

"Anonymous"

1983 Study of Affirmative Action at MIT

AC 232

BOX 19 FOLDER 14

NB

MIT is called

"Newton"
University

(Patricia Hyer
author)

SOURCE: Hyer, Patricia B. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR WOMEN: AN ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS AT DOCTORATE-GRANTING UNIVERSITIES AND AN ANALYSIS OF SUCCESSFUL APPROACHES (Ph.D. dissertation, Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, 1983). Will be available through University Microfilms.

Chapter VII

NEWTON UNIVERSITY

MIT

*Separate folder -
file with
Studies About
MIT*

INTRODUCTION

Similarities and contrasts with the previous two sites are evident in this third case study. The chapter overview describes the institutional setting and introduces the major themes in the case. As in the previous cases, a statistical assessment of progress for women faculty is provided, followed by a summary of factors identified by interviewees as influential in creating change for women.

The role and nature of institutional leadership, federal intervention, and interest group activity are described, along with structural and environmental influences on policy adoption and implementation. Finally, the specific strategies used to implement affirmative action at Newton University are delineated.

OVERVIEW

Background on Newton University

Newton University is one of the nation's premier private research universities. Just over half of its 9500 students are enrolled in graduate programs. The curriculum is heavily oriented toward science and technology: in 1981-82,

58% of the students were in engineering and another 23% were majoring in the sciences. The University's emphasis on excellence is reflected in the opening paragraph of their 1981 Affirmative Action Plan:

For more than a century, Newton University has been a focal point of excellence and progress in science and technology. It has been a place where people with exceptional talents and with rare gifts of intellect have gathered to work, to explore, to learn, and to teach. Through the accomplishments of its faculty, students, staff, and alumni, the University has made significant contributions to the advancement of knowledge and to the betterment of society. (p. 2)

Sponsored research, funded by the federal government and increasingly by industry, accounts for 60% of the University budget, on and off campus, and has a direct impact on nearly every aspect of life at the University. For instance, many faculty members see themselves as research "entrepreneurs" managing a small, medium, or even large-sized company within the context of the University. Management of large programs enhances the faculty member's autonomy and alters the balance of power between faculty members and administrators. Recent changes in direction of federal research priorities and changes in federal reimbursement patterns have had negative consequences for the institution, resulting in personnel cuts and the imposition of stronger fiscal controls.

Affirmative action for students and faculty at Newton University rests on the assumption that exceptional intellect is in short supply and that large segments of the population cannot be overlooked in the search for and development of scientific talent. Thus the moral commitment made to affirmative action principles was consistent with its educational mission.

Newton University has been coeducational for more than a century. Its first female graduate completed a degree in chemistry in 1873 and made extraordinary contributions in several fields during her career. Despite the stellar achievements of Newton's early women graduates, the University was often thought to be all-male. Indeed, for decades women were nearly invisible, dropping from 6% in 1895 to one or two percent of the student body between 1919 and 1960. One reason for the small number of women admitted was the maintenance of an annual admissions quota corresponding to the number of beds available to entering women in a nearby rooming house. Standards for admission were higher for women than men, and only those women living nearby or having male relatives at the institution seemed to know that women were even permitted to apply.

Events of the late 50s and the 1960s changed much of this. At that point, University officials were considering

two options: either to increase significantly the number of women students to improve their morale and retention rate, or to stop admitting women altogether. A wealthy female graduate from the class of 1904 was surprised to learn that the low numbers were more a reflection of available bedspace than female interest in the sciences. Her gift of a dormitory for women, announced in 1960, tipped the scales in favor of expanding the number of women and working to make the environment more conducive to female achievement. This is one of several instances where financial contributions from women have had a direct and positive impact on opportunities for other women to participate in the University.

The first section of the dormitory opened in 1963 and a second section opened several years later. Female enrollments increased along with bedspace. However, the greatest increase was to occur after 1971 when the institution finally began considering male and female applicants on an equal basis. In 1971-72, women comprised 10% of undergraduates and 8% of the graduate students. Vigorous recruiting efforts increased considerably the number and percentage of women students. In 1981-82, 21% of the undergraduates and 18% of the graduate students were women. The entering class in 1981 was 25% female. Although Newton has been at least nominally coeducational for most of its existence, this

recent increase in female enrollments has substantially transformed the student body.

Major Themes in the Case

A threat to withhold federal funds was the mobilizing force for development of the first "modern" affirmative action plan at Newton University. Given the University's dependence on federal funds, the national climate in the early 70s, and personal convictions, administrators made a decision to respond within the 30-day deadline. They produced an extensive document which included hiring goals for the multiplicity of departments and laboratories at the University. The commitment to affirmative action was sufficiently strong that additional government pressure was rarely needed to sustain implementation efforts.

In large part, Newton's committed leadership was responsible for implementation of the plan. The past President was very influential, but AA received strong support and additional leadership from the Chancellor, and several deans, department and laboratory heads. These senior officers were morally committed to AA and set clear expectations for progress. Staff roles were created to deal with AA concerns and strong support provided for their activities.

Women played a substantial role in increasing their own numbers and status by effectively articulating their concerns to male administrators and by supporting the entry and success of new women in the system. Leadership of a few outstanding senior women was crucial to the organizing effort and in lending credibility to women's demands. The "women's voice" at Newton has represented the interests and needs of women in all roles--as students, faculty, staff, administrators, researchers, and wives.

The nature and identity of this institution may have also favored affirmative action implementation. Rational decision making and systematic approaches to remediation may have met with greater acceptance due to the objective orientation of faculty and administrators. The University's reputation as a first-rate institution which seeks to "design the future" was a motivation to be as much a leader in affirmative action as in numerous other areas.

AA RESULTS: FACULTY COMPOSITION AT NEWTON UNIVERSITY

How much change has occurred for women faculty at Newton University? Newton considers its record in hiring and promoting women in nontraditional disciplines as 'one of the least bad' when compared to institutions of similar prestige and orientation. Given the historically low level of female

participation in the sciences and engineering, what does a relatively "good" record look like for one of these institutions?

Data on the representation of women on the faculty are presented in Tables 14 and 15. The aggregate change in the number and percentage of women in the three major faculty ranks during the decade is shown in Table 14. Table 15 is used to compare the 1980 proportion of women with the 1970 starting point for each school within the University.

There were only 17 women on the faculty in 1970, less than 2% of the total. By 1980, the number had grown to 85 and the percentage increased to 8.8%. The data in Table 15 suggest that the largest number of women are concentrated in the Humanities department, but in fact, more significant progress has been made in disciplines where the availability of women doctorates is very low. Engineering has retained the two women it had in 1970 and added 11 more. The Sciences report 15 additional women, including six in physics. Management went from zero to seven women. Five women had tenure in 1972 (Note 7); 42 women had tenure in Fall 1982 (Note 8). An internal analysis shows that faculty women and men have been, on the average, promoted in equal proportions.

TABLE 14

Number and Percent Women by Rank at Newton University for Selected Years

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>No.</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>No.</u>	
	<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Women(%)</u>	<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Women(%)</u>		<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Women(%)</u>	<u>Faculty</u>	<u>Women(%)</u>	
Full	458	4 (1%)	456	8 (2%)	no rank	521	11 (2%)	507	19 (4%)	
Associate	256	5 (2%)	239	6 (3%)	break-	220	30 (14%)	235	33 (14%)	
Assistant	233	8 (3%)	209	9 (4%)	down	185	32 (17%)	218	33 (15%)	
Total	947	17 (2%)	904	23 (3%)	946	45 (5%)	926	73 (8%)	960	85 (9%)

Source: Affirmative Action Plans for 1973, 1974, 1976, 1978, and 1981, Newton University

TABLE 15

Number and Percent Women on Faculty by School, Newton University
1970 and 1980

School	1970		1980	
	Total Faculty*	Number Women (%)	Total Faculty	Number Women (%)
Architecture, All depts.	54	4 (7%)	75	10 (13%)
Humanities & Social Sciences				
All departments	131	8 (6%)	182	41 (23%)
Economics	22	0 (0%)	29	2 (7%)
Humanities	61	3 (5%)	75	25 (33%)
Linguistics & Philos	14	2 (14%)	24	4 (17%)
Political Science	27	3 (11%)	27	5 (19%)
Psychology	7	0 (0%)	12	3 (25%)
Sci, Tech, & Society	-		14	2 (14%)
Business, All departments	63	0 (0%)	83	7 (8%)
Engineering				
All departments	370	2 (1%)	397	13 (3%)
Aero & Astro	51	1 (2%)	48	1 (2%)
Chemical	26	0 (0%)	27	0 (0%)
Civil	53	0 (0%)	49	2 (4%)
Electrical & Comp Sci	113	1 (1%)	108	5 (5%)
Mechanical	57	0 (0%)	64	2 (3%)
Matls Sci	32	0 (0%)	40	1 (3%)
Ocean	18	0 (0%)	26	1 (4%)
Nuclear	20	0 (0%)	27	1 (4%)
Sciences, All departments				
All departments	294	3 (1%)	306	18 (6%)
Biology	34	1 (3%)	40	4 (10%)
Chemistry	36	0 (0%)	32	1 (3%)
Earth Science	22	0 (0%)	27	0 (0%)
Math	57	0 (0%)	66	5 (8%)
Meteorology	12	0 (0%)	17	0 (0%)
Nutrition & Food Sci	32	1 (3%)	31	2 (6%)
Physics	101	1 (1%)	93	6 (6%)

*Numbers include the ranks of Asst., Assoc., and Full professor.

Source: Annual printouts, Equal Opportunity Office, Newton University

Despite this picture of considerable progress, serious concern remains over the grooming of women graduate students for future faculty positions. Some departments at Newton have made a practice of hiring their own graduates, especially in those fields where it is the clear innovator. According to some interviewees, equity will only be achieved when Newton begins hiring its own bright female graduates as often as it hires its male graduates:

I guess that would be a great relief on my part to see that we were appointing our own female graduate students into faculty positions. It has just happened so seldom. I would feel just so relieved if I saw that pattern emerging. There are some, and I don't want to say that it has never happened, but it just is not a normal occurrence as it is with men.

FACTORS CITED

Eighteen faculty and administrators were interviewed during the week-long visit to Newton University in Fall 1982. Titles and affiliations of those people interviewed are listed in Table 16.

As in the previous two cases, the consistency of responses was striking. Two major factors were repeatedly identified by interviewees; a variety of other factors were mentioned as playing supporting roles.

Seventeen of the eighteen interviewees cited directly the commitment and leadership of top administrators as a

TABLE 16

Title and Affiliation of Newton University Interviewees

University Administrators

Executive Assistant to the
President
Special Assistant to the
President
Vice President of Administration
and Equal Opportunity Officer
Assistant Equal Opportunity
Officer
Director of Personnel
Director, Academic and Staff
Records (former Assistant
Equal Opportunity Officer)
Manager, Personnel Services
Associate Director, Financial
Aid

Alumnae Affairs

Class President, 1974
President, Alumnae Association

Faculty

Assistant Professor, Writing Program
Full Professor, School of Management
Associate Professor, Humanities
Assistant Professor, Nuclear
Engineering
Professor, Aerospace Engineering
Professor and Director, Center
for Materials Science

School and Department Administration

Head, Physics
Dean, School of Humanities &
Social Sciences

crucial factor in achieving what success the University has had in hiring and promoting women faculty. The past and current Presidents were most frequently identified. The staff hired to deal with AA concerns was viewed as evidence of this leadership commitment. One of these staff members was described as especially effective in improving conditions for women over the last decade.

Fourteen interviewees cited the role of women themselves in creating positive change at the institution. This factor has many facets, including the effectiveness and cohesiveness of women's groups, the exceptional competence and leadership of a few senior women, and the support women provided to other women.

The objective orientation of the University and its reputation as one of the "world's best" facilitated AA implementation according to four interviewees. Good faith efforts on the part of many on campus were cited by four people--a handful of deans, department and laboratory heads were especially important. Federal government leverage was cited by three. The dramatic increase in the number of women students had a positive effect according to three people. Particular strategies used to implement AA (e.g., applying equal standards to men and women, taking an "across-the-board" approach to AA, involving the Presidents'

wives, fostering mentor relationships, and using "visiting committees") were cited by one person each.

The major factors and their most important dimensions are listed in Table 17.

SOURCE AND NATURE OF INSTITUTIONAL LEADERSHIP FOR AA

Strong leadership was a vital part of Newton's affirmative action implementation efforts. Two administrators were identified by many interviewees as especially influential: the past President, Harold Cohen and the past-Chancellor and current President, Tom Carrington. The past Provost was also cited as playing an effective role in AA implementation. This team was in place throughout most of the 1970s.

One (factor) is very strong leadership from the top, from the President ... Certainly with Cohen and Carrington, it became a very conscious direction. So there was just a very clear commitment from the President that these were important issues. Without that, you would get almost nowhere.

Those two guys (Cohen and Carrington) certainly had commitment. I think that colored the attitudes of this place ... AA was practiced. They made it attractive. They gave inducements to departments to hire women, where good women candidates could be found.

I think the single most important factor that affected Newton was presidential support. You can't do anything in the world at a university unless the president of a university really will take the initiative. And its president and provost. It's got to be the support of the top administration especially in the early stages. I think that's the single most important thing.

TABLE 17

Factors Cited by Newton University Interviewees

- I. Leadership and commitment from top administrators
 - A. Leaders were personally committed, powerful, and competent.
 - B. Staff positions were created to deal with AA concerns.
 - C. Centralized management structure facilitated implementation.

- II. Influence of campus women
 - A. Leadership of a few senior women was crucial.
 - B. Women (in many roles on campus) worked well together.
 - C. Women have effectively presented their concerns to administrators.
 - D. Women have helped other women, e.g. assisted entry and socialization of new women faculty, pushed for equal access admissions and equal treatment for women students, recruited new female colleagues, and raised funds for more women to participate at the University.
 - E. High quality of women faculty and students facilitated acceptance.

- III. Nature of the Institution
 - A. Institution sees itself as leader with worldwide reputation -- it sets high standards for those goals it chooses to accomplish and does not want to risk being known as a place that discriminates.
 - B. Predominance of scientific and technical disciplines affects their approach to decision making; objective orientation is highly valued.

- IV. Good faith efforts on the part of many at the institution facilitated implementation.

- V. Increase in number and high quality of female students gave visibility and legitimacy to women's issues.

- VI. Federal government leverage provided the impetus to develop an AA program.

These administrators were referred to in a collective sense as "a group of powerful senior white males" who, along with a very few department heads and faculty members, were the "trendsetters, movers, and shakers" at Newton. They "made it very clear that they intended to make a difference and to set the example for the Colleges."

The power held by these leaders emanated from their reputations as scholars and scientists as well as the formal authority vested in their positions:

I have some other ideas about why things have worked here. One of them depends heavily on the top ... Those guys (the past and current Presidents, and past and current Provosts) are, their personal stature in this community is hard to calibrate to any other university... These guys are very tough, very able, very courageous, and no one at Newton can patronize them ... The leadership of people like them, where they choose to exercise it in this arena, is really extraordinary.

Leadership for affirmative action was exercised in several ways: effective substructures were created to deal with AA issues; a centralized management structure facilitated monitoring and implementation; and AA goals were given visibility and priority.

The last of these strategies is a familiar one. Frequent public statements about the importance of diversity and institutional commitments to AA, along with assessments of their progress and problems, were used to give visibility to AA efforts.

The creation of staff positions to deal with affirmative action issues has been vitally important to Newton's progress. Two Special Assistants to the President, one white female and one minority male, were appointed to handle grievances and to facilitate the integration of women and minorities at every level of the University. Additional staff members handle compliance, record-keeping, and monitoring aspects of the Plan. These roles and the effectiveness of the individuals within them reflect the commitment of top administrators to AA implementation:

Probably number one on your list should be the appointment of a presidential assistant for women's issues ... That was a sign. When I talked about presidential leadership, I mean they staffed up to be aware of and to deal with these concerns. Another sign, I think, of presidential leadership is the fact that the Equal Opportunity Officer for Newton is a senior officer. It is not a function that is shifted off to Personnel, or some area of the University that faculty regard as more peripheral. It's kept close in to the senior officers.

Newton's centralized management structure was also thought to facilitate implementation. A set of 22 senior operating managers (Vice Presidents, Deans, President, Provost and Associate Provosts, Library Director, and Chairman of the Faculty) meet weekly to discuss major policy issues, budgeting levels and priorities, significant organizational changes, and major appointments. The regularity of their meetings and the nature of their positions meant that AA

issues could be discussed promptly and decisions disseminated in the same manner as other major issues. The Council was a forum for arriving at a consensus on AA policy and direction.

The highly centralized management structure of Newton was conducive to it. That makes it very easy to get decisions brought (up for discussion) and quickly resolved. If a serious problem arises, it is known very quickly. When we decided that we really better think about the commitment and get moving on it, it was very easy to mobilize resources.

The Council has had a specific responsibility in monitoring all faculty and staff appointments. Recommendations for faculty appointments are brought to the Council along with a description of special recruiting efforts to locate qualified women and blacks. Their approval must be gained before an offer can be extended.

While these formal mechanisms were essential aspects of Newton's implementation efforts, the personal behavior and values of University leaders were equally visible and underscored the seriousness of their intent. The past and current Presidents were described as not tolerating sexist and/or malicious behavior and they have each appointed very able, feminist, senior women managers, who in turn play an important role. In addition, the wives of the past and current President actively participate in the women's activities on campus. Their views and efforts in support of

women's advancement have both direct and indirect positive effects on women at the University.

Thus, in this third case, leadership of top administrators once again plays a crucial role. At Newton, this leadership was provided by the President and a cadre of committed officers of the University. They developed effective formal and informal mechanisms to support AA implementation and lent their personal credibility to the issue.

NATURE AND EXTENT OF FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT

Government intervention has had positive and negative effects at Newton. Revised Order 4 and a threatening letter jolted administrators into action in 1971, but more recent interventions have been counterproductive according to interviewees who had contact with federal investigators.

The development of the first plan was a memorable sequence of events for those who were involved:

I have to tell you that the first affirmative action ... plan that Newton put together, was put together in 29 days in 1971 or 1972, under the gun that millions of dollars in federal support were going to be cut off if we didn't.

We received a letter that said we had the rest of the month to show cause why we shouldn't have a plan (with) goals and timetables. I recall working 27 or 29 days just flat out, nothing else. And we came out with 82 plans for the whole place--82 departmental plans. Don't even ask how. (At the end of the month), Carrington, Rice, and I took a cab--to the Federal Building with huge books. But they didn't seem to care; they had a

lot of paper. Lo and behold, about one month later we were told it was a model plan and they wanted to show it to others. We did it the Newton way.

While HEW was the "2 by 4" that brought affirmative action issues to the top of the administrative agenda, further intervention appears to have had little positive effect on the implementation process. Administrators were highly critical of federal investigators, especially those from the Office of Federal Contract Compliance in the Department of Labor, whose understanding of higher education was judged minimal at best. Although the continued federal requirement of affirmative action was viewed as essential, the reality of federal enforcement practices left much to be desired:

We had pretty good relationships with HEW when they became part of Department of Education. For a while they had responsibility for us. Then we switched to the Department of Labor about four years ago I guess. And since then the reviews have been really cursory reviews. Most of the people there have been dealing with private industry and they really didn't know much about universities and still do not actually. We really don't expect, and haven't been receiving for the last 3 or 4 years, any great assistance, or any real close scrutiny. That's one of the problems of all of our agencies now, that they are not really staffed or equipped to do it and where they are staffed they are not very good at all and that's putting it mildly.

It is helpful for them not coming in. When they come in and do a review now, it is detrimental to the effort. You are afraid to let them out in the departments to talk to somebody because they give people ammunition to say, "Why are we doing this?"

Newton has not had any formal complaints of sex discrimination affirmed by federal agencies or the courts. Complaints have generally been resolved through the University's formal or informal grievance procedures.

In this case, federal intervention had a positive effect on the decision to adopt comply with the federal mandate. It was the catalyst which brought affirmative action to the attention of administrators. Further direct intervention has been all but unnecessary to sustain the implementation process once administrative commitment was assured.

NATURE AND EXTENT OF COALITION GROUP ACTIVITY ON BEHALF OF WOMEN FACULTY

Both male and female interviewees at Newton cited the important role women played in improving their own status. The handful of women faculty on campus during the 60s and early 70s were an extraordinary group with visibility and influence far beyond their tiny numbers. Just how did women work to create change within the system? This section provides a brief look at the history of women's organizing efforts, then describes those aspects of feminist activism that interviewees felt had enhanced their success.

Early Organizing Efforts

The formation of the Women's Forum is a well-documented event. Two female faculty members organized a study/discussion group for the independent activity period in January 1972. Their idea was to focus on problems of women students. Notices of the planned activity were posted around campus, but the word "students" was inadvertently omitted. The response at the first and subsequent sessions was overwhelming. Meetings were attended by women students, secretaries, technicians, faculty, researchers, and a few wives of students and faculty who wanted to talk about what it meant to be a woman at male-dominated Newton University.

The group met throughout January and into the spring term to consider a wide range of issues relating to the lives of women at Newton. A position paper was eventually hammered out with recommendations for the administration.

We were really dealing with a situation we perceived as rather serious and which the University itself perceived as rather serious. I don't think the University really knew how to respond in an administrative way to the concerns of women ... I think they were more than willing to have a group of people give some thought to this and the fact that would could get a large and diverse group of women to agree on something--you are talking about all the way from secretaries to faculty to students, you're talking about an extremely broad constituency. They had very little else in common, except that they happened to be women. I think as a result of getting that agreement from that community, this proposal became legitimized in that sense. It wasn't just a random proposal. It had legitimacy in the sense that it had been a

compromise proposal with women who had a variety of relationships to the University.

The proposal called for the appointment of two women. One was to be a high-level administrator whose responsibilities would be primarily but not exclusively women's affairs. The second woman was to be an assistant to the President and Chancellor "whose primary responsibility will be to act as an advocate for women with respect to employment practices and personnel matters." Two appointments were made: Jane Jacobs as Dean of Students in 1972 and Ann Jamison as Special Assistant to the President for Women and Work in 1973.

The Women's Forum has continued as an effective women's organization, but numerous other groups have been formed to represent women in a variety of roles. Twenty or more campus women's groups are currently represented on an advisory board which meets monthly with Dr. Jamison. She has been especially helpful in maintaining links between these groups and helping them define and work on common issues.

Sources of Power and Legitimacy

A handful of senior women were widely regarded by interviewees as deserving much of the credit for advancing women's issues on campus. Faculty women hired during the 70s were joining a small but exceptional group of women already on campus.

We did have the advantage of starting from somewhere. We did have in the sciences, some very good women, who were in a position to provide a degree of leadership, continuity, and professional standards, things that matter ... It really did matter that there were people around already who were well-established.

In addition to the role these women played within specific organizations, they influenced events and policies of importance to women faculty and students through their involvement on special and regular committees. They pushed for change on behalf of women in multiple forums and action followed them to some degree.

These women had the clout and autonomy shared by senior male faculty who had succeeded in the highly competitive environment at Newton.

With this background (as faculty entrepreneurs) we can go to the administration and say X, Y, & Z, and if we have a good case we expect them to listen to us and make the changes. Whether we are men or women, all of us are operating ... "big bucks", that is professors are managing large programs ... we had a totally different level of autonomy from ... professors (at other universities) and it creates quite a different relation with the administration. So now what does this have to do with the women's issue? When the women faculty here decided they wanted to do something, we put our act together, we documented what we wanted and why, we presented it and we always got it. And there's not much of a hassle. As a matter of fact, I am always amazed because we get more than I ever expect that we will. In every case where we have asked for something, we've not got less, we've got more than I thought we could, or even should get.

Women's demands were considered more legitimate by some because they represented the views of a wide variety of constituencies:

To the extent that we have achieved sort of a success at Newton with respect to women's issues, it is because we have never allowed splinter groups to develop. We have always tried to define what we were doing in such a way that it included everybody. So that when the Board of Trustees, or the President, or anybody is looking for the women's views, or the voice of women, or who speaks for women students, we have to make sure that our views are broad enough, that everybody feels included ...

Power and legitimacy for coalition groups working on behalf of women were enhanced by the status and competence of the leaders, the broad representation of women included in their deliberations, and their effective presentation of concerns.

Feminist Philanthropy

Women students and faculty at Newton have directly benefitted from feminist philanthropy--large sums of money given to the University for the explicit purpose of bringing more women to campus. The gift of a women's dormitory in the early 60s was the beginning of a substantial increase in the female student body. An endowed chair funded in the mid-60s to bring in a female faculty member at the senior level also had a substantial impact. The endowment was used

for several years to bring in established women scientists and to have them interact with women students and male faculty. In the late 60s, the chair was given permanently to a female engineer whose subsequent leadership in the women's community has been invaluable. During the 1970s, funds were solicited for a second chair to honor Newton's first female graduate. Once funded, the position stood vacant for three years while administrators searched for a qualified woman. Members of the faculty women's group, alumnae, and staff were eventually responsible for locating and attracting a computer specialist who begins in 1983. These positions are especially important because they bring women in at the tenured professor rank and provide funds for their salaries. Although dollars from the general fund used for women's advancement far exceed the total from these special gifts, they have made a symbolic as well as practical contribution to improving the status of women at Newton.

Creating a Supportive Environment

The faculty women's organization has also played a role in socializing junior faculty and supporting its members. Senior women continually share information about how Newton works, what the expectations are for achieving tenure, and how women can realistically evaluate and improve their own

chances. On the other side, the women's faculty group has worked with top administrators to develop a university-wide, but individually-tailored mentoring program for junior faculty.

Women at Newton have benefitted from their own efforts to identify problems and create positive change. Their effectiveness was enhanced by the leadership of several highly-regarded senior women, an approach which incorporated the concerns of a broad female constituency, and a responsive administration. Their personal and financial contributions have resulted in greater numbers of women students and faculty and an environment more conducive to women's growth and achievement.

INFLUENCES FROM INSTITUTIONAL CLIMATE, STRUCTURE, OR ENVIRONMENT

Institutional Identity

Two aspects of the University culture appear to have facilitated affirmative action implementation. The first is the University's reputation as a first rate institution and leader in "designing the future." Being "one of the best" necessarily means setting and achieving exceptionally high standards in those areas the University chooses to pursue. This has helped create high expectations for affirmative action performance as well as other areas. While interview-

ees were proud of the success they have had in hiring women faculty, they are disappointed that results fall short of expectations. One administrator suggested that they were not going to win any "Nobels" in affirmative action, but that level of achievement should be their goal.

In addition, the University did not want to be known as a place which discriminates against women and minorities, a reputation which would jeopardize their self- and public image.

Interest in being top-notch. They really have a vision of it being an excellent institution. That's very important for them ... It is quite clear to be top-notch you have to be impeccable--not open to suits. So I think one of the main reasons is, from the point of view of Newton's self-interest, you can't afford to discriminate against women....This was particularly incumbent on them because of Newton's reputation and stereotype of being a nonfemale place.

The objective orientation of the institution may have facilitated AA implementation as well. One manifestation of their orientation was the willingness to treat affirmative action as a problem with a solution. The engineering mentality, claimed one interviewee, meant AA was approached like any other problem by "putting a stick against the dam," "adding a brick," or tinkering with the mechanism until it did what it was supposed to do. Others suggested frequent and radical changes in scientific disciplines made them more open to change of another sort and that experimentation was considered a viable management approach:

It could be part of the make-up of this place with engineers and scientists traditionally who are less interested in sitting around and talking about a lot of things. Given a direction, they'll say "Well it's an experiment, let's try to implement it." We got very little faculty resistance for many of the things we're doing ... Generally it was very easy to mobilize.

In addition, an objective, data-driven mindset helped some women achieve acceptance at Newton because the quality of their work could not be denied.

Another thing that matters a lot here is the objective orientation of the place. It is very hard to overlook a woman who is a first-class bridge builder or theoretician, because the criteria for rating her are objective in science and engineering.

Other Factors

Newton's response to the increasing size and obvious quality of its female student body was much like the responses of Denby College and CKSU. Increased visibility of women students lent credibility to women's issues in general on the campus and served as a supportive rationale for hiring more women faculty.

While leadership was crucial, progress was also dependent on the good faith efforts of those on campus who served on search committees and who worked to make change happen in their own departments.

I think it also ... requires a community ... that on the whole accepts these ideas and subscribes to the values. And I think it is only fair to say

that Newton would not have made the progress it has made in the past decade if there were not a readiness to accept the philosophies and ideas, the liberal ideas behind affirmative action/equal access for education. Nothing would have happened here, even the top could not have brought that off without a kind of general awareness of the rightness of these policies.

SPECIFIC STRATEGIES TO IMPLEMENT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AT
NEWTON UNIVERSITY

The Affirmative Action Structure

A Vice President is the designated Affirmative Action Officer. An Assistant Equal Opportunity Officer works full-time on preparing, auditing and monitoring the Plan; providing resources and assistance for equal opportunity efforts around campus; listening to grievances; monitoring the search process for faculty and administrative appointments; and building networks. Incumbents have had responsibility for compliance aspects of the AA program but have shaped the job in accordance with their own interests and skills.

Two Special Assistants to the President have played an important role in affirmative action as internal ombudsmen for the University. They are a commonly used informal channel, and a possible last step in the formal grievance procedure. They handle a wide range of complaints and problems from staff, students, faculty, and others, whether the com-

plainant is minority or majority, male or female. The grievance procedure itself is designed to allow a choice of listener and flexibility in tailoring an appropriate solution. Potential barriers to communication between people of different races or gender are recognized and dealt with by providing multiple resource persons to handle problems:

People with concerns have, by design, many different places to go. A black and/or a female person with any kind of concern here could go to (the Asst. Equal Opportunity Officer), could go to (one of the Special Assistants), or could go up the line structure attached to his or her employment, or could go to Personnel, or in the case of a student, could go through the Dean of Student Affairs or through the academic department... There really are a lot of places to find someone who looks like you. And we encourage people to go to more than one.

In addition to hearing grievances and fielding inquiries of women (and men), Ann Jamison uses this information to improve the collective treatment of women, minorities, and men. For instance, a long-term concern has been developing functional mentoring relationships between senior and junior faculty. She has spent considerable time working with and persuading department heads about the importance of mentoring by senior faculty. She coaches junior faculty on how to seek out mentors for themselves and how to be mentors for others. She has also tracked promotion and tenure processes for junior faculty, worked with individuals to find grants or locate helpful colleagues, and to develop an effective

tenure dossier. As already noted, she meets with the women's advisory board and keeps the President informed of critical issues. Her published articles on these and similar topics have given national visibility to the problems of subtle discrimination and the ways in which institutions can deal effectively with them.

Several managers in Personnel provide some support for AA through data management, training programs, and supervision of personnel services. All of the individuals above meet regularly with the Vice President/AA Officer (this is called the Equal Opportunity Staff Group) to coordinate efforts and direction.

These individual administrative roles are supported by two several major councils and committees. The Academic Council, a policy making body composed of the senior administrators, considers alterations in AA policy and has a specific responsibility in approving appointments. The Equal Opportunity Committee is headed by a faculty member appointed by the President; it has chiefly worked on faculty issues in recent years. Their function, however, is to review, evaluate, and advise on the implementation of affirmative action.

Faculty Recruitment

Two issues are addressed in this section--the "serious search policy" and the long-term approach to faculty recruitment.

Exhibit 8 contains the text of Newton University's serious search policy.

There are several critical elements in the policy. The first is a two-stage review of search committee efforts. The search plan and final candidate selection must each be approved before the position can be offered. Currently, the Assistant Equal Opportunity Officer in the School and/or the University reviews these plans in detail raising questions and making suggestions as needed. The School Councils and the Academic Council review the material along with the EO Officers' recommendations at their weekly meetings. A second element of the policy is the insistence that an effective search requires more than open advertising; personal contacts must be made. Third, one member of every search committee is designated Equal Opportunity Representative with responsibility for ensuring that an active search for women and minorities is carried out.

The serious search policy, with review of decisions by School and Academic Councils, has been in effect for a number of years. Questions have been raised by new members on

The following are statements of policies bearing on affirmative action which are included in **Policies and Procedures: A Guide for Faculty and Staff Members.**

D-1. Affirmative Action Serious Search Policy

In furtherance of commitment to affirmative action in the employment of women and members of minority groups, Institute policy requires a thorough search of the relevant employment market for qualified candidates, including women and minority candidates, whenever underrepresentation is found to exist. For particular groups or positions, outlined below, approval of the Academic Council must be obtained prior to making an offer of appointment. These positions include (1) salaried appointments for an academic year or longer to the three faculty ranks (including visiting faculty) and instructors, and (2) salaried full-time sponsored research staff,¹⁷ administrative and academic administrative staff, library staff, or medical staff appointments with a term of one year or more.

At the time a search is begun for a person to fill one of the above positions, the department head or laboratory director will forward to the appropriate Academic Council member a statement of the qualifications being sought and the plan for the search. Search plans must indicate the specific means by which active efforts will be made to positively identify minority and women candidates. Such means are expected to go beyond posting and advertising the availability of positions and may include, but not be limited to, such active efforts as (1) personal telephone and/or written contacts with colleagues or other individuals or groups who can assist in locating candidates; (2) visits by members of search committees to locations where minority and/or women candidates may be contacted; or (3) personal contact with minority and female colleagues at

professional gatherings. In cases involving a search committee, and especially for faculty appointments, the head of the department should ensure that at least one member of the committee is assigned the specific responsibility to see that an active search is carried out. This responsibility as Equal Opportunity Representative may be assigned to the chair of the committee, to a committee member other than the chair, or to someone outside the committee who will serve ex-officio as a member of each search committee that is formed. In cases where a search committee is not formed, the person having major responsibility for candidate evaluation will also serve as the Equal Opportunity Representative for that search. The head of the department will advise the Equal Opportunity Representative and encourage exploration of ways to strengthen the search process. Search plans forwarded to the Academic Council should include the name of the Equal Opportunity Representative. The Assistant Equal Opportunity Officer will review search plans and, where appropriate, suggest ways in which the search might be improved. If satisfied that the qualifications are not unnecessarily restrictive and that the search plan is appropriate to the position and the relevant employment market, the Council member will review the proposal with the Council. The search need not await Academic Council approval to begin, but may be modified following the Council review.

When the search is completed and the best qualified candidate is determined, after full consideration of the various candidates' potential for growth and development (Affirmative Action Policy, Section II, Item 6), the Academic Council member should bring to the Council a recommendation for an offer of appointment, reporting that the approved search plan was followed with detail as to the candidates generated and considered, method of evaluation, reasons for the preferred choice and resumes of minority and women candidates who received serious consideration. This procedure should be followed regardless of the race or sex of the proposed candidate.

the Council as to whether there might not be a more effective way to accomplish their aims. The paperwork is burdensome and the results too few. A new proposal for reviewing appointments at the school-level rather than university-level is now under consideration. The proposal has received support from the Equal Opportunity Staff Group who see the deans, if committed to progress, as better able to manipulate rewards and disincentives which may have a beneficial effect on hiring outcomes. Accountability remains a concern and a number of checks have been created, including a centrally-reviewed log of personnel decisions.

The serious search policy has codified Newton's accumulated experience in trying to attract women and/or minority candidates in nontraditional fields. Personal contacts are essential and the investment is expected to pay off only in the long term:

I think the goals are fairly meaningless. What's more important is all the activities, all the real activity that surrounds the hunt for a faculty member or for a staff member. That has nothing to do with goal setting. It is making contacts in the right places, cultivating those contacts, identifying people who are potential faculty members early in their careers, keeping in touch with them, cultivating an interest in Newton, following through on the students who are here to encourage them to continue their education at the graduate level, and indeed making sure that they are ... that the best ones stay here and beyond that, trying to interest them in staying here in faculty and research positions, becoming involved in the various organizations of minority and female professionals ... and I mean involved in a meaningful

way so that recommendations flow out of that, out of the contacts. Those are the things that really make a difference in the hiring process. Not setting down on paper some numbers that may or may not mean anything...get four black faculty members in the next two years ... that doesn't say anything about the efforts that have gone on in locating and cultivating those people and making sure that they choose Newton from a variety of places that may want them.

Incentives and Special Programs

Many of Newton's special efforts provide financial support for their long-term recruitment approach. Visiting faculty, lecture series, and other temporary appointments are used to bring minority and female scholars to campus for short periods. The University funded five post-doctoral positions for minorities and provided seed money for a very successful black administrators conference. The target-of-opportunity program was set up to assure departments which identified an outstanding woman and/or minority that a slot and/or additional money would be allocated to bring that person in. The existence of these incentives symbolizes the administration's willingness to provide risk capital:

When it comes to this whole affair of affirmative action for women and blacks ..., the thing that counts is not some written-up plan. You need to have some administrative support and that's been very important to us ... You cannot manage any of this without having that support. It's just not possible. The reason for it is, you have a very small pool and you therefore must gamble. People will not gamble if they don't have money; gambling costs. In part, that's been one of the things the administration has been willing to do.

The amount of general funds used to support affirmative action activities of all kinds has been substantial. In addition, the past and current President were responsible for raising large sums of money to support AA-related programs. Special recruitment efforts for women and minority students, extensive changes in athletic and medical facilities and programs, the Special Assistant positions, day care programs, women's studies, and the "carrot" funds are examples of major on-going obligations. Special projects have also been funded, including post-docs, purchase of unpublished feminist documents for the library, and seed money for conferences and a feminist newspaper. The Women's Forum gets a small allotment to fund its programs. At least one large grant was received (by Ann Jamison) from the Carnegie Foundation for the creation and support of activities for women students and faculty.

Progress made by particular departments is publicly acknowledged and a prestigious University service award was given to the faculty chair of the EO Committee for his outstanding work on behalf of affirmative action.

Other Policies

Unpaid parental leave is available to regular full- and part-time personnel (men and women) for up to eight weeks at the time of the birth or adoption of each child. Four child care programs are available on campus for children of varying ages. Child-care coordinators handle referrals for home-based care and babysitting. Flexible working hours and unpaid leaves for educational reasons are possible depending on specific job constraints. At least one female faculty member presently has a part-time tenure track position which allows her to spend more time with her young family, and others have used the part-time option in the past. A sexual harassment policy is in force and complaints are handled by the Special Assistants.

CURRENT ISSUES RELATED TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IMPLEMENTATION

Newton administrators view their current stage of implementation as one of institutionalizing commitment and procedures throughout the system in a very difficult decade. For example, several appointments in Personnel have helped ensure inclusion of AA concerns in the daily operations of their respective areas.

The eighties pose a serious challenge for affirmative action however. Cutbacks and changes in funding patterns

for federal research have meant the loss of positions and a real loss of flexibility and opportunity. Further progress will be far more difficult to achieve given a higher retirement age for faculty. Interviewees had varying opinions about the likely impact of these conditions on opportunities for women. While no one felt the financial picture would facilitate future efforts, some were more confident than others that the momentum could be sustained.

In summary, there are several key factors which account for Newton's success in hiring and promoting women faculty. Leadership provided by the President and a cadre of top administrators was and is crucial to AA implementation efforts. Federal intervention helped secure their commitment in the early stages of adoption of the mandate. Women worked to effect change through participation in women's organizations, networks, and other forums, as well as on their jobs. Policy and program changes resulted from their individual and collective efforts. A competent affirmative action staff monitored progress and resolved implementation difficulties. Other factors, such as the increase in women students, aspects of the institutional culture, and good faith efforts by many on campus, played a supporting role.