



The (Un)Changing Face of the Ivy League

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Preface

Part of the lore that harmonizes an image of the United States as an open, democratic society with the realities of sharp and durable hierarchies of wealth and power is the notion that elite universities facilitate upward mobility. This idea rests on a belief that those institutions have a paramount mission to pursue knowledge and that that mission impels them toward valuing openness of inquiry, as well as recognizing and cultivating merit wherever it may exist. In the more breathless expression of this narrative, elite colleges and universities stand above, indeed provide a refuge from, the society's class and other asymmetries. In a less romantic key, they recruit new members to an elite defined by merit.

This perspective on the role of Ivy and other elite institutions of higher education is of fairly recent provenance. Before World War II they were by and large and unabashedly preserves for the children of the upper classes; pedigree mattered far more than anything else. Under pressure of democratizing forces unleashed by extramural social movements and upheaval, these institutions increasingly came to accept the broader view of their mission and were led increasingly to act on the implications of that view. To their credit, most of these colleges and universities have made significant strides toward opening access for faculty and students from other populations, though, as this report shows, there are reasons to be concerned about both the pace and the trajectory of this trend.

As the prevailing discourses in national politics move steadily rightward, there is a

real danger that these universities could be drawn with it and abjure their commitments to diversity. Lawrence Summers's combative tenure as Harvard's president has certainly underscored this possibility.

In this environment, it is important for us to be clear of the difference between the self-congratulatory image of these universities' lofty role and commitments and to recall that they are also corporations, fund-raising machines, and agencies for the reproduction of class privilege. In no area in the last three decades has this other face of elite colleges and universities been more clearly exposed than in their labor relations. Yale has been among the worst, the most aggressive, but hardly the only institution that, in response to employees' attempts to assert their own voices and concerns in the university's operations, has traded the high-toned patter of openness and reasoned discussion for the equivalent of the Wal-Mart labor relations manual.

This approach absolutely contradicts any serious commitment to diversity. As this report suggests, the effort to preserve and expand the strides that have been made in the broadening the pools of faculty and students, as well as disciplinary perspectives, at those institutions cannot be separated from the struggle to extend effective voice and opportunity to all the workers who participate in making them what they are.

Adolph Reed, Jr.
Professor, Political Science Department
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The (Un)Changing Face of the Ivy League

Executive Summary

The nation's elite universities, particularly the schools of the Ivy League, are the most powerful symbols of educational opportunity. The American public has provided significant support for these universities through public funding, tax exemptions, and other forms of financial backing. Access to an Ivy League education represents both affirmation of exceptional academic success and an open door to nearly unlimited possibilities. However, the Ivy League has remained significantly closed to all but a few, based not only on ability but also on race, sex, and class.

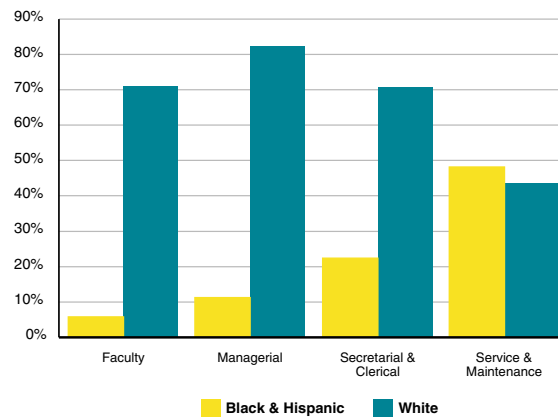
The report shows:

- The workforces of Ivy League universities are starkly stratified by race and gender.
- As the Ivy League schools have increased the number of faculty over the past ten years, the proportion of black and Hispanic faculty has remained low. From 1993 to 2003, the number of tenure track black and Hispanic faculty inched up from 5% to 6%. Tenured black and Hispanic faculty increased slightly, from 3% to 4%.
- Women and people of color are less likely to get hired into the higher-ranking, more secure academic positions. In 2003, Black and Hispanic PhDs were 4 times more likely to end up in non-tenure positions as in tenure track positions. Women were 3.4 times more likely to get the non-tenure positions. White PhDs were only 2.5 and men only 2.6 times more likely to land in the non-tenure positions.
- Across the Ivy League, women assistant professors make on average only 91% of what their male colleagues make. Women faculty, when non-ladder positions are included, make only 77% of their male colleagues' salaries.
- Ivy League schools admit a smaller portion of underrepresented minority students than the national average. In 2001, blacks and Hispanics comprised 14.2% of graduate students nationwide, but only 6.8% of graduate students at Ivy League schools.

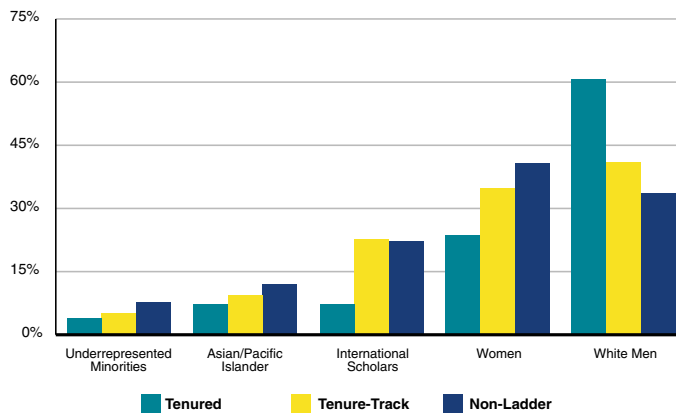
The report offers two key solutions:

- Unionization among university workers, both by improving economic terms and by enhancing rights and job security, makes an academic career a more viable option for those who are less economically privileged. Through collective bargaining, unions have specifically addressed pay inequities, fair hiring provisions and countered discriminatory practices.
- Groundbreaking legislation in Connecticut is being considered to allow prospective college students and their parents to know whether their future teachers, especially people of color and women, are in permanent faculty positions or in non-ladder transient positions.

Employees of Ivy League Universities



Ivy League New Faculty Hires 2003



In the United States and abroad, generations have dreamed of access to American universities, putting their faith in the power of education to transform individuals, families, and communities. In 1903 W.E.B. DuBois wrote, "Education and work are the levers to uplift a people,"¹ and countless Americans have shared his view of education as the great equalizer, a force to broaden opportunity, to reduce inequality, to level the playing field. A cornerstone of the American Dream has been the belief that education should be a ladder to greater opportunity for members of poor, marginalized, and disenfranchised groups. As a result, the American public has provided significant support for colleges and universities through public funding, tax exemptions, and other forms of financial backing; and access to education has been at the heart of social struggles small and large.

The nation's elite universities, particularly the schools of the Ivy League, are the most powerful symbols of educational opportunity.² In the American imagination (and increasingly in the global imagination), access to an Ivy League education represents both affirmation of exceptional academic success and an open door to nearly unlimited possibilities. However, that belief in the Ivy League has been undermined by another belief: that these universities are closed to all but a few whose race, sex, or class is consistent with a more injurious meaning of the word "elite." As the comments of Harvard President Lawrence Summers revealed, some Ivy League administrators may still believe that the reasons certain groups are underrepresented in the tenured ranks of faculty is the innate limitations of members of those groups rather than the discrimination in the academic employment system that is hidden behind the banner of elitism.³

This elitism has been particularly powerful in the Ivy League universities' choice of who is allowed access to their faculties and graduate schools, the places where new generations of faculty are trained. Ivy League universities have chosen to expand their teaching staffs by relying heavily on graduate teaching assistants and on faculty positions not on the tenure track: part-time and tem-

porary teachers—positions in which women and people of color are disproportionately concentrated. The universities have thus created a two-tiered system: one tier, overwhelmingly white and disproportionately male, is characterized by secure, well-compensated, higher-status tenured and tenure-track positions; the other is the world of insecure, poorly-paid, part-time and impermanent jobs to which women and people of color have largely been relegated.

This report will show:

- The workforces of Ivy League universities are starkly stratified by race and gender;
- For women and people of color, the academic ladder is broken, making it less likely that they will advance to the higher-ranking, more secure positions;
- The relatively few women who do climb the academic ladder are paid less than their male colleagues.

The creation of this two-tiered university world is not simply an academic problem. Its implications reach beyond the walls of the Ivy League: Who will teach the next generations of college students, and under what conditions? Who will control universities, the knowledge produced within them, and their relationships to the communities that host them? If the nation's most prestigious universities are reproducing, within their own walls, patterns of segregation and discrimination that they purport to be working against, what lessons are the students at those universities learning? Are the Ivy League universities living up to their own stated goals and to the trust the public has placed in them?

Rhetoric vs. Reality in the Ivy League

Ivy League universities have made public commitments to diversify their student bodies, faculties, and staffs, asserting that diversity and equality are at the heart of their missions, and that equal access to education is key to the American Dream. Similarly, in his 2002 Martin Luther King Day address, Yale's President Richard Levin declared that King "called upon our nation to match its words with deeds—to make the American Dream a



"I did not come from a privileged background. I worked hard to be at Columbia. The cost of a Columbia education makes it difficult and less enjoyable for students who are not privileged, but choose to attend anyway.

The Ivy League sets the tone for universities across the country. However, the "business as usual" attitude and the reluctance to commit to things such as tuition waivers and adequate salaries for graduate students, both of which improve our education and the education we provide to undergraduates, means that we must stand in solidarity not only for the betterment of our situations, but that of our institutions as well."

Kevin Vaughn,
Graduate Student,
Columbia University

reality for all regardless of race, religion, or background ... I want to underscore the commitment of the University to the continued pursuit of racial justice, to further collaboration with our neighbors in New Haven, and to a concerted effort to build a new partnership with our labor unions.”⁴

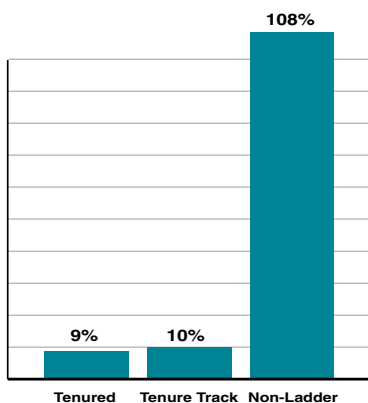
Despite their public statements, however, Ivy League universities have remained bastions of inequality in their workforces, where employees are stratified by race and gender. As the chart to the right illustrates, people of color are concentrated in the lower-level positions: blacks and Hispanics make up only 6 percent of faculty, but comprise 44 percent of service and maintenance employees.⁵

Within the teaching and research staffs of the Ivy League universities, the same stratification prevails: women and people of color find themselves relegated disproportionately to insecure, poorly compensated positions, beginning with graduate employment.

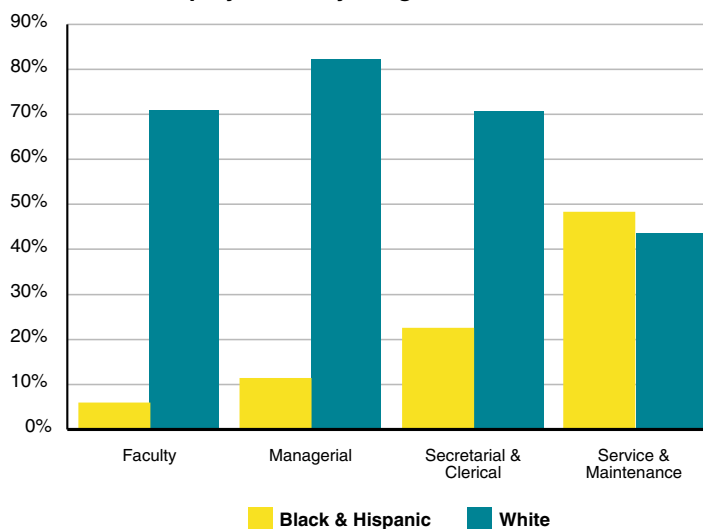
The Shrinking Academic Pie

Ivy League universities have hired significant numbers of new faculty to meet their teaching and research needs.⁶ However, they have primarily created jobs off the tenure track (“non-ladder” jobs), as illustrated in the graph below. These positions, as distinct from tenure-track jobs, are usually temporary appointments, either to be renewed or terminated on an annual or semester-by-semester basis. They pay less than tenured and tenure-track jobs, often provide few or no employment benefits such as health care and sometimes carry higher teaching loads.

Increase in the number of Ivy League Professors, 1993 to 2003⁸



Employees of Ivy League Universities



However, they require the same educational experience: a doctoral degree, teaching experience, and research publications.⁷

As a result of the Ivy League universities’ reliance on non-ladder faculty jobs, new scholars are competing for an ever-shrinking pool of secure, desirable faculty positions, while the number of unstable, poorly compensated faculty positions skyrockets.

In addition to hiring large numbers of non-ladder faculty, Ivy League universities have also turned increasingly to graduate employees to meet their teaching and research needs.⁹ Graduate employees—the teaching and research assistants, instructors, and lecturers the Ivy League universities draw from their own graduate schools—like non-ladder faculty, are usually paid far below the levels of their tenured and tenure-track colleagues and have little job security or institutional voice. Universities’ heavy reliance on graduate teachers and researchers further serves to reduce the need to hire additional faculty members. As many observers have noted, the result is that for many graduate students the completion of a PhD often signals the end, not the beginning, of a long teaching career.

The explosion of insecure, low-status jobs has become the *vehicle* by which Ivy League universities have maintained their historic racial and gender inequalities.

Non-Ladder Jobs as a means to “Diversify”

In the shrinking pool of new desirable faculty positions, few women and people of

color are to be found. Instead, those good academic jobs are likely to be filled by white and male scholars, as the chart on the right illustrates.

As women, underrepresented minority scholars and international scholars finally gain access to faculty jobs at Ivy League universities, many find that the only positions available to them are unstable, non-ladder positions: jobs in which it is difficult to make a secure living, engage in meaningful academic research, or obtain any voice in the university. In 2003 in the Ivy League:

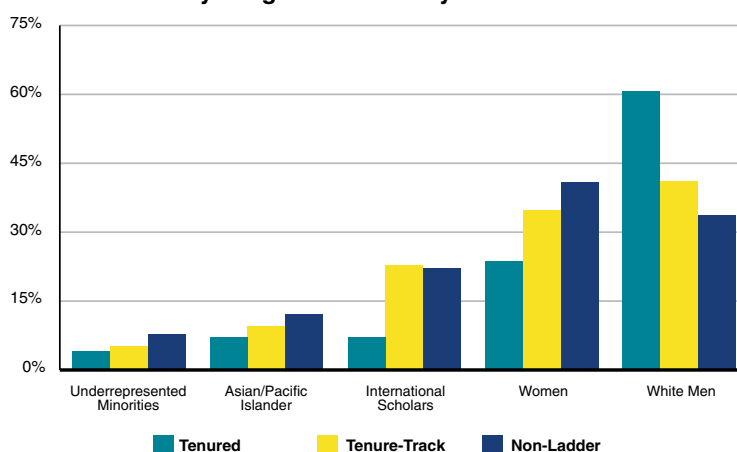
- Black and Hispanic PhDs were 4 times more likely to get hired into non-ladder positions than into tenure-track positions. In comparison, white PhDs were only 2.5 times more likely to get hired into non-ladder jobs.
- Women were 3.2 times more likely to land a non-ladder position than a tenure-track one. Men were only 2.6 times as likely to get hired into non-ladder jobs.

From 1993 to 2003, the percent of people of color in tenured positions has not significantly changed.¹⁰ Black scholars inched up from 2.2% to 2.5% of tenured faculty. Hispanic scholars went from 1.2% to 1.4% of the tenured faculty. Women have seen a greater increase, from 14% to 20% of tenured faculty. Women average only 1 in 5 tenured faculty in all fields of study--not just the sciences where their underrepresentation is being questioned.

International scholars have filled the growing number of non-ladder faculty positions. From 1993 to 2003, the number of non-ladder international faculty has increased by 142% compared to an overall increase of 108% in non-ladder faculty.

Among new doctorates earned from 1989 to 1993, underrepresented minorities represented 6.5 percent and women represented 45 percent. Yet Ivy League universities have not significantly drawn on this pool to correct the historic patterns that kept people of color and women out of their tenured ranks. In spite of the increasing numbers of women and people of color with doctorates, women and people of color continue to be excluded from the best faculty positions.

Ivy League New Faculty Hires 2003¹¹



An Unequal Start

The lack of access to good faculty jobs for women and people of color in the Ivy League begins in doctoral programs, where the next generation of faculty is trained. In the Ivy League, people of color are represented in doctoral programs at rates significantly below the national average for doctoral programs, and below the rates of minority

Doctoral Degree Program Enrollment, 2001

	Ivy	National ¹²
Black	3.7%	8.9%
Hispanic	3.1%	5.3%
Asian/Pacific Islander	7.1%	5.1%
American Indian/Alaska Native	0.3%	0.6%
International Scholars	34.7%	13.1%
Women	46.0%	58.2%

enrollment in undergraduate programs. As shown in the table above, blacks are less than half as likely to be enrolled in Ivy League doctoral programs as in doctoral programs nationally. And while women constitute almost 60 percent of students enrolled in doctoral programs nationally, in the Ivy League they are only 46 percent.

Equal Pay for Equal Work?

Even when women manage to gain access to faculty jobs at the upper rungs of the academic ladder in the Ivy League, they are faced with another problem: a significant pay disparity by gender. Across the Ivy League, full-time tenured and tenure-track

female faculty are paid less than their male colleagues.¹³ Most startling, women in the earlier part of their careers, generally those hired more recently, and therefore in the lower positions, face an even greater pay gap than their more senior female colleagues. When all faculty are taken into account, including the non-ladder faculty, the pay gap is even greater: on average, women faculty at Ivy League universities make only 77 percent of their male colleagues' pay.

Ivy League Pay Gap for Women Faculty¹⁴ Women's Salaries as a Fraction of their Male Colleagues	
Full Professors	93%
Associate Professors	91%
Assistant Professors	91%
All Full-time Faculty ¹⁵	77%

Columbia is the worst among the Ivy League universities where, on average, female full professors make less than 90% of their male counterparts and female assistant professors make less than 85% of their male colleagues. Harvard has the largest average pay gap for associate professors, with women earning less than 88% of the salaries earned by men in the same position.

A Two-Tiered Academy

Far from living up to their stated commitments to racial justice and equal opportunity, Ivy League universities continue to create stratified and inequitable workforces, relying on women and people of color to fill insecure, poorly compensated, lower-status academic positions on which much of the universities' teaching and research depends. Rather than creating egalitarian academic communities that could set a standard for the rest of society, the universities of the Ivy League lag behind, failing within their own walls to overcome patterns of discrimination and occupational segregation that American law, policy, and public sentiment have long frowned upon.

As a result, Ivy League universities have fundamentally failed in one of their primary missions as institutions of higher education: the promotion of social equality. The ladder

to greater opportunity they have promised to offer to members of marginalized groups is a broken one, and with it they have also broken the public trust. By creating a two-tiered structure in which women and people of color are concentrated in insecure, poorly compensated teaching and research positions, Ivy League universities have done much to ensure that, for teachers and students alike, the door of opportunity they represent is closed to many.

Addressing Inequities

Within the Ivy League, university administrations have made varying efforts to address the absence of diversity in their academic ranks. However, across the board, these initiatives are understaffed and underfunded for the tasks set before them. Only two universities have offices for graduate students of color, both of which were created in response to organized protests from their student bodies.¹⁶ One other university has a staff person whose primary job responsibility is to recruit more applicants of color. Four universities have an administrator whose job responsibilities include addressing the needs of graduate students of color, but this is not a focus of the job.¹⁷ Only one university, Cornell, publishes annual statistics about recruitment and retention of students broken out by race, ethnicity and gender and by field of study.¹⁹ None of these programs or staff assignments alone has adequately addressed the lack of access to these universities for women and people of color. These problems continue to exist despite decades-old federal laws, such as Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 and Titles VI and VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, that prohibit discrimination based on race and gender and were meant to ensure equal access to educational and employment opportunities.

Addressing issues of faculty diversity has proven even more difficult. Harvard's president Lawrence Summers has come under fire for eliminating the position of Associate Dean for Affirmative Action, who had access to hiring and promotion committees to ensure a fair process for female applicants and applicants of



“Non-ladder faculty members make significant contributions to the scholarship of this university. We are often excellent dedicated teachers and mentors that provide diversity in their respective academic departments. Our contributions are acknowledged and celebrated by those who benefit directly, namely the undergraduate students.

Yet, often I have found that we non-ladder faculty members are undervalued and exploited by the university administration and serve as window dressing in the institutions' commitment to diversity.”

—Dr. Connie Allen
Former Lecturer
Department of Chemistry
Yale University¹⁸

color. In the three years since Summers took office, the portion of new female hires has consistently declined.²⁰ The Harvard example demonstrates that what is needed for change is not a designated office but an institutional commitment to end discrimination and promote access to university resources. Structural changes, equity programs and policies that focus on full implementation of civil rights law will change the trends at Ivy League schools.

The recent increase in union organizing among entry-level academics, including those in the Ivy League, suggests that today's scholars are recognizing that they need not passively wait for their administrators to end discrimination. They recognize that the problems plaguing the academy are intertwined with the employment practices created by university administrations over the last twenty years. The explosion of insecure, low-status jobs has become the *vehicle* by which Ivy League universities have maintained their historic racial and gender inequalities. Ultimately, the unionization movement reflects the understanding that institutional commitments to redress inequities almost never come to pass through the benign consideration of upper-level academic managers. Rather, they require organized collective demands by academic workers, as well as government oversight and public pressure.

Forging an Equitable Ivy League

So what steps can academics take? By securing organizing rights, bargaining collectively, and achieving binding contracts for their work, teachers and researchers can break down the two-tiered Ivy League, reduce the universities' reliance on non-ladder positions, and ensure that women, people of color and international scholars have equal access to the best opportunities for teaching and research.

First and foremost, academic workers must address the fundamental problem of today's academy: access to good jobs is diminishing for all academic workers. On this front, faculty unions outside the Ivy League have provided a road map for solutions.

Contracts at several universities limit the portion of temporary and part-time faculty, ensuring that the number of tenured and tenure-track positions grows with the university, preserving good jobs for academics of every background. Faculty unions at Cooper Union, the Connecticut State University system, and Eastern Washington University have placed limits on the number or portion of part-time and temporary faculty that can be hired, and ensured that tenured and tenure-track positions are preserved and expand.

Second, through collective bargaining, the terms and conditions of those working in such non-ladder or part-time positions can be improved immensely. For example, unionized adjuncts have been able to raise compensation levels, win health and pension benefits, and substantially increase job security and employment opportunities.

Bargaining for contracts also allows academic workers directly to reverse inequalities in a number of specific areas:

1. Union contracts have addressed pay inequities, fair workload, and transparency in job descriptions, remuneration and criteria for promotion at every level of academic work.

It is widely established that when workplaces unionize, women and people of color generally secure the greatest net improvement in benefits across a given profession. Union contracts have increased compensation for the lowest paid groups, often women and people of color, and have increased access to employment opportunities. The NYU graduate employee contract, the only one of its kind at a private university, while increasing wages overall by approximately 40%, had the greatest impact on those employees at the low end of the scale. The part-time faculty union contract at Rutgers requires the university to post full-time teaching positions publicly in each department so that union members have access to applying for full-time jobs.²¹

2. Union contracts can codify anti-discrimination practices that are binding and enforceable within the university community.

In recent years, a host of academic unions have taken stands, during contract negotiations, to include specific language barring discrimination in academic employment.



“Neither among its faculty nor its graduate student population has Harvard demonstrated an interest in preserving its most valuable resource: class, race, gender, and sexual orientation diversity.

Harvard has turned its back on female faculty through swiftly denying them tenure. The recent departure of a female faculty member from my department for a tenured position at another top private university, after being arrogantly denied her tenure here, is a prime example.

The quality of my academic experience is undermined by the ways in which this university devalues its female faculty, faculty of color, and identity curriculum. In this place where traditions die hard, diversity has been lauded in word and ignored in deed.”

—Lyndon Kamaal Gill
Graduate Student
Harvard University

- The graduate teaching assistant union at the University of California negotiated anti-discrimination clauses into their contracts that give teaching assistants the right to a grievance procedure when discriminatory practices are in place.²²
- The union at the University of Michigan has an anti-discrimination clause as well as a designated Affirmative Action Representative in the Office of Equity and Diversity Services and the ability to engage in special conferences with the university on issues of affirmative action.²³
- At the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the university is required to seek the advice and counsel of the graduate employee union in reviewing and modifying its Affirmative Action plans. The union also negotiated a \$50,000 fund for diversity and harassment training.²⁴

As these examples show, collective bargaining has allowed academic workers both to actively change discriminatory practices as well as create a means to punish instances of discrimination. Union contracts provide binding and immediately enforceable standards, thus violations can be addressed in a timely, fair and effective manner. In contrast, the understaffed federal government agencies cannot always offer the same relief. University grievance procedures are often created to protect the university from lawsuits rather than redress student and employee grievances. Through a union contract, university employees have direct access to protection from discrimination.

3. *Union contracts can guarantee the disclosure of comprehensive statistics relevant to assessing a university's progress (or lack thereof) in making their jobs and programs accessible.*

A contentious debate persists, inside and outside of universities, about the precise nature and causes of inequalities confronting women, people of color, and international scholars. Ivy League universities have long exacerbated this situation by failing to supply complete and timely data about their progress (or lack thereof) in guaranteeing equal access to university positions. As noted above, Cornell is the only Ivy League

University which publishes detailed diversity statistics-and even there, the complete transparency of the data is difficult to judge. In many cases, academic workers must turn to government data from previous years to gain some insight into the actual situation at their own universities.

Collective bargaining makes it possible to guarantee specific obligations for the reporting of data regarding admissions, hiring, retention, promotion, and benefits. The University of Oregon, for example, has agreed to provide statistics to its graduate teachers' union about the gender, ethnicity and citizenship of its graduate students and its graduate teachers upon the union's request.²⁵ Without such transparency of information, it will remain impossible to measure whether a university's efforts are succeeding or failing in the creation of an accessible, equitable workplace.

4. *Union contracts can directly remove obstacles in the academic ladder that disproportionately jeopardize the prospects of women, people of color, and international scholars.*

Unless universities are compelled fundamentally to restructure certain features of access, employment, and promotion, no amount of oversight or "diversity initiatives" will suffice. Union contracts raise wages and improve conditions for academic workers allowing talented scholars to make careers in the academy.

• **Economic barriers to academic careers are only deepening.** Given the rising costs of undergraduate education, many potential scholars, especially people of color, enter academic careers with significant amounts of debt. Moreover, in some Ivy League departments, it has become commonplace for Ph.D. programs to require a master's degree for admission-which means tens of thousands of dollars of additional debt. With the dearth of tenure-track positions, and the prospect of part-time non-ladder employment after earning a Ph.D., in addition to a low income while earning a Ph.D., many promising scholars are unable to complete their programs or never start at all. Every Ivy League university needs to acknowledge



"Whenever I've asked faculty from Yale and other universities why so few women and people of color are ladder faculty, I always get the same response: Most senior faculty were hired 20 or 30 years ago. They promise that once the current senior faculty retire, women and people of color will become more integrated into ladder positions.

Yet, when I look at the anthropology department, I see a faculty almost entirely comprised of white men, including those hired more recently. In contrast, the graduate student body is largely women, many of whom are of color. The current hiring practices send a clear message to us: Regardless of our diligence, intelligence, talent, and passion for the field, the good jobs are off limits."

—Nazima Kadir
Graduate Student
Yale University

the close connection between economic and racial equity. Without a serious overhaul of academic pay—and additional measures, like need-based loan forgiveness—Ivy League academic positions face the prospect of becoming inaccessible to all but the most economically privileged individuals.

- **Women face profound obstacles to equal advancement up the academic ranks.** Embedded in the controversy over Harvard President Lawrence Summers' recent questioning of the innate ability of women to do science was his (all too true) assertion that women scholars face both discrimination in evaluation of their abilities and, for many, additional responsibilities for raising families. What President Summers failed to acknowledge is that current standards for academic promotion—standards for parental leave, time to degree, tenure timeline, employment flexibility and child care options—are no more intrinsic or eternal than was the principle of single-sex education thirty years ago. Academic unions have successfully negotiated affordable health care, child care benefits, and paid leave, along with academic and employment promotion policies that accommodate scholars with families. In so doing, academic workers can significantly level the playing field for women and men in today's academy.

5. *Union contracts, by enhancing job security, help insure and strengthen academic freedom.*

Women and people of color who are in non-tenured positions without job security, are vulnerable to attacks on their academic freedom. Such workers may be discouraged from espousing controversial positions or undertaking risky but potentially groundbreaking projects.

Legislative Solutions

In addition to the solutions that union contracts offer, the public can also demand more from universities. First and foremost, students and parents deserve accurate, timely information about whether the colleges and universities they attend have created a two-tier system for hiring and promoting that significantly

affects people of color and women. This information should be readily available and easy to understand for students and their parents. For example, college websites should include this information, and it should be made available to prospective students.

The Connecticut General Assembly is considering legislation to make this important information available to students who apply to private colleges in Connecticut. It is important for students to know before they go to college whether the faculty in their fields of interest include people of color and women. Students of color are more likely to seek role models of the same race, and several studies show that role models help increase students' expectations for their own success.²⁶ Furthermore, students of color disproportionately chose faculty of color as mentors.²⁷ Finally, some studies show that a diverse faculty improves educational outcomes for all students.²⁸

Mandated disclosure of diversity data to student applicants could help fix problems over the long term, without the need for more heavy-handed state regulation. The market forces of higher education would work naturally to persuade universities to change their practices in order to continue attracting the talented women students and students who are people of color.

Conclusion

This list of potential remedies should itself be an indictment of the status quo in the Ivy League. So long as Ivy League administrators remain unchecked in applying corporate values to teaching and research—shifting an ever-growing share of work onto those in insecure, part-time, low status positions, and denying them the right to organize—the two-tiered academy will persist. But the American public must not give up on its expectations that universities, including Ivy League universities, will fulfill their promises to make an excellent education available to high-achieving students, regardless of their backgrounds, and to provide academic jobs that are worthy of the academic accomplishments of the scholars who make the university great.



“Most of the positions available in my field are non-tenure track and adjunct positions. It is scary to think that I could spend six years at an Ivy League university only to cobble together an existence afterward through part-time teaching loads at several schools.

As a minority woman in this profession, I definitely have to work a lot harder to gain the respect of my superiors, my peers, and even my students. When those of us from under-represented groups in academia do manage to reach tenure track positions in the academy, we enjoy little respect. Our qualifications and merits are constantly questioned as if we had been given our jobs rather than having earned them.”

—Sayumi Takahashi
Graduate Student
University of Pennsylvania

Appendix: Did Ten Years Make a Difference?

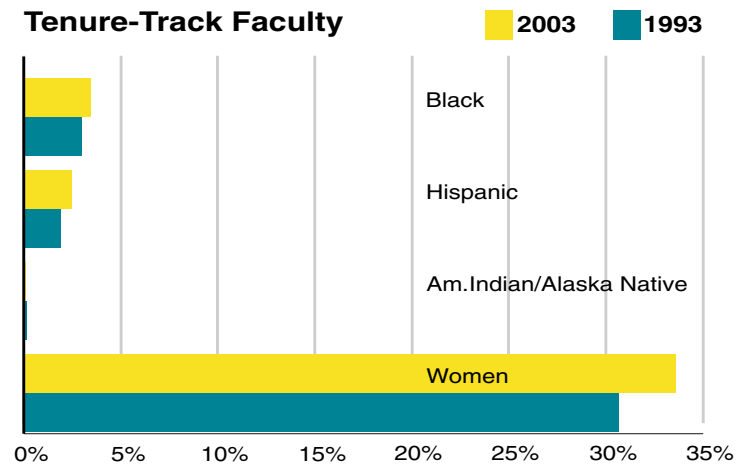
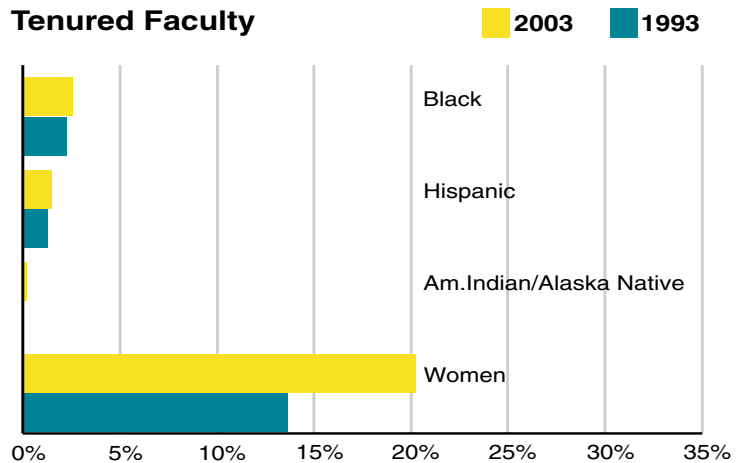
From 1993 to 2003, the number of Ivy League faculty grew. During this time, tenured and tenure-track faculty were hired, some retired, and some moved on to other universities or other careers. Yet over the course of this ten year period, the presence of underrepresented minorities has increased only slightly. The percent of women faculty increased, but not in proportion to the percent of women who were on the tenure-track at the time.

The number of **tenured faculty** climbed from 5,474 to 5,973. With that growth:

- Black professors hovered at 2% of tenured faculty.
- Hispanic professors hovered at 1% of tenured faculty.
- American Indian/Alaska Native faculty went from 2 to 6 total tenured professors across the 8 Ivy League universities.
- Women professors went from 14% to 20% of tenured faculty.

Tenure-track faculty is where a significant increase might be expected from the growing numbers of doctorates awarded to people of color and women. From 1993 to 2001, women earned 42% of doctoral degrees and underrepresented minority scholars earned over 7% of the doctoral degrees nationwide.²⁹ The number of **tenure-track faculty** grew from 3,230 to 3,560 between 1993 and 2003. During that time:

- Black professors hovered at 3% of tenured faculty.
- Hispanic professors went from 2% to 3% of tenured faculty.
- The number of American Indian/Alaska Native faculty remained constant at 5 tenure-track professors across the 8 Ivy League universities.
- Women professors went from 31% to 34% of tenure-track faculty.



Notes

1 “The Talented Tenth” by W.E.B. DuBois in *The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative American Negroes of Today*, 1903.

2 In this report, the term “Ivy League” refers to Brown University, Columbia University, Cornell University, Dartmouth College, Harvard University, Princeton University, University of Pennsylvania, and Yale University.

3 Remarks at National Bureau of Economic Research Conference on Diversifying the Science & Engineering Workforce, Lawrence H. Summers, 1/14/05.

4 Richard Levin, “Remarks on Martin Luther King Day,” January 21, 2002 (<http://www.yale.edu/opa/president/speeches/20020121.html>).

5 Employment data for the graph and for the comparison of different categories of workers include both full-time and part-time positions. For the rest of the report, faculty data is for full-time faculty only.

Unless otherwise noted, all data about Ivy League university enrollment, graduation and employment is taken from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) Peer Analysis System from the National Center for Education Statistics. <http://www.nces.ed.gov/ipeds/pas/> The data are reported by the universities to the Department of Education. Data from 2003 are not adjudicated, but data from previous years have been adjudicated by NCES.

6 From 1991 to 2001, total academic research spending nationwide increased by 51.8%. *Chemical and Engineering News*, “Academic R&D Spending Trends” (Vol. 81, No. 29, July 21, 2003) p.25.

7 *The Adjunct Explosion*, University Business, Elaine McArdle, December 2002. “Today’s adjunct is likely to be a Ph.D. with excellent credentials who simply can’t find a full-time teaching job. To eke out a living, he may juggle a heavy teaching schedule at several colleges, each paying a minimal salary with no benefits and little possibility for a permanent position.” This quote uses a male academic as an example, however, the description applies to both male and female adjuncts.

8 Data on the number of faculty from NCES as reported by each university. In 1993, Harvard listed all faculty who had not received tenure as “non-ladder” because it does not claim to have a tenure track. The 1993 data in the graph were provided directly by Harvard for this report. In 1999, Harvard started listing junior faculty as “tenure-track.” In this report, we use the word “non-ladder” as the term that corresponds with the category in IPEDS “not tenured, not on tenure track”.

9 *Casual Nation*. The Coalition of Graduate Employee Unions. December 2000.

10 These percentages are based on a comparison of all Ivy League full-time tenured faculty in 1993 and in 2003. This data reflects the net effect of retirements, new hires and internal promotions. Overall there were 374 more full-time tenured faculty positions in 2003 than in 1993.

11 Underrepresented minorities refer to the census categories Black, Hispanic and American Indian/Alaska Native.

12 “Table 209. Total fall enrollment in degree-granting institutions, by race/ethnicity, sex, attendance status, and level of study: Selected years, 1976 to 2001” *Digest of Education Statistics 2003*. Published by the Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics.

13 These data are collected by NCES. However, equivalent salary data by racial and ethnic classifications are not collected.

14 Based on Equated 9-month contract salary data for 2003 reported by the universities to the NCES.

15 This category includes instructors and lecturers.

16 Columbia opened its Office of Minority Affairs in 1989 after protests from students. Yale opened its office for Diversity and Equal Opportunity after graduate students organized on the issue for several years.

17 Harvard has an administrator who serves as the contact for recruiting students of color. Cornell, Brown, Princeton and University of Pennsylvania list an administrator who has other responsibilities as the contact for underrepresented minority students.

18 Excerpt of a letter from Dr. Connie



“As a Latina in political science, working in the academy means not only adding to my field, but changing it through the distinctive perspectives that previously ignored voices can offer. It will also give me the chance to teach and encourage future leaders and scholars.

The two-tiered system of Ivy League universities undermines these goals. Women and people of color are finally part of undergraduate and graduate programs. How can we, as teachers and scholars, support them through mentoring if our own work is undervalued, if we face insecure and underpaid positions?”

—Angelica Bernal
Graduate Student
Yale University

Allen to then Provost of Yale University, Susan Hockfield.

19 Summary Update: Progress Toward Diversity and Inclusion. Annual Report on the Status of Women, American Indians, Asian Americans, Black Americans and Hispanic Americans. May 2004. Cornell University.
<http://www.sws.cornell.edu/diversitycouncil/InclusionReport2004.pdf>

20 "Hire More Female Faculty: Harvard must fulfill its promise to improve gender diversity among tenured faculty." Harvard Crimson Editorial, Tuesday, December 21, 2004, <http://www.thecrimson.com/today/article505218.html>

21 Collective Bargaining Agreement between New York University and International Union, UAW, AFL-CIO and Local 2110, Technical, Office and Professional Workers, UAW, September 1, 2001 - August 31, 2005. www.nyu.edu/hr/pdf/forms/loc2110.pdf Agreement Between Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey and Part-Time Lecturer Faculty Chapter Rutgers Council of the American Association Of University Professors Chapters. Effective July 1, 2003. www.rutgersaaup.com/misc/PTL03-07agreement.pdf

22 Contract between The Regents of the University of California and UAW Local 2865. Effective Dec. 3, 2003.
http://www.uaw2865.org/docs/Contract_2003-2006_Web.htm

23 Agreement between the Regents of the University of Michigan and Graduate Employees Organization
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-

CIO Local 3550. Effective April 21, 1999.
<http://www.umich.edu/~urel/gsi-sa/contract02-05-toc.html>

24 Agreement between the State of Wisconsin and the Teaching Assistants' Association. <http://www.taa-madison.org/contract.html>

25 Collective Bargaining Agreement Between the University of Oregon and Graduate Teaching Fellows Federation American Federation of Teachers Local 3544, AFL/CIO, 20 May 2002 through 31 March 2004 <http://hr.uoregon.edu/er/gtff2002-form.html#Article8>

26 www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0JAX/is_3_52/ai_n6054703 *Career Development Quarterly*, March, 2004 by Danesh Karunanayake, Margaret M. Nauta. This is a review article detailing the conclusions of several studies about the relationship between race and role models for students.

27 www.umich.edu/~oami/mss/downloads/synopsis0103.pdf "The Michigan Student Study: Students' Expectations of and Experiences with Racial/Ethnic Diversity" Office of Academic Multicultural Initiatives, University of Michigan, 2002

28 "Diversifying The Faculty: A Guidebook For Search Committees," Caroline Sotello Viernes Turner, Association of American Colleges and Universities, 2002

29 "Table 270. Doctor's degrees conferred by degree-granting institutions, by racial/ethnic group and sex of student: Selected years, 1976-77 to 2001-02" Digest of Education Statistics 2003. Published by the Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics.