advertise for candi-
    dates specializing in "labor and/or women's history." This
    wording attracted, among others, three highly qualified
    women, all specializing in women in the labor force: these
    candidates would have otherwise presumed their work to be
    marginal to the first field, while it became central under
    the dual listing. Another example might be to include in
    the profile of a position for an urban sociologist famil-
    iarity with the plight of American minorities in urban
    settings. Such broadened definitions may thus encourage
    more candidates to apply, and cast a different light on
    their credentials when scrutinized by the department.
    Increased flexibility in departmental priorities can also
    be introduced by recognizing that faculty -- while hired
    for their particular specialty -- are likely to move on to
    other interests in their academic lifetimes.

c. Targets of Opportunity Program (TOP). Perhaps the most
    successful program we encountered at several institutions
    was the assignment of additional full-time equivalent
    positions (FTEs) to departments who succeed in identifying
    outstanding minority and women candidates. [UC's TOP has
    received national recognition for its effective use of
    this strategy. TOP allocates an additional position to a

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department to recruit a minority or woman candidate who, while meeting accepted academic standards, does not match an established position description. This strategy enables a department to seize an opportunity to diversify its faculty that might otherwise be lost.]

d. Encourage departments to define "quality" for contexts outside of academe. Defining quality as outstanding success in one's field has allowed some universities to bring in women and minority writers and artists as well as those in the professions. Perhaps the most aggressive institution consciously using this approach is the Harvard Business School where the administration has convinced its departments that those who have achieved outstanding success in their non-academic professions are likely candidates for achieving success in academic endeavors as well. The departments themselves define what constitutes "success" or "quality" in the world outside academe; then they recruit among these successful practitioners for senior faculty. This broader definition of "quality" has enriched the curriculum by introducing into the faculty persons (including women and minorities) with more diverse experiences and expertise.

e. Create research jobs and some part-time teaching opportunities for women and minorities until positions open for which these people can be actively considered. One dean we spoke with said that since her college had so few openings, this strategy allowed her to retain talented people until they could be considered for future positions.

2. Identifying Candidates

a. Aggressively seek out potential minority and women candidates. Moving beyond the traditional venues to advertise positions, and utilizing networks beyond those always used to identify candidates, department chairs and search committees must actively work to identify women and minority candidates. The most heartening example we found involved a department chair's tactic to identify productive women. He searched the programs of professional meetings, then wrote personal letters to each potential candidate, describing the department and demonstrating its interest in her candidacy. [UC example]

b. Exchange Faculty. Several universities have developed programs to identify and bring in senior minority faculty for a year from such institutions as HBCUs. These programs provide ways to utilize more minorities as role models, to establish on-going contacts at other univer-

sities for recruiting graduate students, and to identify outstanding senior people for recruitment.

c. Utilize women or minority faculty, administrators and support groups to help uncover the available pool. These groups have proved remarkably effective in compiling names and files of promising women and minority candidates.

d. Keep resumes of prospective candidates on file; consult national services for appropriate candidates. Some departments or universities maintain, for future refer- ence, files on promising candidates as they encounter them. There are also national services which maintain such files, such as the National Hispanic Women's Network, currently housed at Stanford University. [UC is currently developing a system-wide vitabank of UC part-time faculty and doctoral recipients. It already has a very active system for promoting the President's Postdoctoral Fellows.]

e. Search for senior scholars, who are still active re- searchers even though they are currently employed outside academe. Hiring retrenchments over the last several years have forced many potential faculty members to seek other careers; some of them (frequently female) have remained productive in their academic fields, and would prove competitive candidates. A related strategy is to ensure that research associates and non-tenured faculty are seriously considered during searches (studies indicate that many women and minorities have been dead-ended in these positions).

f. Monitor the entire search process.

    1) At some universities, monitoring has been accomplished by the faculty senate affirmative action committee and the affirmative action officer working closely with underrepresented departments and trying to educate them about the importance of diversity. Occasionally the department's dean has been present at such discussions.

    2) Other institutions report that it is very effective to have women and minorities on search committees, thus reminding the committees to consider race and gender when selecting candidates.

    3) In some institutions, deans have assisted departments in developing lists of potential candidates. This strategy has been especially effective where the departments have consistently compiled lists without

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names of women and minorities. We were told that some deans have even aborted the search process, having search committees begin again to identify additional candidates.

4) Informants also described to us effective intervention exercised by department chairs. One rather drastic strategy enabled a chair to successfully influence hiring for several positions. In order to make sure women applicants were given due consideration, in a field where they were severely underrepresented, he had the search committee consider women's applications separately and included some of the best of them on the final list of possible candidates. Because they made such good cases for themselves some of these women subsequently have been hired and are now "the pride of the department," though the chair feels that probably they would not have been considered otherwise.

3. Attracting Candidates (i.e., convincing them to accept your offer)

a. Utilize women and minority faculty, administrators and support groups. At one level, everyone is aware of the components that are required to make job offers competitive -- providing scientific equipment, support for graduate students, housing assistance, and the like. But for those who have previously felt themselves to be outside the academic establishment, there are additional, more subtle concerns. Including interviews with women and minority faculty for candidates to discuss quality of life issues such as housing, the nature of minority communities, school districts, and so forth, conveys a subtle message that this kind of support is recognized by the university as important, even as it allows candidates to seek answers to their unspoken questions.

b. Address, in all recruitment interviews, issues of maternity leave, child care, expectations for tenure, quality of life in surrounding community, etc. Most of the recently-hired faculty as well as department chairs to whom we spoke agreed that discussions of these issues, while they may affect women or minorities disproportionately, should be put into a general context and presented systematically to all candidates. Interviews with recently-hired faculty make it clear that care taken to address candidates' spoken and unspoken concerns for the job and the quality of living environment not only helps the candidate deal with the specific issues being discussed, but also convinces him or her that the department

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is interested in having that candidate join the faculty. These factors turn into retention solutions as well, for they ensure a better "fit" between candidate, institution, and community.

c. Make flexible appointments. Some departments have successfully attracted women and minorities by being more flexible in hiring terms to better meet the needs of their candidates. Examples include reduced-load appointments, delayed appointments, and shared appointments (see below). A department willing to create part-time appointments may prove particularly appealing to some women candidates. In one university, a female job applicant has become a role model for other women faculty who see her part-time appointment as important because it slows the tenure clock during the time when her children are young. Another major university has found it useful to hold a position open for a year for women or minority faculty who cannot accept the appointment immediately.

d. Seek positions for spouses. Virtually everyone we interviewed agreed that the single most important problem in attracting and retaining women and minorities was that of finding jobs for two academics from the same household.

    1) Most routinely, department chairs who are sensitive to the problem have proven willing to contact informally faculty at nearby institutions to see if positions can be created for the spouse. This solution works best, of course, in those areas in which postsecondary institutions are clustered or where the few institutions have professional schools as well. [UC examples]

    2) Effective, but less often used, was the practice of the hiring department to split or share a single appointment between two spouses. This solution is particularly effective in fields where additional income can be sought to support research activities. [UC examples]

    3) Other solutions we found to the dual career problem required a larger institutional commitment. One institution, located in an area offering other kinds of professional job opportunities, organized a spousal job referral network. Taking advantage of the Research Triangle, the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill) created an informal information network that includes other nearby educational institutions, professional organizations, state agencies, high technology and other local businesses. The recruiting

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department at UNC sends the spouse's resume to the Affirmative Action Office, which circulates it to representatives designated by each participating institution. Because these representatives have established a good working relationship through meetings and a newsletter, they have achieved good results. Local high technology firms have been particularly enthusiastic, as it can reduce their recruiting costs.

4) Institutions in areas lacking alternative employment opportunities for professionals have felt the dual career problem most acutely. One such university has created a formal mechanism for employing academic spouses. The recruiting department submits the spouse's curriculum vita to the dean, who contacts an appropriate department about hiring the spouse. If interested, the department and the administration together provide the resources needed to create the new position. The affirmative action office then waives normal recruitment procedures for the spouse, arguing that this "Dual Career Program" will result in an increased number of women on the faculty whether the woman is the spouse or the original recruit. Reaction to this program has been very positive at that institution. We were told repeatedly during interviews that the departments found the spouses' contributions unique and enriching.

e. Aggressively recruit women and minorities. Institutions with more successful records on affirmative action are sensitive to the fact that there is often intense competition among universities for outstanding women and minorities. They realize they must "court" them as they would any outstanding candidate, if they are to convince them to accept an offer. [UC examples]

C. RETAINING TO TENURE

1. Opportunities for Junior Faculty

a. Inform junior faculty of expectations for tenure review. Because tenure is such a critical issue in every junior faculty member's academic life, it is important that they know exactly what is expected of them and have a fair opportunity to meet those expectations. Junior faculty, especially those immediately out of graduate school, may be very unsophisticated about what is expected of them, how much weight is applied to each kind of responsibility, and how to begin developing their file to document their

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productivity for future review. [A number of universities, as well as some of our own UC campuses, have approached that problem through orientation sessions or retreats and handbooks for new faculty. Many department chairs also advise new faculty about what is expected and keep track of their progress.]

b. Reduce teaching and committee loads in the first three years, especially for minorities and women. Virtually all the women and minority faculty interviewed on UC campuses as well as at other institutions argued that these responsibilities fall on them unequally compared with white males.

c. Provide half-year sabbaticals in the third year. A sabbatical at this time permits junior faculty members to consolidate their work, producing research and publications in good time for the tenure review process. A new policy among several Ivy League campuses routinely provides this sabbatical, and many of their departments manipulate workloads as well. [UC has a Pre-tenure Award Program which provides released time and grants for research activities.]

d. Use mid-career development awards. This strategy provides extra funds for research, usually in the fifth year, particularly in fields which have little extramural support. [It is a strategy used by several universities, including UC, which offers a Faculty Development Award.]

2. Tenure Procedures

a. Prepare the file. A faculty member must not only be productive in research and publishing, but must also be able to prepare a convincing file for departmental and campus review committees. One department chair routinely provided a clear explanation of how much weight would be applied during tenure review to research, teaching, and service respectively; he even provided examples of "good" files. [Example from a UC campus.]

b. Use networks or interest groups to increase the information given to junior faculty. At one institution, a women's group discovered that its hard-won gains in the numbers of women appointed were threatened when tenure reviews began. The group reacted by assigning senior women to assist each candidate -- securing letters of support, ensuring that her research was reviewed by respected scholars in the field, and checking that the appropriate procedures were followed at each level of the review. All of the women under consideration in those

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years won tenure. These successes, in turn, encouraged minority faculty on the same campus to organize, assisting their peers during the hiring and retention processes.

D. BEYOND TENURE

1. Retention Efforts

Faculty affirmative action does not end with tenuring minority and women junior faculty members. Rather, sustaining faculty diversity requires retention efforts for those who have achieved tenure as well as those who are trying to achieve it. An atmosphere conducive to a productive academic life helps to retain outstanding women and minority faculty at the institution.

2. Women and Minority Administrators

Having women and minorities participate at higher levels of campus administration provides additional role models for senior as well as junior faculty members. We were told at several institutions that both the visibility and the insights contributed by senior women in positions such as dean, provost, and assistant vice chancellor, had made a tremendous impact on affirmative action.

a.   They have helped affirmative action as role models, since women in these positions could advise and encourage prospective and present women faculty members.

b.   Perhaps because their experiences provide them with great insights and motivation, many of the women we encountered in these positions had made significant contributions in helping their institutions achieve affirmative action objectives.

3. New Opportunities

Sustaining faculty diversity also requires that new opportunities for advancement be provided for women and minorities in campus administration and governance.

a.   Securing administrative fellowships. As few women and minorities are in executive and managerial positions, it is important to ensure that they acquire the management skills that prepare them for university administration. One way to do so is through administrative fellowships and internships. [e.g. The American Council on Education's (ACE) fellowships.]

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b. Seeking opportunities in advanced training programs. Opportunities to develop professional and managerial skills, and to participate in national professional networks, will prove crucial for women and minorities interested in higher administrative positions. Perhaps the best-known example is Harvard's IEM (The Institute for Educational Management), which provides an intensive, four-week seminar for senior administrators. Three administrators interviewed thought this seminar had proved critical in their career development.

Part Three

Approaches for Success

The four sections in Part Three present the extraordinary efforts we recommend to University of California faculty and administrators to diversify the academy. Based on analysis of the information we collected in our interviews, these recommended approaches provide the most effective responses to the challenges facing the University in the twenty-first century.

Sections A and B are predicated on the assumption that -- given the system of shared governance in which the Regents have delegated many activities to the faculty -- much of the responsibility for diversification must rest with them. As the Association of American University Professors notes, "faculty have too often abrogated their traditional role in institutional policy formulation and implementation by allowing administrators to assume major responsibility for affirmative action requirements" (Association of American University Professors, 1982: 15A).

These two sections are predicated, as well, on the assumption that current practices emphasizing excellence and research can be made to work for women and minority faculty. Although articles in the literature and some of our respondents urged changes in institutional reward structures to provide greater recognition for community service contributions in lieu of research, we think that will only create two classes of faculty at the University. Instead, the approaches emphasized here concentrate on making available to minorities and women the resources and processes that have worked so well for white males.

Section C urges a particular way of conceptualizing the efforts needed, and is addressed to faculty and administrators alike. It is informed by a view that everyone involved must have a long-range vision of University strategy, and a clear sense of the role each can play in this strategy.

Finally, recognizing the critical role played by top administrators in establishing the policy direction and successes achieved by a campus, Section D analyzes the implications of different styles of leadership. Our premise in this section is that administrators need to recognize and apply to the full both their own styles of leadership and that of managers who practice the complementary style. Achieving diversity will take both kinds of leadership, as well as a significant expansion of the efforts currently made by faculty to train and encourage the next generation of academics.

A. Excellence AND Diversity:The Creative Search for Quality

Many of the succes. as listed in Part Two suggest more creative ways of doing what the University considers one of its strengths: fostering and attracting excellence. The approach discussed in this section therefore builds on what the University's departments already do very well. Our interviews document clearly that those in decision-making positions had confidence that they could determine quality during a search procedure and gauge quality when deciding to award tenure. In this section, we examine new ways in which quality can be creatively pursued, arguing that the innovative pursuit of excellence will enable departments to increase the number of women and minority faculty they hire. We recommend that these creative searches for quality be invoked by departments when teaching students at various levels, when interacting with postdoctoral fellows and visiting scholars, when searching for new faculty, and when dealing with tenure-track junior faculty.

The Search and Support of Excellence

Most effective of the successes detailed in Part Two are those measures used during search procedures, such as innovative approaches to defining specialties. One of our strongest recommendations refers to the creative search for women and minority candidates outside the standard locales. The Harvard Business School tactic -- asking departments to define "excellence" as it might be achieved by practitioners outside the academy -- simply systematizes the professional school approach. But we also discovered a dramatic example of this tactic as it can be applied to the liberal arts and sciences on one of our own campuses. A department brought back a woman who had remained an active scholar (e.g., publishing two books and working on a third project supported by a Guggenheim fellowship) while earning a living in a non-academic position. Given the vagaries of the job market in the last ten years, we think departments could find many more such candidates appropriate to fill in the missing Associate- and beginning Full Professor-level cohort in such allied fields as publishing, public interest organizations, consultancies to local and federal government, and academic administration.

While searches in such places will not require that departments use standards of excellence that differ from current ones, it will mean that they must use other methods to discover these scholars, who seldom consult traditional job listing sources. Thus, we recommend that chairs and search committees seek candidates more aggressively and methodically by looking in

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appropriate journals (for both articles and book reviews); in publisher's announcements; in recent lists of grant recipients; in programs of professional meetings; and in other similar sources.

Many qualified scholars can also be found in ancillary positions in the University, usually part-time, temporary or non-tenure track. We encountered particular resistance to considering these people, often faculty spouses, as fully qualified members of the academy. "Why should I waste a tenure-track position on such a person," several department chairs asked us, "when I know I can keep that person in a temporary position and bring in another faculty member full time?" While this attitude may, superficially, serve institutional goals, in the long run it will be extremely detrimental to an environment that fosters excellence.

Beyond these obvious searches for quality, there are nuances about the pursuit of excellence that deserve faculty attention. We suggest, first, that "excellence" denotes, in large part, a specific point in a long trajectory of career and intellectual development. Departments cannot only look for excellence when they are ready to hire. They must also create an environment in which students, visitors, and junior faculty can grow and excel.

There are a number of ways that departments encourage excellence. The learning fostered by relationships with faculty mentors and sponsors is discussed in Section C below. In addition, we recommend that social science and humanities faculty look more closely than is done at present at their graduate program requirements: how can subjects especially relevant to minorities and women be integrated more fully with the methodologies of their disciplines? (A closer integration would have the added benefit of making it possible for senior white male faculty to take on more of the responsibility for training minority and women students.)

Institutional Support and the Quality of Academic Life

Excellence is also a state of mind, both of the beholder and of the practitioner. Departments play an essential role in this state of mind by developing an institutional context that encourages production of excellent work. In particular, we refer to two strategies that can make a difference: (1) creating institutional support for scholarly production; and (2) affecting the "quality of life" of scholars to enhance their output.

We encountered several examples of institutional support in which schools and departments have taken the extra steps that encourage and support minority and women faculty members,

particularly at the junior level. The first strategy would have seemed self-evident, had we not encountered several contrary instances on our campuses. Thus, we recommend very straight-forward discussions about departmental and campus expectations for the level and quality of work needed for promotion and tenure, and clear indications about how each individual is progressing towards these levels. We found a number of cases in which faculty had received mixed messages during their contract renewals and career reviews, and these cases contrasted dramatically with the most productive and successful faculty we interviewed. The latter knew what to expect. Many had enjoyed frank discussions with deans and department chairs during the search procedure about expectations for tenure-level work, and likely pitfalls in campus life. Many were in departments in which expectations had been explicitly spelled out. On one UC campus, faculty had even been shown successful files. These had been accompanied by a numerical evaluation of research, teaching and public service activities so that they knew precisely how these would be weighted. They knew which materials should be included in their files; they knew the kind and level of research and publications activity that would be required of them.

Judicious and timely use of release time, juggling of teaching loads, and fellowships are perhaps the most important institutional mechanisms that departments can use to create a supportive environment. While we did not test systematically to verify this finding, it was our perception that women and minority junior faculty are frequently not as knowledgeable or aggressive in pursuit of these possibilities as white males more "savvy" about campus procedures (see next section). Therefore, it may be necessary for deans, department chairs, and appropriate faculty committees to make special efforts to ensure that women and minority faculty avail themselves of every institutional opportunity.

Particularly if department chairs conceive of junior faculty fellowships as a critical point of intervention in the pipeline process, they will pursue such opportunities more vigorously for their minority and female junior faculty. We recommend that such institutional supports be systematically introduced in conjunc-tion with departmental reviews of junior faculty progress; this will ensure the clarity of the department's evaluation message and also will suggest that the department actively supports the growth and progress of its faculty.

Quality of life, construed in the narrowest sense to mean the characteristics over which departments could exercise some control, can be an important factor in encouraging faculty excellence. No matter how bright the individuals, they cannot function effectively in a hostile environment. We are thinking, for instance, of the woman biologist who left her first academic

position because the department chair made it clear that he
regarded it as "unprofessional" of her to become pregnant. In
another case, a well-regarded woman gave up a tenured position at
a Big Ten campus for two half-time positions near the academic
job her husband could get. Her Big Ten department had felt it
was being "blackmailed" by her husband for a position. Con-
versely, we also encountered a situation in which a woman faculty
member who had published several important books in her field but
who was also a faculty wife, had been kept in an untenured,
peripheral position by her husband's institution. In order to
achieve professional recognition for the woman, both had felt
obliged to move to another university; that institution proved
more willing to create a position for her, consonant with her
professional qualifications and standing.

Minorities also expressed frustrations with the quality of
life in their institutions, many arguing that neither their
service nor their research was appreciated. Other minorities
cited institutional barriers such as joint appointments in two
departments which carry two, often contradictory, review
expectations. Included in this litany, frequently, were the
frustrations revolving around housing availability and costs.
Particular solutions for all of these issues will vary with
individual cases. The point we make here is that department
chairs and colleagues must view the junior faculty member's total
environment as relevant to his or her ability to excel. To the
extent possible, efforts made by the department to ameliorate
misunderstandings and convey clear messages that the scholar is
appreciated and supported will enhance the chances of success in
that career.

Beyond institutional support and quality of life issues,
there are also certain actions that can be taken by departments,
and the senior faculty in them, that enable new scholarship to
flourish. These actions are discussed in more detail in the next
section. They are the kinds of supportive encouragement that
faculty have always provided for their younger counterparts; the
problem is that they have been available less systematically to
minorities and women. It is important to realize that such
actions have implications, as well, for the University's search
for excellence.

B. Enhancing Chances for Success: The Art of Sponsorship

Given that current faculty must recruit almost their equal
numbers in the next two decades, the processes by which academics
actively attract and train their replacements take on a new and
urgent significance[6]. Identifying and developing potential

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scholars to standards of excellence will prove essential to maintain the institution, in particular, and the academy, in general. While this process is not new, the scale at which it must function in the next few decades may well be unprecedented.

If underrepresented groups are to be brought into the academy during this critical replacement period, the training process must be broadened in two complementary ways. First, the group selected and trained through personalized relationships with mentors and sponsors must be broadened to include women and minorities in larger numbers than ever before. Second, the larger community of scholars must be extended, with ties built between the University's nine campuses and appropriate historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and Hispanic equivalents. (In this connection we should also call faculty attention to summer or other programs that involve undergraduates from campuses outside the University of California system in the research projects of UC faculty. We have reviewed successful models for this program in the social sciences as well as the physical sciences and see it as a key method for recruiting students into University graduate programs from institutions not usually seen as sources of future faculty.)

Academic careers are apprenticeships in the classic sense of the term; historically, the most successful scholars have been "groomed" for their roles both by higher-ranking sponsors and by near-peer mentors (Josefowitz 1980; and see Part One). What this section recommends, then, does not depart from standard practice, it simply argues that these practices must extend to larger numbers from a more diverse population than previously has been the case. It challenges the University's faculty to conceive of their community of scholars in broad terms and to interact with members of this community in ways that enrich, nurture, and improve the quality of the experience for all participants.

The careers of successful academics share several basic characteristics that reveal an integration into a community of scholars extending beyond the home campus. They do "good" research, methodologically sound by the standards of their disciplines, that contributes to the basic knowledge and the analytical sophistication of the field. This research is published in refereed journals, reflecting evaluations of peers that it is important and well-regarded. Such scholars are invited to participate in collective projects such as conferences, essay collections and professional meetings, which suggest the value attributed by peers to their work. They pursue and receive research fellowships which not only encourage and support an active research agenda, but also reflect validation by peers of a scholar's previous work. We argue here that these characteristics do not emerge spontaneously; they are the result of intervention by senior faculty throughout an academic's career.

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The following sections discuss this intervention more specific-
cally.

Sponsoring and Recruiting Graduate Students and Junior Faculty

The work of successful younger scholars begins with graduate
student experiences, facilitated by those who act in the capacity
of mentors or sponsors. Faculty need to view research and
teaching assistantships, particularly, in this light, consciously
using these experiences to "groom" women and minority graduate
students to achieve excellence. We recommend that these sources
of financial assistance be deliberately structured to yield
maximum benefit to the student. That is, research assistantships
should be provided for the first two years: these introduce
students to important research methodologies and sources, and
keep them in close, personal contact with a faculty member in
their field. Teaching assistantships (TAships) should be awarded
when a student has amassed enough information in the field to
perform best as a TA; this will enable the graduate student to
grow in scholarly knowledge and experience (and will provide a
much-needed boon as well to the undergraduates being taught).

As graduate students begin to write up their research,
mentoring and sponsorship roles continue. Faculty must perceive
their responsibilities in training the next generation to include
helping students to find research fellowships and write-up
support money. Faculty and students must also continue to
interact intellectually; that is, in the formative stages more
senior scholars discuss work in progress, helping to shape it so
that it will be well-grounded in the methodology and analytical
frameworks developed by the discipline. They offer criticisms
and suggestions on written work before it is submitted for
publication. Having invested so much of themselves in this work,
it will then seem natural to call it to the attention of their
professional networks of colleagues, recommending it for
publication or acting themselves as referees for journals,
academic presses, and funding agencies.

This process should be continued as graduate students move
into junior faculty positions. We do not go so far as to
recommend formally adopting mentorship programs, although that is
what these suggestions constitute, for we encountered a
discouraging number of occasions in which the formal programs
have been observed more in the breach than in the spirit of their
intent. Nonetheless, we use this opportunity to remind senior
faculty of the processes that encouraged and sustained them in
their junior years and urge them to consciously apply them to the
women and minority members of their fields and departments.

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In particular, we have in mind interactions deliberately pursued by senior faculty with minority and women scholars working on related subjects. These could grow out of presentations or discussions at professional meetings and conferences or correspondence over publications, contexts in which critically constructive discussions and careful readings of draft research reports and materials could be especially helpful. To the extent that women and minority scholars have not received graduate training that grounded their research in the rigors of their disciplines, this lack could be addressed once they are junior faculty, through such supportive and constructive criticism and discussion.

Even now, some minority and women scholars have profited from this system of informal apprenticeship, although they usually tend to be on the periphery at major universities where this works so well for white males. (More often they are located at other, non-research oriented institutions [see Part One].) Among those we interviewed was a black scientist who, while attending a University of California campus as an older returning student, was enthusiastically sponsored by one of his professors. Even before completing his undergraduate work, this student had co-authored scholarly papers with his sponsor. In the process, the student had developed a passion for his subject that led him to graduate school and ultimately to a position on the faculty. Throughout his career his sponsor has facilitated his grooming by providing laboratory assistantships, including him on research projects, and ensuring that he was considered when a junior faculty position became available. The sponsor points now with pride to the professional recognition accorded to his protege, including National Science Foundation (NSF) accolades. The sponsor did these things, he assured us, because the junior man was "the best undergraduate I've ever had."

Yet we too seldom found examples where this usual procedure for white males had been extended to minorities and women. Indeed, the literature suggests that women who succeed most frequently have been mentored by other women; the findings reported in a recent article of the Chronicle of Higher Education on the successes enjoyed by graduates of historically black colleges and universities implies a similar correlation for minorities (see Part One). Consequently, we urge the University's senior faculty to become more conscious of the processes associated with grooming and to apply them more deliberately to their minority and female graduate students and junior faculty members.

Beyond the concrete, more formal aspects of sponsorship, there is a more subtle set of grooming experiences that can make a real difference in the ability of a junior scholar to become fully integrated into the academy. One of our informants

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attributed his career success to these subtle experiences. Most important was his participation in an honors program for undergraduates which provided many opportunities for social interaction with senior faculty in a variety of settings. This experience, he argued, promoted his self-confidence in handling social situations, including grueling search procedures with their range of formal and informal, scholarly and personal interactions.

Mentoring Among a Broader Community of Scholars

Even more effort by the faculty will be required if appropriate connections for mentoring and sponsoring are to be extended to a more broadly defined and recruited community of scholars. But the effort is imperative -- more formal linkages, with universities outside the usual small range of institutions from which the University now recruits, will be an important extension of this grooming process in the coming decades.

The best affirmative action results with minorities have been achieved by institutions that have sought to broaden the range of universities with which they have contact by establishing links with HBCU's. This relationship has permitted them to recruit junior faculty already teaching at such institutions, as well as graduates for postdoctoral positions. Our research did not uncover any similar strategy for Hispanics, first because most of the institutions we visited have chosen to focus on blacks (referring to the ethnic composition of their surrounding communities as a rationale); and second, because no one identified a Hispanic equivalent of the HBCU's. We recommend that departments explore contacts with small state and Catholic universities in the Southwest to fill this function, since they often have high proportions of Hispanic students (Astin & Burciaga, 1981).

To accomplish both the informal and formal aspects of sponsorship, we urge departments to approach more aggressively the opportunities for bringing minority postgraduates, junior and even senior faculty to campus. Seeking out visitors at the senior level from institutions with high minority enrollments will expand the boundaries of the scholarly community as well as provide appropriate role models on our campuses. Such expanded working relationships among senior scholars also will enable our faculty to identify and become involved in the work of appropriate junior faculty and graduate students.

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C. One Thing Leads to Another: The Pipeline Approach

Each of the approaches recommended above concentrates on a particular part of the process by which minority and women must be incorporated into the academic life of our campuses. In a similar way, the inventory of successful initiatives in Part Two lists, point by point, each of the moments at which successful intervention will make a significant difference.

In this section, we would like to shift the attention of faculty and administrators from the specific detail of particular programs, to the broader vision encompassing the entire process. Our interviews suggest that this is not an easy transition to make, for we noted two important weaknesses on the campuses we visited. First, most faculty and administrators involved seemed to lack a clear vision of the necessary links, the way in which one program builds on another. Second, while most understood that unless minorities were encouraged at one end of the academic "pipeline," they could not emerge from the other end, most failed to see that, taken together, the programs themselves form a coherent whole -- a pipeline of programs that is more likely to produce results when used consecutively as a strategy of connected points than when one or two programs are introduced in isolation.

Thus, the organization of material in Part Two does more than highlight the critical points at which intervention can make a difference in an institution's affirmative action profile -- when taken together, the programs are much more than the sum of their parts. That is, it is the inter-connections between them that must be emphasized. They represent a continuum, all along which the institution must effectively intervene. Campuses, then, should not be tempted to pick and choose one or more new programs to introduce. We were struck, given the hit-and-miss approach currently used across the country, by the amount of money being invested in affirmative action programs, when contrasted with the paucity of results (see graphs prepared from EEO-6 data, Appendix 1). Yet frequently, neither those with responsibility for implementing or monitoring affirmative action, nor those pressuring them for better results, have conceptualized the whole.

We understand why this conceptualization of a pipeline meets with resistance: it implies that an institution is willing to wait -- for this approach unquestionably takes time to produce results. Those concerned feel a sense of urgency, and are compelled to seek immediate results. Therefore, it is not surprising that we did not find an openly-expressed public policy

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statement supporting a pipeline approach. Nor do we recommend it in isolation: we have also discussed in some detail, above, the approaches that can be instituted immediately. Nevertheless, in order to make a real difference for the twenty-first century, it is imperative that the University conceptualize its affirmative action approach as a single, coherent whole that coordinates a series of related efforts.

Moreover, despite the hesitation just described, this approach is beginning to be recognized nationally as an important innovation in the affirmative action arsenal. Interestingly enough, it was our informants across the country, particularly those administrative officers with national reputations for affirmative action success, who pointed out that the University of California leads the way in creating and implementing this conceptualization. "You should take more credit for conceiving that pursuit of the entire range of opportunities is important... that affecting 'the pool' we all talk about encompasses more than just intervention at the graduate student and entry levels," one told us.

Implications of the Pipeline: Careers and Role Models

When we talk about the "pipeline approach" then, we are referring to the strategy that plans a series of programs to build logically, starting from what has been defined in the literature as the earliest point for effective intervention -- the junior high school years -- and continuing through tenure and beyond. One thing does, indeed, lead to another. Our informant was correct: while creating pools of women and, particularly, minority applicants is the biggest hurdle to be overcome, the pipeline has implications that reach far beyond this problem.

By emphasizing the pipeline as an approach, we are recommending that faculty and administrators recognize that they must (1) find undergraduates to motivate for graduate school; (2) groom and support graduate students to excel and to pursue postdoctoral opportunities; (3) encourage and enable junior faculty to produce first-rate research; and (4) recognize and develop senior faculty to become both role models and active leaders in governance and administrative structures. The pipeline approach depends on the movement of underrepresented faculty all along the career trajectory, with the institution providing material and personal support at key points to keep them excelling and productive.

Although we will not discuss particular points of intervention in detail in this section, we note in this context that the presence of role models constitutes one of the most important ingredients for a successful pipeline approach. As our inter-

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views and the literature make clear, the presence of role models can be very important in attracting minority and women graduate students, postdoctoral fellows and junior faculty to a department. Since, as the literature suggests, women and minority students are concentrated in certain fields, and white male faculty in others, underrepresented fields must take a special responsibility for encouraging the first generation of minorities and women. We discuss particular strategies that white male faculty could use in Section A; here we note only that without special faculty efforts to attract the first generation of role models, it will be much more difficult to attract and expand the second generation.

In this same context, we also recommend that those departments that do not yet have a sufficient critical mass of minority and women faculty make special efforts to expose their students to excellent academic role models with whom they can identify. This purpose can be accomplished through scholars' exchange programs in which departments bring in outstanding minority and women to present lectures. In the programs we encountered, such visits lasted from two weeks to one year (see Part II, item A.1.b.2).

The Pipeline and the Role of the Faculty

Much of the success or failure of affirmative action rests on decisions made, and other actions taken or avoided, at the department level. Thus, it is imperative that faculty -- particularly the University's senior faculty -- conceptualize the pipeline, so that they may gauge accurately the significance of each decision they make as it affects the enterprise as a whole. For this reason, we call particular attention to the points of intervention in hiring and retention (detailed in Part II), for it is in these areas that special efforts made by faculty will be most immediately effective.

From this perspective, attracting the widest possible pool of applicants for tenure track positions, both by searching in unusual places for candidates and by consciously redefining the academic specialty being sought, has implications that not only address hiring equity at the present, but that can dramatically improve the department's functioning in the University of the future. Similarly, working carefully with junior faculty to enhance their career opportunities does more, from the pipeline perspective, than fulfill the obvious obligations of the hiring department. It also provides important intervention at critical moments in the academic careers of junior faculty. Consequently, it has long-term implications for the scholarly environment created within the University.

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This section has recommended that both administrators and faculty conceptualize the pipeline as a continuum of interrelated points of intervention in order to achieve the maximum impact by affirmative action programs and procedures. Recognizing that faculty perceptions and responses to these processes will affect profoundly the University's chances for successful diversification, the previous two sections concentrated on two approaches which are particularly appropriate for faculty action; we turn now to the role of the administrator.

D. Leader and Manager: Implications for Management
in University Administration

If the difficulties in achieving affirmative action success have been well-documented, there has been less analysis in the literature of the role and behavior of administrators in this process. Available research on effective faculty affirmative action, however, does stress the importance of leadership at all levels within the university -- from the chief executives to deans to department chairs (Hyer, 1984; Hanna and Mayhew, 1984; Larsen & Wadlow, 1982; Astin and Snyder, 1982). Significantly, at the most successful institutions we were told that CEOs, whether called Chancellors or Presidents,[7] do make a difference; that the commitment of an institution can be measured by the relative weight the chief executive places on affirmative action success, and his/her ability to translate commitment into action.

Two other points about management emerged from our interviews. First, the true focus of power in faculty affirmative action rests with the department, or more specifically its chair -- and that even strong, well-intentioned academic vice chancellors are forced to rely on department chairs to translate goals into hiring and rhetoric into action. Very little can be achieved in any institution without faculty consensus. Second, the conviction is firmly held that the placement of the affirmative action officer in the administrative hierarchy is crucial: to whom she/he reports and the scope of her/his responsibilities are perceived as evidence of the commitment given to affirmative action by an institution's administrators.

What is meant by commitment? Universities are complex organizations, often with competing goals and differing styles of management. Organizational responsibility can be diffuse, often distributed among vice chancellors, deans and department chairs -- each with his/her own views about how to achieve consensus, how to accomplish goals. Rarely are two institutions administered identically. Formal power and responsibility may appear to

be distributed similarly, but informal structures of power and authority may vary significantly.

We were struck by the differences in institutions, once we had invested enough time during our visits to grasp a real sense of each structure. The evidence reminded us that universities are collections of people with needs, feelings, prejudices, skills and limitations, who strive to achieve academic excellence by a variety of means. Yet we also discerned that institutions can take on the character of their administrators. At the same time, we encountered painful reminders that external constraints impinge upon the best-managed of universities as they try to achieve a modicum of success: that legislatures, alumni, parents, the surrounding community and others significantly influence an institution as it carries out its mission.

How are these differing organizations -- ranging from tight, hierarchically-controlled institutions to (as one vice chancellor put it) "loose-knit federations" -- governed and/or administered? In our view, chief executives are either leaders or managers. Few are both. The style of the chief executive will dominate the institution, manifesting itself in different ways throughout the entire campus, including its approach to affirmative action.

Chief Executives as Leaders

On campuses where the chief executive is leader, the health of the organization revolves around the person of the leader. We observed a wide variety of strategies for achieving affirmative action goals by such leaders. Some were more concerned with getting the institution's rich human resources to contribute to the institutional goals and/or aspirations. Others -- more charismatic types -- exhorted their institutions to embrace the ideals of a university enriched by ethnic, gender and racial diversity with each contributing his/her unique talents to the good of the whole. At one of the institutions we visited it was the executive vice chancellor who practiced this style of management. Several minority respondents gave him much credit for making affirmative action an institutional priority and for "leading by example."

From our observations it helps if such a leader is endowed with considerable charisma and with the gift of oratory. We read several "state-of-the-university" speeches, and heard more eloquent testimony, to the chancellors' ability to exhort members of the institutions to join with them in a crusade seen as morally important. Several of these chancellors had national reputations for their personal commitments to affirmative action, were the most sought-after as keynote speakers at affirmative

action conferences, and were viewed as able spokespersons for the cause.

As it searches for ways to implement rhetoric, this leadership style also appeals to the moral values of the institution as a whole. The leader invests much of his personal reputation and discretionary resources in developing new programs. Each of these programs, aimed at appealing to some special subgroup, is launched with considerable ritual and/or ceremony. It invites them to participate in the university as teachers or learners, clerks or administrators, while at the same time attempting to provide for their economic and social well-being. Many programs are focused on providing support -- financial, social, psychological or academic -- to ease the transition from familiar to unfamiliar and to make the newcomer feel welcome.

Several of the institutions we studied underscored with great pride the commitment of their leader/president. At one institution we were told that while the real inspiration is the chancellor, it took a former divisional dean to translate this commitment to action. This institution pointed with a well-deserved sense of accomplishment to an Academic Enrichment Program for undergraduates; a special outreach program to HBCUs to early-identify strong minority candidates for graduate school; special fellowship programs for black graduate students; and a postdoctoral program. Taken together, these programs are transforming the racial composition of the institution.

Chief Executives as Managers

By contrast, when the chief executive sees himself as manager, the entire tone of the organization is different. While appeals to morality and the significance of ethnic, racial and gender diversity may still emerge, even the style of argumentation will be different. The manager will point instead to the harsh realities of the world within which the university resides. "The legislature will not continue to support institutions from which the bulk of their constituents are excluded;" "by excluding women we are excluding half of the available talent;" "women have a considerable share of the wealth in this country, thus they must be viewed as potential donors too," were comments made in our interviews. We also heard that minorities will wait no longer for the institutions to admit them to full membership; that demographic changes make increased minority participation an institutional imperative· and that minority legislators are strong advocates for an institution with visible commitment to equal representation by minorities and women.

For the manager-type of executive, implementation means statements that define what constitutes success, that establish

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standards against which success will be measured, and that offer rewards for achieving affirmative action goals. The watchword becomes "accountability," and senior managers "get the message." Training programs are established that show "how to" do a search; expand the pool; identify potential faculty from outside the academy; set goals; reward managers for achieving goals. As one Vice Chancellor so eloquently expressed it:

> I understand what my Chancellor expects of me
> ... for him Affirmative Action is just one of
> my responsibilities -- I am evaluated on how
> I perform here. I, in turn, expect my
> managers to improve the affirmative profile
> of the units. We work with the affirmative
> action officer and personnel to do better
> searches. The better the search, the more
> likely we are to find a minority candidate.

Another vice chancellor working for a leader demonstrated the significance of measurement-oriented accountability when he said:

> It's awfully hard to throw the appointment
> back to the department and say we're not
> going to let this person come. On the other
> hand it's embarrassing for you to have to
> harass them at that level... So if they come
> forward with a well documented file,
> including a good description of the search,
> and you know that they should have been able
> to find a woman candidate, a minority
> candidate -- you send the file back and make
> them start all over. It's a lesson that's not
> lost ... they remember it, their fellow
> department heads remember it, and they do a
> much better job the next time around.

In these two institutions, we interviewed vice chancellors, associate provosts, provosts, deans, and department chairs. At each level the discussion focused around goals, progress, how to identify candidates, how to make competitive offers -- in short, how to achieve success. In both these institutions clear evidence of the workings of a reward system also emerged. We were told of the most successful department in attracting women students; the most successful vice chancellor in improving the affirmative action profile of staff; the most recent successes in recruiting underrepresented faculty.

In another institution where the manager style predominates, we found that successes were most obvious in those arenas where the administration had direct control over the hiring process, e.g., senior management, and senior professional staff. Succes-

ses were moderately obvious in the student arena, and least so in the hiring of faculty. Reasons given for this phenomenon included that "the pool is more problematic," "the decision making more diffuse," or that, in upper-level management, "we just do it."

We have discussed the differences in management styles at some length, because we think it imperative that chief executives, and their deputies, consciously identify and follow through on the style that makes them most effective. We do not recommend one style over another. Rather, we urge top managers to analyze carefully the most effective ways to implement affirmative action within the dynamic generated by their personal style. We also repeat our observation that deputies should be chosen for their ability to implement policies, including affirmative action: in some cases this may mean choosing someone capable of extending the chief executive's style; in other cases it may call for someone possessing the complementary style. In either case, what becomes imperative is that success in affirmative action emerges as one of the significant measures of a manager's success in an institution.

The Role of the Department Chair

Informants universally agreed on the pivotal role played by department chairs in advancing the institution's affirmative action goals. Many minorities and women, in particular, viewed department chairs as the "gatekeepers" to academic careers -- oftentimes they saw chairs as functioning to keep qualified, non-traditional candidates from successfully competing for academic positions. While they might not have put it so strongly, several academic vice chancellors also expressed keen interest in learning of strategies their colleagues have used to encourage department chairs to work for gender, racial, and ethnic diversity.

During the course of our interviews we met several committed department chairs and members of their departments, and have used their actions as guides to the behavior sought by underpresented faculty and vice chancellors alike. Among the most creative approaches described to us were special recruiting efforts that searched through programs of professional meetings to identify potential recruits to whom personal appeals could be sent; faculty exchange programs with HBCUs; programs that identified productive scholars outside academia and encouraged them to apply for faculty positions; special efforts made to enhance recruitment success; and special activities aimed at integrating new recruits into a department.

Because these chairs emerged when we searched for successes, we cannot measure how atypical these activities are. We know that recently-hired faculty whom we interviewed cited them as evidence of departments' and the chairs' commitment to ethnic and gender diversity and to their real interest in having the candidate join the ranks. We found that on several occasions new faculty deplored the absence of one or other of these efforts. Interestingly, the department chairs in question saw these as a normal part of their duties, often mentioning them to us rather casually.

Nevertheless, in our attempts to interview a representative array of department chairs, we also encountered those who, by contrast, told us that the administration did not understand how difficult hiring for affirmative action could be. These chairs insisted that administrators had proved unwilling to hear their problems in attracting minorities to the faculty. To solve the dilemma as they perceived it, these chairs had directed their attention to attracting graduate students, thus contributing to institutional affirmative action by enlarging the pool. Other department chairs expressed fear that if they were not successful in recruiting they could lose ground, since existing resources were being reallocated and their retiring faculty line could be reassigned to another department which had been able to recruit a promising young minority or woman faculty candidate.

To increase the number of chairs who perceive affirmative action as a normal part of their duties, we recommend that the campuses use several tactics to motivate them. Campuses should include in their orientation sessions for new chairs a module on affirmative action. Such a module would include, but not be limited to, training on how to conduct searches; how to identify underrepresented candidates through nontraditional strategies; how to expand interviewing techniques and review procedures to enhance chances of successful recruitment and retention. Other suggestions for ways that administrators can prompt department-level commitment to affirmative action emerged from our interviews. One university set a very specific, institution-wide goal each year (e.g. attracting a set number of new graduate student from among underrepresented groups). "By placing this goal on center stage, it encourages all members of the institution to strive to achieve the goal, provides a specific way to measure success, and allows us to celebrate together our annual achievements." Another institution was preparing to introduce a departmental competition that would provide special funds for those departments who introduced innovative new ways to enhance their affirmative action profiles. In this way, it hoped to inspire faculty to create new models that could then be used by other departments, as well.

We also recommend that the University's Targets of Opportunity Program (TOP) method of rewarding departments that successfully recruit excellent minority and women scholars be expanded. It is not only on our own campuses that the success of this program has been noted. Recognized and imitated nationally, this allocation of an additional FTE position represents one of the few directly tangible rewards administrators can offer a department. Particularly over the next two decades, as FTEs become available through retirements, the TOP strategy will provide a method for ensuring that departmental offerings are enriched through diversity.

The Affirmative Action Officer

Although we did not seek this information, our respondents frequently expressed concern about the institutional position and significance assigned to the affirmative action officer. In some cases, minorities dismissed the office with the complaint that it was "merely concerned with compliance." In others, by contrast, the affirmative action officer was perceived as being very much involved in developing strategies for achieving affirmative action goals -- in training search committees, new department chairs, new managers and the like. Repeatedly we were told that "where affirmative action is an institutional priority, the individual with affirmative action responsibility reports directly to the president or chancellor." While we have no way of assessing the frequency with which this organizational arrangement occurs, we observed several instances where the data seem to support this belief. In any case, it is a widely-held belief, especially among underrepresented minorities and affirmative action professionals. As an affirmative action officer at a major research university in the southeastern United States put it:

> I was appointed after the Women's Caucus
> convinced the provost that he should appoint
> a full-time special assistant for affirmative
> action. The compliance activities were going
> well: we had a good professional analyst-
> type responsible for this area. But I can
> informally attend caucus' lunch meetings as
> well as more formal faculty committee
> meetings. I think that my real contribution
> is my ability to stroll into the provost's
> office to present issues I have uncovered in
> these gatherings. This raises them in a
> non-adversarial context. He is better
> informed, and therefore more able to
> respond....

Another affirmative action officer in a public institution in the Midwest noted:

> It has taken me a while to reach effective-
> ness in this job. First I had to find out
> where the bodies were buried. Several years
> of low-key activity defused a previously
> bitter situation, and gave me the chance to
> pinpoint the key problems through exit
> interviews, statistical analyses and the
> like. Now I can begin to try new solutions
> for these problems, and have a sense of the
> most effective, noncombative ways to work
> with the faculty.

A third expressed it this way:

> The fact that I am a tenured member of the
> faculty is really helpful. I know all these
> department chairs, and have interacted with
> them in a variety of situations over the
> years. It was quite comfortable for me to go
> visit with each and discuss their problems in
> identifying prospective minority candidates.
> They, in turn, recognized that I had the
> chancellor's ear, and was able to introduce
> affirmative action concerns in a variety of
> situations. The end result is that they saw
> me as a real resource and, fortunately for
> me, I was usually able to deliver.

On the other hand, we also found at least three instances of affirmative action officers similarly placed who neither perceived themselves nor were perceived by faculty as having responsibilities and authority for influencing the outcomes of institutional action.

In analyzing and reflecting on the data, we have concluded that the placement of the Affirmative Action Officer contributes to the abilities of this professional to enhance affirmative action activities on a particular campus. We also found that where there was a strong manager type of executive who made clear assignments of responsibilities for achieving affirmative action progress, whether to the affirmative action officer and/or to others, affirmative action progress was more likely to be achieved. Affirmative action officers with these types of responsibilities and authority are the envy of their colleagues, are the recognized leaders in their professions, and are the most likely to view affirmative action as a career rather than a point along a career trajectory. Nevertheless, we also noted that where minorities are represented at high levels of the

administration, less concern was evinced about the position of the affirmative action officer. The chief executive who successfully achieves affirmative action will not, ultimately, have to deal with this issue.

Whether a chief executive uses the leader or manager style, he or she should take this occasion to review the institution's structures and the messages it conveys. No campus is achieving the level of success required in the future. To meet that need, we urge chief executives to evaluate their management; if it is necessary to send a new message to the managers, make the requisite changes now, introducing clear measures of account-ability as well as the symbolic measures that reassure everyone of the campus' commitment to faculty diversity.

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Part Four

Conclusions

As should be clear from the preceding text, our literature search and nation-wide interviews have underscored two important aspects of affirmative action efforts. On the one hand, perceptions matter. Whether substantiated by practice or not, how minorities and women respond to their academic environment is conditioned, to a large extent, by what they perceive to be the institution's attitude and willingness to support them. Thus it will be important that the extraordinary efforts mounted by the University of California in the next two decades include important symbolic acts, designed to convey the message that the University and its constituent units have made a commitment to achieving a diversified faculty.

On the other hand, we feel that affirmative action, generally speaking, may have suffered from an undue emphasis on symbols. For that reason, most of the recommendations listed below concentrate on that important transition from institutional commitment to action. Only through extraordinary actions will the University accomplish its goal for the twenty-first century.

Summary of Recommendations

We recommend to the faculty, particularly to departments, that:

(1) Creative searches for quality cannot be invoked only when recruiting. They must inform the teaching done by departments for students at various levels, the interaction with postdoctoral fellows and visiting scholars, the searches for new faculty, and the dealings with tenure-track junior faculty.

(2) Expressed differently, faculty must always be conscious of the fact that actions they take in relation to undergraduates, graduates, junior and senior faculty colleagues, all affect the "pipeline" and its ability to attract, prepare and promote minority and women along an academic career trajectory.

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(3) Departments and individual faculty members should
     design summer and other programs that enable under-
     graduate students, including those recruited from other
     institutions (such as HBCUs and state university
     campuses with substantial populations of minority
     students), to participate in faculty research projects.
     Successful models in the sciences should be adapted to
     the social sciences and humanities, as well.

(4) An important way to build quality into the graduate
     training of minority and women students interested in
     researching their own communities, is for social
     science and humanities departments to ensure that
     subjects especially relevant to minorities and women be
     integrated more fully with the methodologies of each
     discipline.

(5) Research and teaching assistantships, in particular,
     need to be viewed by faculty as experiences designed to
     "groom" women and minority graduate students to achieve
     excellence. To accomplish this goal:

     ● The timing of awards of these sources of
       financial assistance should be deliberately
       structured to provide maximum training.

     ● Thus research assistantships (RAships) should
       be provided for the first two years; teacher
       assistantships (TAships) should be awarded
       after these two years, when a student has
       amassed enough information to perform well.

     ● Both RAships and TAships should include close
       interaction with a faculty sponsor.

     ● In addition, faculty should see their support
       of the final years of graduate work as
       similarly crucial. They need to assist
       graduate students to find fellowships to
       support the research and write-up phases of
       the doctoral process. [As is now the case
       with white male students, they should see
       their ability to facilitate minority and
       women students' successes in gaining finan-
       cial support to be a measure of their own
       effectiveness in their fields.]

(6) Senior faculty members, particularly white males, need
to work very consciously on involving minority and
women junior faculty members in their departments in
near-peer mentor and higher-ranking sponsor relation-
ships. While our observations suggest that formal
mentorship programs are often unsuccessful, the goals
of such programs could be accomplished informally if
senior faculty conscientiously took on these responsi-
bilities voluntarily.

(7) Particularly senior faculty members, but all members of
the University of California faculty, must consciously
work to expand their conceptualization of the larger
community of scholars of which they are members.
Specifically, they should:

- build institutional ties between particular
  departments, or even subfields within
  particular disciplines, and faculty involved
  in those fields who teach at HBCUs and
  Hispanic equivalents.

- consciously work to include minority and
  women graduate students and faculty (at other
  institutions as well as UC campuses) in the
  variety of collaborative enterprises fostered
  by academia -- including conferences, essay
  collections, professional meetings, and
  large-scale research projects.

- consciously seek out minority and women
  scholars with whom to exchange research
  conclusions and drafts prepared for publica-
  tion.

- as well-informed members of a profession that
  relies heavily on research fellowships, work
  to ensure that minority and women candidates
  become fully informed, assisting where
  possible to make them competitive applicants
  for grant support.

(8) Departments with insufficient numbers of minority and
women faculty members need to work consciously to
redress the lack of role models they provide graduate
students.

- Perhaps the most effective short-term
  solution to this problem is to initiate
  scholars' exchange programs, in order to

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bring to campus visiting minority and women faculty, particularly those from HBCUs and Hispanic equivalents. These visits could range from two weeks to a semester or longer.

We recommend to department chairs:

(9) Innovative recruiting measures, to ensure the broadest and most diverse pool of candidates possible, should include the following:

- more broadly defined specialties listed in job descriptions, perhaps encouraging the option of a specialization in minority and women-focused subject matter within the broader topic area;

- recruitment outside the standard locales (of equivalent research universities), including:

    - HBCUs and Hispanic equivalents

    - where applicable, applying professional school-style searches for practitioners who have achieved excellence outside academe

    - looking for active researchers who earned PhDs but now support themselves in jobs outside the academy

    - providing fuller consideration for those currently occupying ancillary positions in the University, including part-time, temporary, or non-tenure track slots.

(10) Departments can foster the aspects of excellence that encourage productive faculty in several ways. Among the more important, is providing security through clear expressions of departmental and campus expectations for the level and quality of work needed for promotion and tenure, as well as regular and reliable indicators about how each individual is progressing towards these measures. (These ought, in fact, to begin during the interview process.) Where possible, discussion with junior faculty of "successful files" seems especially effective.

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(11) To encourage maximum productivity before junior faculty are reviewed for tenure, department chairs should ensure judicious and timely use of release time, reduced teaching loads, and assistance/support in preparing fellowship applications.

- For maximum effectiveness, we recommend that use of these forms of departmental support be combined with reviews of junior faculty progress, to ensure the clarity of the department's evaluation message, and to convey the department's active support of the growth and professional progress of the faculty member. [p.33]

(12) More difficult is the department's ability to control "quality of life" issues, but these often adversely affect the faculty member's ability to be a productive participant of the department. Department chairs need to pay careful attention to the range of issues inherent in living in the campus community, including housing, schooling, maternity leave and other related issues. Assisting the faculty member in finding solutions to these kinds of problems not only reduces the frustrations and distractions of academic life, but further conveys departmental support.

We recommend to UC chief executives and their administrators:

(13) The University should take a national lead in identifying and collecting the data that is necessary to track the training and careers of potential minority faculty.

(14) Rather than attempting piece-meal solutions, the University must conceptualize its approach as an integrated series of interventions all along the pipeline. Its strategy must encompass a series of programs that build logically.

- From early outreach programs to efforts to retain full professors, campus and systemwide administrators must see their efforts at each point as building on, and dependent on the success of, previous efforts.

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- In particular, the connections need to be emphasized between points of intervention within departmental purview, and those affected by administrative intervention. This emphasis is a management responsibility.

(15) Whatever the management style, affirmative action must be measured by the ability of an administrator to translate commitment into action.

- All managers should be held responsible for their contributions to this institutional commitment; measurements of their rates of successes should be included in every review of their work.

(16) Chief executives (and their top managers) who practice a "leader" style of management, should invest much of their personal reputation and discretionary resources in developing new programs.

- Each program should target a particular subgroup, and will probably focus on pro- viding support -- financial, social, psycho- logical or academic.

- In this context, we reiterate our concern that the programs be conceptualized as points along the supply pipeline.

(17) Chief executives (and their top managers) who practice the administrative style we have characterized as "managers," should define what constitutes success.

- They should establish standards against which success should be measured, and offer rewards for achieving affirmative action goals.

- Through an emphasis on "accountability," senior managers should understand that they should be held responsible for achieving institutional goals.

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(18) Chief executives should analyze the management styles of their institutions, making sure that:

- They are getting the maximum results from the strategies most amenable to their management style.

- They have, within their administrative ranks, enough administrators with the complementary style to achieve maximum results.

(19) To underscore the responsibility of department chairs to fulfill institutional commitments to affirmative action, managers should institute appropriate communication and incentive structures.

- Orientation sessions for new chairs should include a module on affirmative action, including training on how to conduct searches; how to identify underrepresented candidates through nontraditional strategies; how to expand interviewing techniques and review procedures to enhance successes, etc.

- Campuses should set a specific, institution-wide goal each year, delineating the role to be played in each department and unit in the community in filling the goal. This "encourages all members of the institution to strive to achieve the goal, provides a specific way to measure success, and allows" a campus "to celebrate together" the annual achievements.

- Administrators should enlist departments by providing special funds for those that introduce innovative new ways to enhance their affirmative profiles.

- Awards of positions (FTEs) should be considered, for departments who identify outstanding minority or women faculty even when they do not fit a specialty. This strategy has proven the most effective incentive for affirmative action hiring.

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(20) Many campuses will be able to send a special message of commitment to affirmative action by repositioning their affirmative action officer.

- This repositioning may include a direct reporting line to the chief executive, enabling the affirmative action officer to deal informally with potential problems.

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Notes

1. Ladder rank positions include assistant professor, associate professor, and full professor; associate professor rank and above generally carry tenure with a university.

2. "Academically employed" is a vague term in these statistical reports: it is not clear what proportion of academically employed personnel are actually in ladder rank faculty positions.

3. "Minorities" here refers to U.S. citizens and non-U.S. citizens with permanent visas. In many reports the two groups are not separated.

4. "Available pool" refers to those people preparing to go into academic careers; in a broad sense the term refers as well to graduate student working toward PhDs.

5. These major public and private institutions were among those visited in our study and are listed in random order. As we promised the institutions anonymity, we have designated them by letter. It should be noted that the percentages for the University of California are based on aggregate figures from all nine campuses, while the information for other state university institutions are based only on the figures for the flagship campus of that institution.

6. Some readers of a draft version of this report suggested that this section may be "somewhat patronizing." We apologize if it seems that way to faculty who have been sensitized to the issue for some time. Our interviews made it clear, however, that many faculty (including department chairs) could benefit from the broader vision and commitment urged in this section. The intent is to place an end result - to demonstrate for affirmative action - in a more familiar context, and to demonstrate for those who have not yet conceived it in those terms, that there is a close connection between equity and excellence!

7. Throughout the rest of this section we use the title Chancellor to refer to Chief Executive Officer, since most of the institutions we visited, including our own campuses, use this title. We recognize that there may be an organizational reason for the nomenclature of Chancellor or President at specific institutions; however, that does not affect the argument we are making in this section.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Comparison of the Representation of Minority and Women Faculty at the University of California and Comparable Institutions

Graphs*

Figure 1: Percent Minority Tenured and Non-Tenured, On-Track Faculty

Figure 2: Percent Underrepresented Minorities Tenured & Non-Tenured, On-Track Faculty

Figure 3: Percent Blacks, Hispanics & Asians Non-Tenured, On-Track Faculty

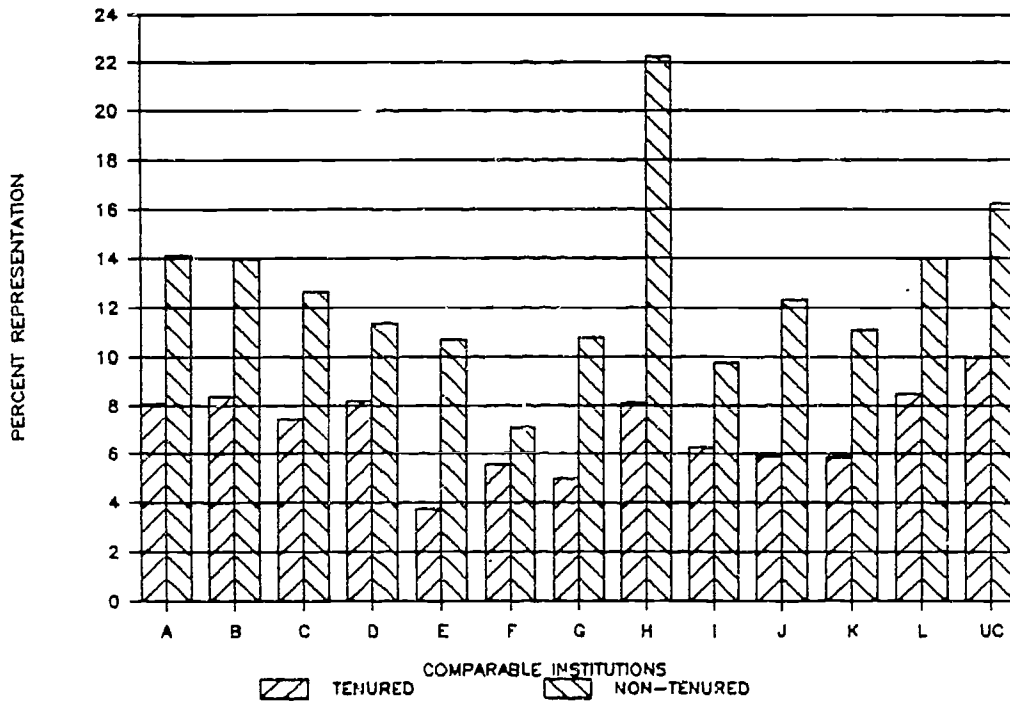Figure 4: Percent Blacks, Hispanics & Asians Tenured Faculty

Figure 5: Percent Minority Men and Women Non-Tenured, On Track Faculty

Figure 6: Percent Minority Men and Women Tenured Faculty

Figure 7: Percent Women Tenured and Non-Tenured, On-Track Faculty

*Graphs display institutions for whom complete data were available; those lacking data do not appear.

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FIGURE 1
Percent Minority Tenured & Non-Tenured On-Track Faculty

FIGURE 2
Percent Underrepresented Minorities Tenured & Non-Tenured On-Track Faculty

Source: 1986 EEO-6 Reports from selected institutions

FIGURE 3
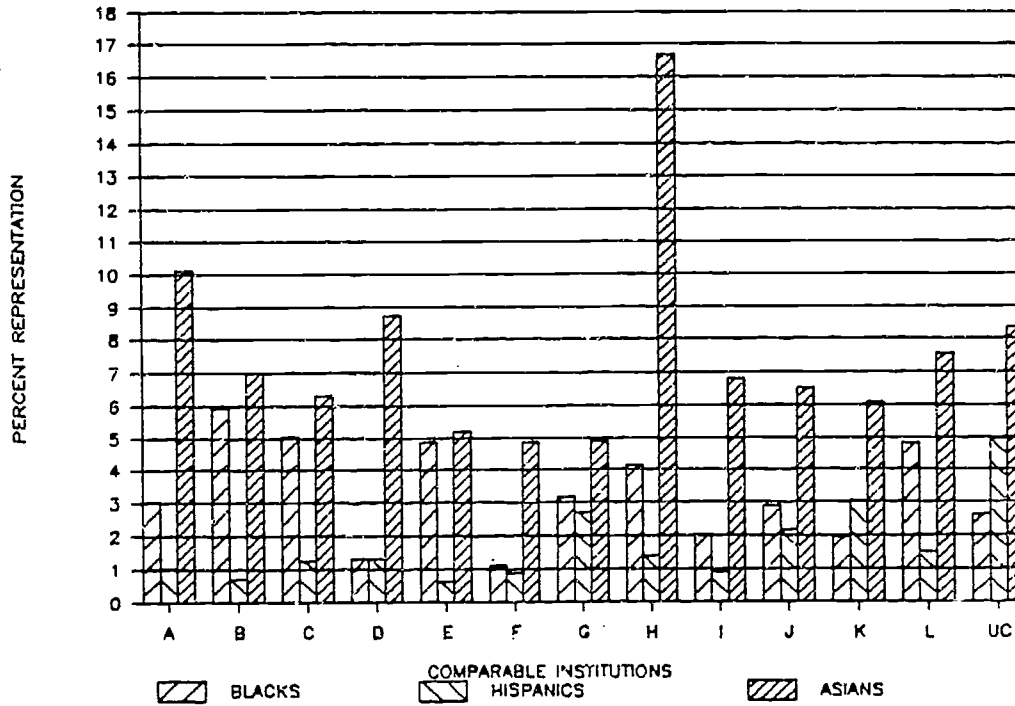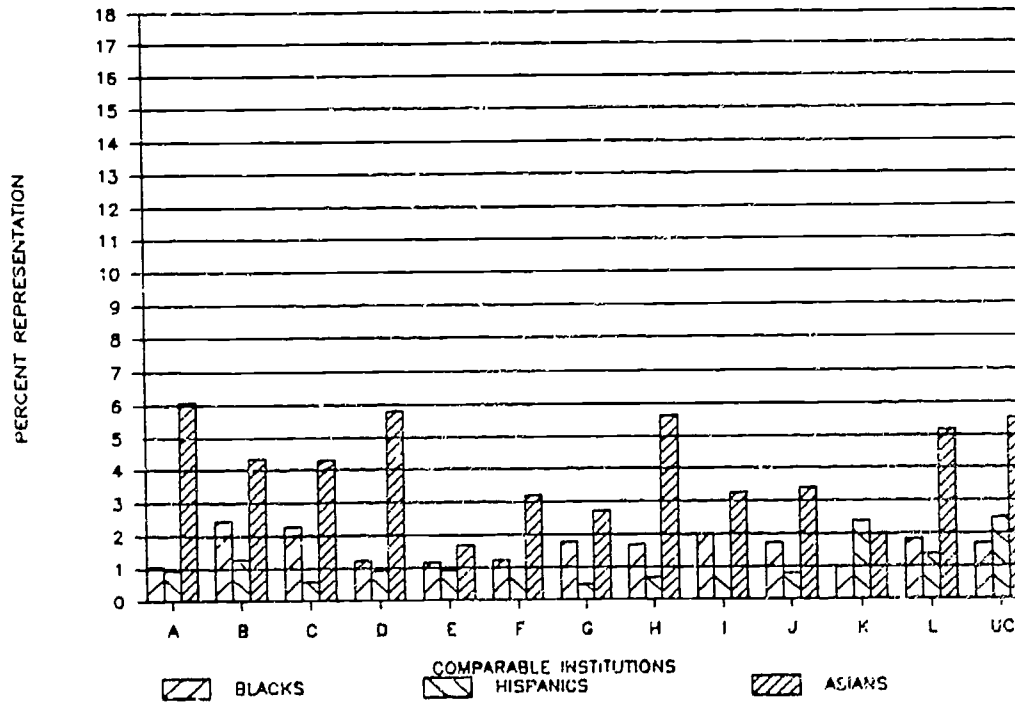### Percent of Blacks, Hispanics & Asians
Non-Tenured On-Track Faculty

BLACKS   HISPANICS   ASIANS

COMPARABLE INSTITUTIONS

FIGURE 4
Percent Blacks, Hispanics & Asians
Tenured Faculty

BLACKS   HISPANICS   ASIANS

COMPARABLE INSTITUTIONS

Source: 1986 EEO-6 Reports from selected institutions

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FIGURE 5
Percent Minority Men & Women
Non-Tenured On-Track Faculty

COMPARABLE INSTITUTIONS
MEN   WOMEN
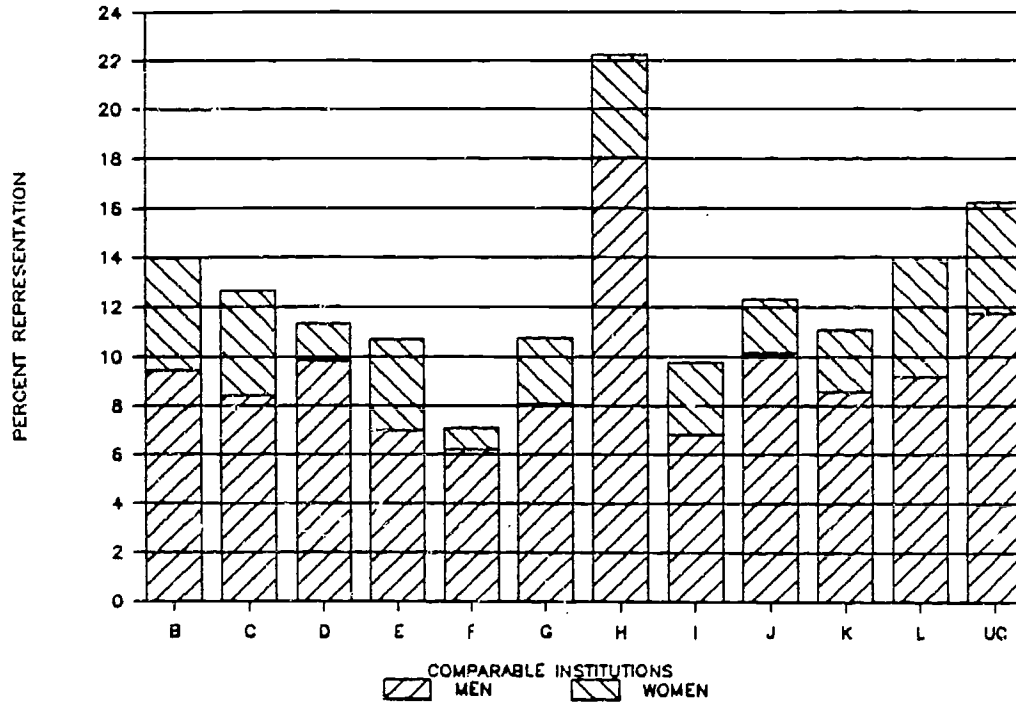
FIGURE 6
Percent Minority Men & Women
Tenured Faculty

COMPARABLE INSTITUTIONS
MEN   WOMEN
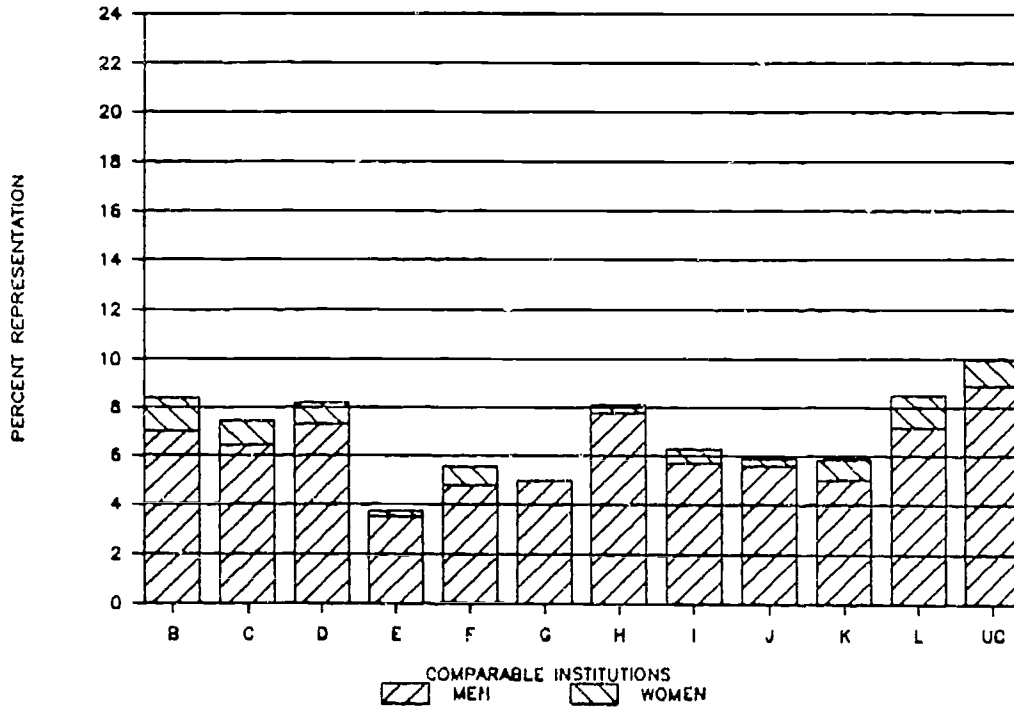
Source: 1986 EEO-6 Reports from selected institutions

FIGURE 7
Percent Women Tenured & Non-Tenured
On-Track Faculty
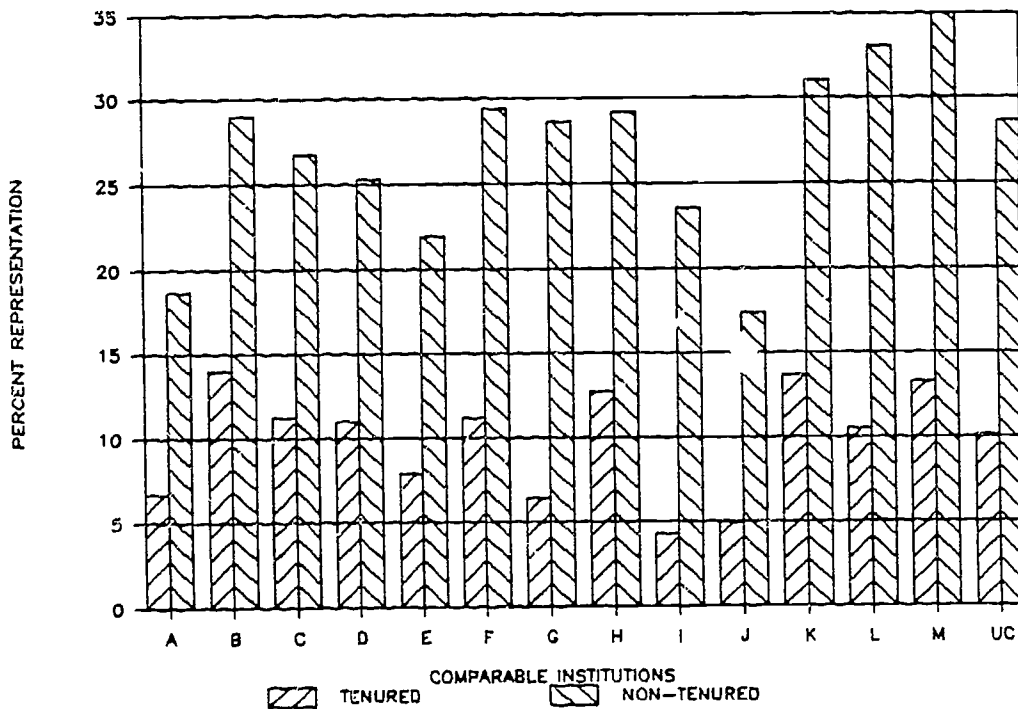
Source: 1986 EEO-6 Reports from selected institutions

Appendix 2
A Note on the Methodology

Using an ethnographic (or participant-observer) approach usually identified with the field of anthropology, the research team sought to do two things. First, we identified for in-depth interviews persons knowledgeable about the phenomena being studied. Relying on the institutions to choose the appropriate respondents, we stipulated that -- as our mandate had been to find successful programs -- we particularly wanted to talk with persons instrumental in those successes. We also tried to draw comparable cross-sections of interviewees, including senior administrators in charge of academic affairs; administrators involved with affirmative action; deans; department chairs in a variety of fields; recently-hired faculty, from those same departments when possible; chairs of senate affirmative action committees; and faculty members involved with special interest groups such as women's groups and ethnic caucuses.

Second, we participated in as much activity as time would allow to get a feel for the institution: we wandered around campuses talking to students, attended meetings of women's groups and minority faculty and staff, shared meals with informally constituted groups. Being able to gauge the quality of life on a campus seemed to us important if we were to be able to evaluate the data we obtained during the interview process. We are conscious that we did not spend the amount of time on campus regarded as necessary by any self-respecting anthropologist to get to know the "culture" of each institution we visited. However, we feel that universities are not foreign territories to any of us, as each of us has participated in several campuses during our academic careers.

From experience we know that different people within the university would have different experiences with, and perceptions of, affirmative action policies, and of their and others' ability to influence recruitment and retention decisions. To aid the interview process, we developed a series of interview guides with questions tailored to the various roles of people we would be interviewing. Thus, specific interview guides were developed for department chairs, recent minority and women hirees, faculty affirmative action officers, graduate deans, and chief academic officers. As necessary, relevant questions were adapted for persons in other positions, such as chairs of senate affirmative action committees.

Some questions were common to all interviews, permitting us to compare different perceptions of the same issues. These questions included, among others, who or what the interviewees thought had made the most impact on affirmative action at their university; what they considered to be the major obstacles to recruitment and retention of minority and women faculty; how they perceived the effectiveness of university, departmental, and faculty groups' efforts; how they saw their own role in recruiting and retaining minorities and what degree of success they had had; and what kinds of strategies or examples of success they could offer.

Other questions, however, were specific to the position of the interviewee, which permitted us to get at particular issues that concerned each interviewee. For deans of graduate schools, for example, we included questions about programs available for recruiting and retaining women and minority students. Chief academic officers were questioned about their perceptions of university or campus affirmative action policies and their role in affirmative action. We asked affirmative action officers about their responsibilities and their ability to influence hiring, as well as their perceptions of university efforts to hire and retain minority and women faculty.

Since it is at the department level that hiring and retention efforts take place, we paid particular attention to the kinds of efforts made at this level. Department chairs were questioned about the kinds of opportunities their departments had had and will have for hiring; where they typically find applicants; their tenure and promotion rate for women and minority faculty; how they organize searches and their interview procedures; and how they assist junior faculty to achieve tenure.

For recently-hired faculty we concentrated our questioning on what attracted them to their current positions; what kinds of efforts the department had made to convince them to come; and on what grounds they had decided to accept this position. We also asked them about their academic backgrounds; whether they felt they knew what was expected of them for tenure; what the climate of the department was like for minority and women faculty; and whether they had participated in any mentoring or faculty development programs.

The interviews yielded an extremely rich overview of affirmative action issues, policies, and strategies at each institution. We have been particularly impressed with the cumulative effect of these data. Our analysis involved studying our field notes for commonalities, as well as differences, among institutions, and culling out both the specific examples of successful initiatives and factors in affirmative action which are discussed in this report, and the underlying trends and lessons embodied therein.

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Appendix 3
Institutions Visited in the Study

With the assistance of the advisory committee, the project
staff compiled a list of universities from which to solicit ideas
about successful affirmative action initiatives. This list
included (1) institutions included in the annual survey of
faculty salaries, with the assumption that UC competes with them
for faculty; (2) institutions to whom UC has lost significant
numbers of women and minority faculty; and (3) institutions with
relatively large proportions of women and/or minority faculty.

Based on those criteria, the following institutions were
selected for inclusion in the study: Columbia (including
Teachers College), Duke, Harvard, Illinois (Champaign-Urbana),
Maryland (College Park), Michigan (Ann Arbor), MIT, North
Carolina (Chapel Hill), North Carolina State (Raleigh), Stanford,
SUNY (Buffalo), Texas (Austin), Wisconsin (Madison), and Yale.
At the request of the advisory committee, all UC campuses were
also included. Each of these institutions and all UC campuses
were visited during the course of the study.