FIRST REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE TO MONITOR THE
RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION OF DISABLED, MINORITY, AND WOMEN FACULTY

Spring, 1991
Yale University

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FIRST REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE TO MONITOR THE
RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION OF DISABLED, MINORITY, AND WOMEN FACULTY*

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*The Committee finds that adequate data and information on faculty
with disabilities is difficult to obtain. Thus, this first Report will
not address that important issue. A future Report will
consider the question with some priority.
I. OVERVIEW AND SELECTED RECOMMENDATIONS

Yale University has not articulated a clear program outlining its conception of what "affirmative action" means in faculty hiring; nor does an adequate set of rules and procedures guide departments and schools to ensure that recruitment and retention of faculty are consistent with such a University-wide program. Furthermore, no adequate administrative mechanism to verify departmental compliance with such rules and procedures exists.

What has resulted is a corpus of procedures and policies that leave departments largely unaided and unrestrained in their individual approaches to the problem. Some departments have responded with vigor and ingenuity, some have done little at all, while most lie between these two poles. Two decades of uncoordinated efforts have not given the University an effective program for the recruitment and retention of minority and women faculty.

The Committee finds that the following problems tend to arise at various stages during the tenure of a woman or minority faculty member at Yale:

1. **Upon Initial Recruitment**: Insufficient attention is given to identifying minority and women candidates, or to meeting special concerns that women and minority professors might have.

2. **While Untenured**: Women and minority faculty tend to have fewer mentors and many perceive the academic climate at Yale as inhospitable and insufficiently diverse.

3. **Upon Consideration for Promotion**: Current University procedures do not adequately monitor departmental processes to eliminate any doubt that subtle race or gender biases will not adversely influence departmental decisions regarding promotions to tenure or to associate professor on term.

4. **Upon Receipt of a Competing Offer**: The Provost's Office frequently responds too slowly (and indeed may not even be informed by the relevant department) when a minority or women faculty member receives a competing offer from another school.

To address these and other problems we propose:

1. **Departments and Schools should each appoint an ongoing Committee to be responsible for developing recruitment strategies and new methods of identifying talented minority and women graduate students and faculty elsewhere who might be potential candidates for faculty appointments at Yale.**
2. At a minimum, each department and school should annually assemble lists of talented minority and women graduate students and faculty at other schools. These lists should be surveyed during any normal hiring procedure and they should be used as important aids to recruitment.

3. Department Chairs and Deans should submit, as an attachment to their annual report to the President on Department (School) activities, a report on their affirmative action activities during the year covered by the report and their plans for the year to come.

4. To enhance diversity of curriculum and faculty, we recommend the creation of new faculty positions in the fields of ethnic studies currently underrepresented in the curriculum, e.g. Asian-American and Latino/Latina Studies.

5. The President's Committee to Monitor the Recruitment and Retention of Disabled, Minority, and Women faculty should be assigned an additional function: that of working with the University's Affirmative Action Office in its routine review of the procedures applied in all cases in which a department or school decides against promoting a minority, or women, faculty member to tenure or associate professor on term. Such review would be conducted in strictest confidence and would be limited to examining the departmental procedures applied in each case to confirm that they were applied in a regular and equitable manner.

6. The University's policy to create incremental tenured positions for departments identifying qualified minority candidates but having no position vacant in the relevant candidate's field should be clarified.
II. INTRODUCTION

By our count, this is the eighteenth Yale Committee, since 1968, to report on the recruitment of minority or women faculty. Each of the previous committees concluded that the numerical presence of women and minority faculty at Yale was too low, both in absolute number and relative to comparable institutions. Thus, a Faculty Advisory Committee on the Recruitment of Women and Minority Faculty, appointed by President Kingman Brewster in 1976 and chaired by Burke Marshall, "concluded that special efforts to locate and recruit women and minority candidates for the faculty are fully justified, indeed demanded, as an educational priority of Yale University." In 1984, "The Report of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences Advisory Committee on the Education of Women," appointed by President A. Bartlett Giamatti and chaired by Donald Crothers, "urged that more intense efforts be made, that hiring and promotion procedures be more attentively monitored...if the situation of women at Yale is to improve significantly, additional resources must be brought to bear."

Despite exhortations such as these, despite many clear and specific recommendations for action, and despite policy initiatives by the administration, Yale's position and its national image in...
this area remains precariously close to the backwaters of academic progress, not in the position of national leadership we proudly seek and claim in other important areas.

This committee has had to ask a troubling question: why is this so? Even if the university leadership has been as committed to these goals as their counterparts elsewhere, over the last two decades, Yale University has not articulated a clear program outlining its conception of what "affirmative action" means in faculty hiring. Nor does an adequate set of rules and procedures guide departments and schools to ensure that recruitment and retention of faculty are consistent with such a University-wide program. Furthermore, no adequate administrative mechanism to verify departmental compliance with such rules and procedures exists.

What has resulted is a corpus of procedures and policies that leave departments largely unaided and unrestrained in their individual approaches to the problem. Some departments have responded with vigor and ingenuity, some have done little at all, while most lie between these two poles. Two decades of uncoordinated efforts have not given the University an effective program for the recruitment and retention of minority and women faculty.

We are all responsible for this situation. For the recommendations offered by Yale committees during the past two decades do outline such a program. Almost every major item contained in the present report has been proposed, in some form or
another, by one or more of the previous committees. These committee reports, however, have not provoked the sustained discussion and self-examination they deserved and that would lead to programs and initiatives worthy of our great university.  

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2 The Rodin Report, 1989 to which the current report owes its existence, may prove to be an exception.

*Our methods and work schedule are explained in the appendix.*
III. INTERPRETATION OF COMMITTEE'S CHARGE

President Benno C. Schmidt, Jr. is aware that the University must undertake further initiatives if we are to improve the situation. He charged this committee to "review broadly, to make proposals, and to report annually to me and the Corporation on all aspects of the University's affirmative action policies respecting faculty appointments."

We interpret this charge to encompass three specific functions: to review, monitor, and make proposals on all aspects of Yale's affirmative action policies concerning faculty. The Report is organized according to those three functions:

1. Review responsibilities pertain to a periodic, i.e., annual, assessment of the status, in numerical terms, of disabled, minority, and women faculty.

2. Monitoring responsibilities pertain to an ongoing critique of strengths and weaknesses in all university procedures (departmental, divisional, and central administrative levels) that affect recruitment and retention of disabled, minority, and women faculty.

3. Proposal responsibilities pertain to an effort to address those problems and successes uncovered by functions 1 and 2. Where identifiable problems exist we propose solutions. Where successful strategies are identified we propose ways to replicate them in other areas of the University.

In carrying out this charge, the temptation not to use the phrase "affirmative action" in the hope of avoiding the negative baggage associated with it is great. Nevertheless, in a report covering material such as that contained here, some phrase connoting "affirmative action" must inevitably assert itself in the text. As a consequence, the Committee wishes to set forth as clearly as possible the definition of affirmative action that we
have used in this Report.

By affirmative action we mean the setting of specific policies and procedures that all units who hire and promote must follow to demonstrate that they have taken extra-special actions to identify, recruit, and retain qualified minority and women candidates. For all of the reasons here enumerated and discussed below--contribution of diversity to the University community, redressing of past disadvantage and of historic exclusion, and potential for mentoring--a woman or minority candidate should be deemed better qualified, and hence chosen over an otherwise equally qualified white male applicant, whenever the choice is starkly presented.

As the second word of the phrase implies, this definition is meant to affect practice. It goes beyond the passive principle of equal opportunity, yet does not undermine it.

The setting of specific numerical goals is generally a useful instrument of affirmative action, but no one really knows how many women and minorities are qualified and available in all hiring areas. If the goals are set too low, qualified and available women and minorities may not be hired. If the goals are set too high, either they will not be met, or women and minorities who are not of a quality commensurate to the existing faculty will be hired.

Earnest searches by faculties can avoid the problems of numerical goals. Those people most informed about how to ascertain the available pool of qualified candidates in any field are the faculty teaching in that general field. To assure that searches will be in earnest requires instituting procedures that guarantee
that departments actually ascertained the size of their relevant pool, recruit from the pool where it exists, and make efforts to retain those recruits. These responsibilities must be shared by all members of the university community.

We cited three motivations for accepting these responsibilities. These motivations underlie Yale’s concern about the retention of minority and women faculty: greater cultural diversity, redressing of past disadvantage and exclusion, and the mentoring of students. When thoughtfully pursued, these goals should not be inconsistent with and should, indeed, enhance the university’s central commitment to the highest excellence in scholarship, research and teaching.

Universities have and must continue to become less parochial in their conceptualization of what is essential to their curricula, scholarship, and even scientific research. More diversity, in the form of increasing the number of minority and women faculty, enhances this process.

As importantly, recruitment of minorities and women who have historically been excluded from American universities, as faculty and students, plays an important educational role and helps to redress disadvantages that all American institutions have helped to create and perpetuate in the past.

Finally, as the makeup of our student body changes to reflect policies designed to attain these two goals, the university must create a climate that is conducive to the healthy intellectual growth of its students. The best method of doing this is to
provide all students with concrete examples of academic success by a diverse population and to provide women and minorities with mentors who share many of those students' early socialization experiences as members of American society.

The main body of the report is organized as follows: part IV presents a review of the status of Yale faculty, updating the Rodin Committee Report. This review shows that Yale remains in a precarious position with respect to both its recruitment and its retention of minority and women faculty. Part V of the report summarizes the findings of our monitoring activities and identifies those things most responsible for Yale's precarious position. Finally, in part VI of the report, we propose some recommendations to address the problems.
IV. THE NUMERICAL PRESENCE OF MINORITY AND WOMEN FACULTY

a. Inter-University Comparisons

In discussing the recruitment and retention of women and minority faculty members at Yale, one must take into account the restrictions related to the current pool of qualified candidates, which, in some departments, may be quite limited. Within these limitations, however, certainly a reasonable goal for this university should be to achieve divisional and departmental faculties (tenured as well as term) in which all groups are represented in proportion to their presence in the appropriate pool of qualified candidates. Defining a pool of qualified candidates can be a difficult and sometimes subjective problem, and therefore care must be taken to define such a pool as broadly and as reasonably as possible. One measure of how well we are achieving such a goal (including the question of whether or not we are defining our pools too parochially) is an examination of other comparable universities and what they have achieved in the representation of various groups on their faculties.

Yale's performance relative to comparable institutions can be ascertained from data collected recently in a confidential survey by Harvard University. Harvard conducted a survey of 17 public and private schools to determine the relative percentages of female and minority faculty at the schools. These data are exhibited in Table 1.
Table 1

1990-91 Harvard University Survey†
(All Faculty, excluding Medical Schools)

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<td>Range of %'s at the surveyed schools:</td>
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<td>Yale's Rank:</td>
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<td>9th out of 16</td>
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| **Minority* Faculty as a % of Total:** |         |      |
| Range of %'s at the surveyed schools: |         |      |
| Yale’s %: | 5.7% | 11.0% |
| Yale’s Rank: | 11th out of 17 | 15th out of 16 |

†Schools Included: Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Stanford, Yale, Berkeley, UCLA, Chicago, Duke, Michigan (Ann Arbor), M.I.T., Northwestern, Texas (Austin), Wisconsin (Madison). Some of these schools did not provide complete data in some categories and were therefore not included in those categories.

*Minority includes Asian, Black, Hispanic, and Native American faculty.
In 1990-91, Yale ranked nearly last in two categories (% of tenured faculty who are female and % of term faculty who are minority). Moreover, in the other two categories (% of tenured faculty who are minority and % of term faculty who are female), although Yale ranked nearer the middle it was still in the bottom half.

These data strongly suggest that other institutions of higher learning have adopted methods of recruitment and retention of minorities and women that are more effective than Yale's.

b. Representation Within Yale

Table 2 shows the numerical representation of women and minorities within Yale's various schools and divisions. Within these numbers, there are significant differences in representation across groups and across schools and divisions.

Women comprise 21.3% of the more than 1,500 ladder faculty appointed to Yale University's various schools and divisions.3

3 Ladder faculty refer to appointments at the rank of assistant, associate, and full professor. These categories are adopted from the standard presentations of the university Office of Institutional Research and the Affirmative Action Office. "Tenured" includes tenured professors and tenured associate professors. "Term" includes non-tenured associate professors, assistant professors, instructors, all convertible appointments and Gibbs Instructors. "Research" includes all types of research appointments, such as, senior research scientist/scholars and Professor and Associate Adjunct of Research. "Visiting" includes all categories of visiting faculty, such as visiting professor, visiting associate professor, visiting assistant professor, visiting lecturer, etc. "Other" includes all non-ladder appointments, such as, lecturers, readers, acting instructors, clinical professors/assoc. professors, etc. "Adjunct" includes all categories of adjunct faculty, and the Professor and Associate Professor of the Practice of.
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Yale University:

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*Includes Ladder Faculty not paid on the Yale Payroll
These women are 9.4% of tenured faculty and 31% of faculty on term appointments.

Asians, Afro-Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans, as a group, represent 6.2% of all tenured faculty and 9.1% of term faculty. Within each of the latter groups, absolute numbers are too small to warrant discussion in terms of percentages in our judgment. There are 66 faculty of Asian descent, 28 African Americans, 25 Hispanics, and 1 Native American (see figure 1).

One striking aspect of these data is the small presence of minorities in those areas of the university (e.g. Art, Drama, Music) where culture and aesthetics may be said to play a particularly significant role in judgments concerning academic standards.

(1) Time Trends

Women

Current representation of women faculty reflects a recruiting emphasis upon women during the 1980s. Just eight years ago (1982-83), women faculty were only 17% of all faculty. By 1990-91, the number of tenured women faculty had risen from 35 to 70 (5.4% to 9.7%) and women faculty on term increased from 207 to 259 (27.8% to 31.5%). In absolute numbers this is an overall increase from 242 to 329. During this time, total Yale ladder faculty increased 10.7% while women ladder faculty increased 36%. This achievement demonstrates that recruitment of women can happen when the university is committed to a program to do so.
These results should not lull us into a sense of complacency. Tenured women remain underrepresented on the Yale faculty if measured in relation to any reasonable assessment of their faculty presence at similar institutions.

Furthermore, just to hold the proportion of women faculty constant will require diligence and imaginative policies. For example, in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences women currently represent 19% of all tenured and untenured faculty, yet they were 40% of those FAS faculty who have departed the university since 1989. If women faculty continue to depart at this proportionate rate we will be able to stand in place (at 19%) only if women are 40% of all new hires. In this regard, we note while women currently represent 31% of all untenured FAS faculty, they are also 40% of those faculty on term appointments and now in the last year of their appointment at Yale. To increase the representation of women faculty during the 1990s will require a focused emphasis on recruitment such as occurred during the 1980s, and greater efforts at retention.
Figure 1A
Yale Ladder Faculty 1990-1991

- White Non-Hispanic Females (304)
- Minority Females (25)
- Minority Males (59)

72.7%

19.6%

Figure 1B
Yale Ladder Faculty 1990-1991

Native American Females: 0
Asian Females: 16
Hispanic Females: 4
Black Females: 5
Native American Males: 1
Asian Males: 50
Hispanic Males: 71
Black Males: 33

Number of Ladder Faculty Members

Source: Institutional Research
Minorities

Total ladder minority faculty increased from 99 to 120 during the 1982-83 to 1990-91 period. This represented modest increases of Asians (44 to 66) and Hispanics (18 to 25).

However, during the same time span, the number of black faculty members declined from 36 to 28. This decline occurred among black faculty on term appointment whose numbers were cut in half (26 to 13), while tenured black faculty increased by 5 (16 to 15).

(ii) Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Humanities

In 1990-91, women represent 19% of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences; they are 9% of tenured and 31% of term faculty. They are, however, 30% of humanities faculty; 18% of tenured and 44% of term faculty. The only humanities department with no women has only 3 faculty in total. But of 17 humanities departments, 6 have no tenured women.

There are 35 Asians, 8 blacks, 12 Hispanics, and 1 Native American in FAS. In the Humanities there are 3 Asians (2 tenured, 1 term); 4 blacks (all tenured); 9 Hispanics (4 tenured, 5 term); 1 Native American (term). The 4 blacks are in 3 of the 17 Humanities departments; all are also in African and African-American Studies; 7 of the 9 Hispanic professors are in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and another is in Comparative Literature.
Social Sciences

Women represent 18% of social sciences faculty; 5% of tenured and 33% of term faculty. All 6 social science departments have at least one female faculty member; 3 of the 6 have no tenured women. There are 11 Asians (4 tenured, 7 term); 4 blacks (3 tenured, 1 term); 1 Hispanic (term) and 0 Native Americans on the faculty of the 6 social science departments. Each social science department has at least 1 Asian; 2 social science departments have no blacks or Hispanics.

Life and Physical Science

Women and minorities (with the possible exception of Asians) are least represented in the sciences. Small pools are an important factor.

In the biological sciences (outside the medical school) in a relatively small faculty, 13% are women, and there are 1 Asian, 0 blacks, 0 Hispanics, and 0 Native Americans.

In the physical sciences, women are 6% of the faculty, Asians are 11%; there are 0 blacks, 2 Hispanics, and 0 Native Americans.

(iii) Professional Schools

Underrepresentation of minorities in various schools (Art, Drama, Music) is astounding. Because of their extensive use of adjunct and visiting faculty, we include them in the counts.

There are 14 faculty in the School of Art; 3 are women, 1 is black male and there are no other minorities.
There are 23 faculty in the School of Drama; 5 are women, 1 is black, 1 is Asian, 0 Hispanic and 0 Native American.

There are 40 faculty in the School of Music; 9 are women; 7 are nonminority women and 2 are Asian females; 1 is a black male; there are no other minorities.

There are 41 faculty in the School of Law; 6 are women, 3 black, 2 Asians, 0 Hispanic, 0 Native Americans.

In the School of Medicine, 19 of the ladder faculty are women, the absolute numbers of minorities are 27 Asians, 13 blacks, 12 Hispanics, and 0 Native Americans.

The School of Nursing has 45 faculty; nearly all, 42, are female; there is 1 black female, 0 Asians, 0 Hispanics, and 0 Native Americans.

There are 28 faculty in the School of Organization and Management; 3 are women, 2 are Asian; there are no other minorities.

There are 11 faculty in the School of Architecture; 2 are women, there are 0 minorities.

There are 25 faculty in the Divinity School; 6 are women, 2 are black (1 & woman), there are no other minorities.

There are 13 faculty in Forestry and Environmental Studies; there is 1 nonminority woman and 1 Hispanic woman.
V. INADEQUACY OF CURRENT POLICIES

The University's affirmative action policy was critiqued in detail by the Rodin Committee in 1989. We shall not replicate its careful and useful analysis here. In this area, we believe that the major conclusion of that Report, with which we concur, was that there is "great variability in how well the current faculty, and particularly chairs of departments, understand current University policies and procedures" (p. 6). We believe this situation arises from two major causes: first, the university's affirmative action policy is unclear; second, many faculty, and especially many chairs of departments, appear not to consider recruitment and retention of minority and women faculty sufficiently important to learn the University's policy thoroughly. Nevertheless, a third factor warrants mention: some units have made special and admirable efforts to recruit minority and women faculty.

a. University Policy

In regards to University policy, one of its most important components, and possibly the least understood, is the policy of creating "incremental" positions for qualified minority candidates. In principle, a department with no tenure slots available or none available in the field of a minority candidate it would otherwise seek to appoint may ask for an "incremental" position to make the appointment. In practice, there have been difficulties that make departments reluctant to approach the Provost's office with such a request.

In 1984 the Crothers Committee, referring to this policy,
reported, "In recent years, however, there has been increasing confusion as to its real nature, and mounting doubt as to its efficacy. Several Chairmen with whom we talked said they felt that an affirmative action appointment would shortly result in the loss of a regular departmental slot" (p. 44). Five years later the Rodin Report repeated this concern; "[there is] some confusion and misunderstanding as to when and how the procedures should be invoked, whether an incremental slot is incremental for the long term, or whether a department's request for budgetary flexibility will compete with its other program goals" (p. 5). Our Committee too is aware of similar concerns and confusion voiced by department chairs.

We also know, however, that during the present year three departments have been granted incremental positions at the senior level, and that several have been granted during the past decade. This suggests that the administration needs to spell out as carefully as possible the conditions that departments must consider in this process.

i. Low Priority of Affirmative Action

With regard to the degree of importance attached to the recruitment and retention of minority faculty, a problem has been discerned for some time. The Crothers Report found that in the view of a number of department chairs the affirmative action "minority process seemed to be a fairly mechanical, but necessary, prerequisite for getting a proposed appointment before the appropriate Committee on Senior Appointments. So far as the
department chairmen were concerned, the monitoring process generated no real sense of urgency about an ongoing issue" (p. 51). The Rodin Committee concluded on this issue that "there is considerable diversity among schools and departments and within departments from one chair to another, in the intensity with which the spirit of affirmative action is embodied in behavior..." (p. 6)

The information we obtained on these matters leads us to agree with these findings.

ii. Survey of Departments and Schools

In September, 1990, President Schmidt, at the request of the committee, wrote to all department chairs in the university and to the deans of the professional schools asking them to write this committee by November 2, 1990 giving impressions of how successful your school's, division's or department's affirmative action efforts have been in both absolute and relative terms (e.g., as compared to your principal academic competitors). The Committee requests information on what steps you and your faculty plan to take during the next few years to implement the specific undertakings of my statement and what support, if any, you anticipate will be required from the University for those steps to be successful.

This request was sent to 75 schools and departments. The results of this survey of departments and schools indicate that Yale's affirmative action policy is fragmented and lacks clear direction. Most departments did not even bother to respond to the survey request. Six months after the deadline the committee had heard from only 45% of the chairs and deans. This lack of response on the part of over one-half of the units is possibly the most telling
indicator of the low priority given to the recruitment and retention of women and minority faculty at both the Professional School and the departmental level. Perhaps as telling is the fact that nearly one-half of those who did respond indicate that they do little more than list in their job ads the University's mandatory statement encouraging minorities and women to apply. However, there are exceptions that can provide models of affirmative action for the rest of the University.

Special Efforts

Nineteen of the 34 responding units give indications that they expend some type of "extra effort" to find qualified women or minority candidates during their recruiting. Our liberal interpretation of extra-effort includes everything from (1) making a few phone calls to colleagues, to (2) inquiring about the existence of such candidates or placing the employment ad in publications known to have a proportionately high female or minority readership, to (3) the Department of Ophthalmology and Visual Science's policy of giving interviews to all minority candidates.

In addition to such efforts, some departments have recently adopted innovative procedures to aid in their recruitment and retention efforts. For example, the Departments of English, Sociology, and Psychology have recently appointed faculty committees to devise recruitment strategies and create a list of possible candidates. The School of Medicine instituted several committees and procedures in the Dean's office whose functions are
to treat issues of concern to women and minorities.

Now effective these efforts have been or will be is difficult
to ascertain. Units utilizing the most innovative efforts range
from those with the highest records of success in recruiting to
some with little history of successful minority or women faculty
recruitment.

Noticeably, many of the departments where problems of small
pools of minority and women faculty are especially severe (e.g. the
sciences), have instituted or propose to institute special efforts
to increase graduate student enrollments among these groups. For
example, the Department of Molecular Biophysics & Biochemistry has
made efforts to counsel and provide opportunities intended to
encourage women and minority undergraduates to pursue scientific
careers; the School of Architecture sought and obtained funds for
graduate fellowships for minorities; and the Department of Physics
proposes the establishment of an Edward Bouchet Scholarship for the
study of Physics at Yale. Several departments in the medical
school as well as the Dean's office make special efforts to recruit
minority graduate students.

Several department chairs suggest that more aid from the
administration in regard to spousal employment policy, childcare,
and funds for graduate students is needed. We believe that these
and similar special efforts are laudable and worthy of replication,
where appropriate, throughout the university. Our recommendations

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4 Edward Bouchet, a New Haven native, was the first black
American to earn a Ph.D. in Physics, Yale, 1876.
(Part IV) suggest how they might be applied on a university-wide basis.

b. Climate of Hospitality to Minority Groups and Women at Yale

Throughout the 1980s, committee investigations have concluded that the lack of appreciable numbers of women (especially tenured) and minority faculty—a critical mass—has contributed to a sense of isolation on the part of these faculty at Yale. Furthermore, both minorities and women reported that they felt unwanted; had received condescending treatment by other faculty; and had been discriminated against both in the classroom and by other faculty and the chairs of their departments. We recognize that these perceptions may or may not represent a complete picture of the events described. But nothing in the evidence we have seen suggests that the environment at Yale has changed markedly since these earlier committee investigations. Our evaluation is based on examinations of the views of faculty and students and a review of promotions and appointments.

Our discussions with students and faculty, both inside and outside Yale, reveal that the University continues to have a reputation for being a less than hospitable place for minority and women students and faculty. This reputation emerges partly from the knowledge that Yale has smaller proportions of minority and women faculty than do most of her competitor institutions. However, Yale's reputation suffers beyond what would be expected simply as

5 See, for example, Rodin Report, p. 6; Crothers Report, pp. 21-25.
a result of its lack of a critical mass of minority and tenured women faculty.

The story of one department, told to the committee graphically, reveals how an inhospitable climate can be manifested, and how administrative policy, possibly neutral in intent, can have a disproportionate negative effect on women faculty. There are a large number of men and women faculty departing from this department, but the number of women departing is disproportionate to their representation on the faculty. Over the last year, this unit has experienced a drastic loss of women from its faculty (5 resignations).

Two women interviewed from this department felt that under a new chair, the department was no longer a hospitable place for women. Both, upon receipt of competing offers, were not made counter offers by Yale. In one of these cases the woman had been promised promotion by the previous chair (in tandem with one of her male colleagues) and that promotion was denied by the new chair (while the male colleague was promoted). She later was promised a salary increase (again in tandem with a male colleague), but that was later denied (but awarded to the male colleague). The individual took her case to the office established to handle women's professional concerns, but felt that no effective effort was made to address the problem nor to encourage her to stay.

In this department women cite several instances where they see inequitable promotions, salary increases, and support services favoring men. Despite the fact that these concerns have been taken
to administrative officials responsible for overseeing inequitable treatment, no correction to these problems satisfactory to the women has occurred. An additional complaint was that the chair was particularly averse to part-time employment, which, under the previous chair, had been an accepted form of participation in the department.

i. Views of Students

Many students at Yale, white as well as minority, feel that their education is seriously compromised by the dearth of minority and women faculty. Their reasons fall into roughly three categories: lack of mentors, diversity of perspectives, and student recruitment.

Students express the need for mentors of their own race, ethnicity, and gender. In order to imagine themselves as the future academic professionals Yale hopes some will become, students feel they need to see models of their future selves behind the podium and in the lab. In our discussions, students expressed a particular need for professors of color and women outside the fields where they now tend to cluster, e.g., in Afro-American Studies for black faculty, in the humanities for women. Citing the lack of faculty of color in, say, biology or engineering, students noted an attrition in the enrollment of majors among minority students as contrasted to white students.

The need for mentors goes beyond the students' need for models: students also believe that some professors tend to encourage and (no doubt unconsciously) to give the most concrete
help to those who resemble, and will possibly replicate, themselves. Students feel they may be materially disadvantaged in their careers if there is no faculty member who can connect them to a professional network, when networks tend to be made up of like persons.

Students expressed concern that the few minority faculty available to advise them are so overburdened that such faculty become unable to meet the criteria for tenure. Students urged this committee to recommend, as does the Rodin Report, some form of compensation or release time for faculty especially burdened with minority advising.

Even stronger than their need for mentors, however, is the students' desire for exposure to perspectives not represented, or not sufficiently represented, among Yale's faculty. Although all recognize that there is no necessary correlation between ethnicity and field and although students understand that our charge is to attend to the hiring and retention of women and minority faculty in whatever field, common sense, in the students' view, suggests that minority faculty will bring new perspectives and even new fields to Yale. In one of our discussions, a philosophy major complained of the lack of instruction in Afro-centric philosophy as well as in other world philosophies and in feminist philosophy. Another student asked what Afro-centric philosophy might be, implying that he didn't think there could be such a thing. A third person described a conference on this very topic and pointed out that without black faculty, students are likely to be ignorant about an
important area of philosophical inquiry, and worse still, to remain ignorant that they are ignorant. There are no black philosophy faculty and no one teaching Afro-centric philosophy; the departure of two of the department's women faculty has meant the elimination of instruction in feminist philosophy.

While the issues of minority faculty hiring and of the teaching of non-western perspectives are of course not the same, again and again students emphasized their linkage. One student pointed out that without instruction in fields associated with non-white perspectives, Yale will continue to fail in its efforts to encourage minority students to pursue university careers. Students feel that Yale has been very unresponsive to their requests for instruction in emerging fields such as Latino culture.

Yale, students emphasized, is proud of the diversity of its student body, but acts with "hypocrisy" when it fails to seek the same mix among its faculty. Some minority students feel that Yale's reputation as "the most liberal" of the Ivy League schools, which motivated them to choose Yale, is no longer deserved. A student who has done minority recruiting for Yale admissions said she found it increasingly difficult to represent Yale as a hospitable school for prospective minority students to choose, especially when comparable schools are increasing the diversity of their faculties more rapidly than Yale. The presence of minority faculty sends a signal to minority students that they are really wanted; it also creates a community into which students can feel they will be welcomed. There was a consensus that, without more
minority faculty, Yale's ability to attract minority students is and will continue to be severely hampered.

Finally, in a statement that may summarize all of these concerns, one student reported that she had to work too hard to convince herself of her "right to belong here," at a school that seemed to her really to belong to privileged white men. Her education, she felt, had been harmed by her awareness that as a minority she was unusual, a token: that awareness made her feel self-conscious, unwilling to ask questions or to make herself stand out in any way. Both minority and white students, in sum, need to see that intellectual prowess is Asian, black, Hispanic, and female, and not just white and male. This, students believe, is not just the window-dressing of their education, but a tremendously important part of its content.

ii. Record of Promotions and Appointments

No area affects Yale's reputation among women and minorities more than its record for promotions and appointments. Yale's high standards for excellence imply that there will be terminations that cannot be avoided, but a number of highly visible recent decisions have given the University unfortunate notoriety.

Nationwide, among many black faculty and some black graduate students, Yale has a reputation as an inhospitable place that has no real commitment to finding or keeping strong black faculty. The source of this belief seems to be two widely discussed cases in which two Yale departments rejected prominent black scholars. The first case occurred ten years ago and involved a social science
department that rejected a proposed joint appointment with Afro-
American Studies of one of the four or five most distinguished
black social scientists in the nation. This individual held an
endowed chair at a very prestigious university and had made it
clear he was willing to come to Yale. The second case involved the
refusal to grant tenure to a black associate professor who was
widely regarded as an emerging force in Afro-American scholarship.
This individual has since been offered an endowed chair by nearly
evory other major university.

These examples represent only two cases, but their great
visibility and the notoriety they caused in the black academic
community have been very damaging to Yale's recruitment efforts.
Together they are a paradigm for the recruitment and retention
problems Yale inflicted upon itself during the 1980s. Even today,
when recruiting black senior professors or even prospective
graduate students to African and Afro-American Studies, one of
these cases is frequently mentioned by the candidate.

More recently, we have been informed of problems encountered
by women and minorities at each stage of the recruitment and
retention process. We provide a few illustrations.

1. Consideration during recruitment:

A very recent black graduate from MIT, with a Ph.D in
engineering, applied for a position in one of Yale's engineering
departments. He received no response. After a second application,
he finally received a short form letter indicating that no position
was available. The applicant may well have not been suitable for
this particular department, but the Committee notes that this unenthusiastic review of a potential minority faculty speaks poorly for Yale's recruitment policies. In a field with such small numbers of blacks this, now assistant professor's, experience with Yale is probably well known among his minority colleagues.

2. Upon consideration for promotion:

Last spring, two women were recommended for tenure by their departments only to be turned down by the senior appointments committee of the humanities division. The senior appointments committee's reevaluation of women scholars that departments identified as excellent qualified candidates suggests opposition to affirmative action goals at the top echelons of the university. The decisions sent a very negative message to junior faculty women and to women outside Yale.

In several recent cases, junior women (one of them a minority) have been turned down for tenure by their departments. Although the details differ, in each of these cases the decision was made without participation by individuals outside the department. The spirit, if not the letter, of the Tobin report, which aimed to ensure that decisions are not made by too small or too ingrown a group, was violated.

In the case of one junior woman whose appointment is a joint one, one department took a preliminary, negative vote on whether to undertake a joint review. In effect, the department made her tenure decision unilaterally. A minority woman in a humanities department has just been turned down for tenure. Although the
department made up a short list for the tenure job and had a lecture series, and although the woman was one of two finalists, at no point were opinions sought outside Yale. The decision was wholly internal to a department with only four tenured members.

A common problem described to us also arises when a department simply votes not to consider a faculty member for tenure. One of the oddities of university promotion procedures is that, while there are many checks and balances on a "yes" vote, there are none on a "no" vote. At other universities and some Yale departments, outside letters are sought on any candidate for tenure. Had that been done in various cases at Yale, it is possible that some outcomes might have been different.

A junior faculty member recently turned down for an extension of her Associate Professorship, questioned the qualification of some departments for evaluating the work of Women's Studies scholars. Where no senior faculty member has any knowledge of this field, problems arise in reviewing a candidate if no outside opinions are sought. This year alone marks the departure of eight junior women who are affiliated with Women's Studies. We understand others have been discouraged from affiliating themselves with Women's Studies, or from doing scholarship in this area. This sends a negative signal to many women faculty.

3. Upon receipt of a competing offer:

An untenured minority woman recently received an offer from another school. She had decided not even to inform her chair about the offer until she had accepted it, feeling that neither her chair
nor the head of her section had been supportive of her once her research turned toward gender bias issues. The woman ultimately did inform her chair, who expressed no interest in responding to it. She eventually turned the offer down and at that point, her chair began to offer rewards, in the form of a hastened schedule for promotion, which the faculty member declined. Although she was heartened by the chair's eventual response, it came much too late to ward off the faculty member's conviction that she was not wanted by her department.
VI. RECOMMENDATIONS*

The Committee found that although Yale has made some important advances, particularly in its increased recruitment of women faculty during the 1980s, the University continues to have too few minority and women faculty. This is true in absolute numbers as well as in comparison with other major universities.

The Committee found that the following problems tend to arise at various stages during the tenure of a woman or minority faculty member at Yale:

1. **Upon Initial Recruitment**: Insufficient attention is given to identifying minority and women candidates, or to meeting special concerns that women and minority professors might have.

2. **While Untenured**: Women and minority faculty tend to have fewer mentors and many perceive the academic climate at Yale as inhospitable and insufficiently diverse.

3. **Upon Consideration for Promotion**: Current University procedures do not adequately monitor departmental processes to eliminate any doubt that subtle race or gender biases will not adversely influence departmental decisions regarding promotions to tenure or to associate professor on term.
4. Upon Receipt of a Competing Offer: The Provost's office frequently responds too slowly (and indeed may not even be informed by the relevant department) when a minority or woman faculty member receives a competing offer from another school.

These problems can be addressed at either the Department level, the President/Provost level or both.

To address Problem #1, we propose the following:

1. RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE PRESIDENT AND PROVOST:

a. Increasing Diversity

(i) A number of schools (e.g., Wisconsin and Harvard) have recently tried to address the small numbers of minority faculty members by creating at one time a substantial number of incremental slots for faculty in teaching fields particularly attractive to minorities. We recommend the creation of new joint positions in fields of ethnic studies currently underrepresented in the curriculum, e.g. Asian-American and Latino/Latina Studies. Not only would such a strategy signal prospective faculty members and students that Yale is serious about solving its small numbers problems, it would also give them assurance that there will be the critical mass necessary to develop meaningful scholarly interchange and programs once they arrive at Yale.

(ii) For reasons similar to those cited in (i), we endorse the recommendation of the Crother's Committee that joint tenured positions in Women's Studies be created.

*we recognize that each and every proposal we recommend may not be capable of implementation in the precise way specified here. Nevertheless we believe that both the spirit and the key elements of these proposals can and should be adopted.
(iii) Whenever possible, "target of opportunity" procedures should be used for minority hires, as rapidity of action is often crucial in such cases.

b. Clarification of and Encouragement to Use Incremental Slots for Recruiting Minority Faculty:

(i) The University's policy to create incremental tenured positions for departments identifying qualified minority candidates but having no position vacant in the relevant candidate's field needs greater clarification.

It is particularly important that departments be fully apprised of what kinds of assurances they have that the granting of an incremental slot will not constitute a "hidden mortgage" on their future appointments.

(ii) We recommend that a formal statement on the policy of incremental positions be generated, describing the creation, award, and resource consequences of such an appointment.

(iii) It should be made explicit to departments and schools that having a position vacant in one field does not automatically preclude the addition of an incremental position if a qualified minority candidate is available in another field.

2. RESPONSIBILITIES OF SCHOOLS AND DEPARTMENTS:

a. Early Identification of Prospective Faculty Members

(i) Departments and schools should annually devote at least one meeting to an examination of their current progress and their plans for recruitment of minorities and women.

(ii) Departments and Schools should each appoint an ongoing Committee responsible for developing recruitment strategies and new methods of identifying talented women and minority graduate students and faculty members who might be potential candidates for faculty appointments at Yale.
(iii) At a minimum, each department should annually assemble lists of talented minority and women graduate students and faculty at other schools. These lists should be surveyed during any normal hiring procedure and they should be used as important aids to the committee referred to in (ii) above.

(iv) Department Chairs and Deans should submit, as an attachment to their annual report to the President on Department (School) activities, a report on their affirmative action activities during the year covered by the report and their plans for the following year.

b. Encouraging prospective to come to Yale:

(i) The Committee recommends that talented faculty candidates might be attracted to Yale, as Notre Dame has done, either by attractive use of post-doctoral fellowships, or by awards of assistant professorships with reduced teaching loads.

(ii) In conjunction with this, particularly promising candidates who have other commitments could be appointed and given immediate leaves of absence to complete research, as has been done at a number of other schools.

(iii) We take special cognizance of the fact that we have failed to recruit or retain a number of highly talented female and minority faculty members because of two-career family problems. We urge the Provost to instruct the departments that they should not exercise a presumption against considering the appointment of qualified spouses. The Provost's office should take an active role in providing resources and assistance in the relocation efforts of two career families so that appointments are not lost just because of problems associated with the relocation of a spouse.

To address Problem #2, we propose:

a. That all minority and female faculty on term appointments be regularly interviewed by their department's Committee (see 2a (ii)) with regard to their views of the hospitality of the university climate. This information should be included in the chair's annual report to the President on Affirmative Action activities.
b. Departments must rationalize and articulate in writing their procedures for review and promotion, so that junior faculty can know the stages and mechanisms that will pertain to them. As far as possible, and in a more informal way, chairs should also articulate standards for promotion.

To address Problem #3, we propose:

That the President's Committee to Monitor the Recruitment and Retention of Disabled, Minority, and Women Faculty be assigned an additional function: that of working with the University's Affirmative Action Office in its routine review of the procedures applied in all cases in which a department or school decides against promoting a minority or woman faculty member to tenure or to associate professor on term. Such review would be conducted in strictest confidence and would be limited to examining the departmental procedures applied in each case to confirm that they were applied in a regular and equitable manner according to University rules.

Committee reviews would be conducted as follows: Once an initial decision against promotion of a minority or woman faculty member is made, the Department Chair or School Dean would be obliged to notify the Provost in writing of that decision. That document would include a description of how the candidate had been found lacking by comparison to other faculty members recently promoted by the same department or school. The Provost would then forward the Department Chair's letter for review, along with copies of the candidate's promotion file, to the Chair of the President's Committee to Monitor the Recruitment and Retention of Disabled, Minority, and Women Faculty and the Director of the Affirmative Action Office.

Should the Committee Chair lodge no objection with the Provost within 30 days of the date the Department Chair's letter was received by the Provost, the Departmental decision would become final. But should the Committee Chair choose, he or she could notify the Provost within that time period, convene the Committee, conduct an inquiry into the procedural fairness of the departmental decision, and if necessary, recommend to the Provost that the departmental decision be reconsidered under better procedures. The candidate would have no right to communicate with the Committee while the inquiry was ongoing, but the Committee could, if it deemed appropriate, interview both the Department Chair and the candidate for such information as might be necessary to its inquiry. Except in extraordinary circumstances, the Committee would either send its recommendation to the Provost or conclude its inquiry without such recommendation within one month of the date that the Committee Chair informed the Provost of his or her intent to conduct a Committee inquiry.
To address Problem #4, we propose:

a. That the Provost recognize that in many cases the market for highly talented minority and women faculty members is in fact a submarket, and that a quick and substantial response early may fend off a competing offer to a highly recrutable professor.

b. That the Provost consider matching offers made to faculty members who are part of that select "submarket," even if it means jumping the faculty member beyond his or her immediate age cohort in the department or school.

c. That the Provost be notified as a matter of course of any competing offer made to a minority or woman faculty member.

d. That the Provost and Department Chair discuss in each case, as soon as possible after an offer is made orally or in writing, whether and in what manner to respond.

e. That the Provost consider alternative measures to meet the terms of the competing offer, including joint appointments, creation of new university programs, etc.

f. That the President participate, where appropriate, in these discussions to indicate the University's commitment to retaining outstanding minority and women faculty.
APPENDIX: Committee Activities and Sources of Evidence

The Committee met weekly throughout the 1990-91 school year. We interviewed Yale faculty, students, and administrators; individually telephoned or spoke to current and former faculty members; reviewed data on the numerical representation of minority and women faculty at Yale and elsewhere; and analyzed written reports from the Deans of professional schools and Department chairs on the status of affirmative action in their units.

Interviews

The Committee interviewed:

Charles H. Long, Deputy Provost
Frances A. Holloway, Director Affirmative Action Office, Yale University
Drew S. Days, Professor of Law*
Edmund W. Gordon, Professor of Psychology and African & Afro-American Studies*
Judith K. Rodin, Professor of Psychology*

Two groups of Yale College students, (2 meetings)

Numerous other faculty both currently and formerly at Yale were contacted by individual committee members.

Numerical Data

All the numerical data appearing in the Report were obtained from Yale's Office for Institutional Research or the Affirmative Action Office.

*Member of the Rodin Committee. Professor Gordon became Professor Emeritus after our interview with him.
Survey of Affirmative Action at Yale

At the Committee's request, in September, 1990, President Benno C. Schmidt, Jr. wrote to the Deans of all Yale Professional Schools and the chairs of all Departments requesting that each provide the committee with a written report on the status of recruitment and retention of minorities and women in their units. Each Dean and chair was asked to report on numerical representation of women and minorities, current recruitment and retention of minorities and women in their units, and plans for future activities.