Establishing Effective Mentoring Relationships for Faculty,Especially Across Gender and Ethnicity

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Importance of Mentoring

Few things are more essential to the success of an academic institution than vital faculty members. Vital faculty members are passionately involved in and committed to their work, committed to the goals of the institution, continually developing their teaching and research abilities, and consistently growing in and contributing to their discipline. These characteristics, while highly desirable, cannot be assumed; they must be nurtured over the career continuum. Effective mentoring is a powerful strategy for facilitating faculty vitality. Mentoring can have a positive effect on research productivity, teaching effectiveness, satisfaction and intention to stay, socialization to a profession, promotion and tenure, and salary satisfaction.[1] On the whole, mentoring can be applied to foster a faculty member's success and retention in academe.

Mentoring is particularly important for women and minority faculty, as these faculty continue to be underrepresented throughout the ranks. Although there has been progress, in most instances it has been slight and slow (Tables 1 and 2). Increased representation is more than a matter of time. For example, "although ample numbers of women have entered academic medicine for at least the past 2 decades, the representation of women among full professors was only slightly

higher in 1998 than in 1978."[2] Indeed, accounting for independent predictors of advancement, a national study of cohorts of academic medicine faculty confirmed "substantial deficits in academic rank for women."[3] This phenomenon is not limited to academic medicine. There has been a striking lack of progress for women and minority faculty in U. S. doctoral institutions in the past decade. From 1993 to 2004, the percentage of women at the rank of assistant professor increased by only 4 percent (from 37 percent to 41 percent), and the percentage of minorities increased by only 1 percent (from 9 percent to 10 percent). This occurred despite the fact that, in 2004, 45 percent of the doctoral degrees awarded were earned by women and 12 percent were earned by underrepresented minorities.[4] A similar lack of substantial progress can be seen in the ranks of associate and full professor.

Numerous studies show that women and minority faculty are less likely to be satisfied and successful in academe, and more likely to leave.[5] A study at one large research university found that women faculty were more than twice as likely than men to leave the institution voluntarily prior to a tenure decision.[6] Indeed, "at every juncture, women and minorities are more likely than white males to leave the path leading to a senior academic position."[7] Contributing to this "leaking pipeline" phenomenon is a host of challenges that women and minority faculty might encounter during their careers. These challenges can include unintended bias, the stress of biculturalism, work-family balance, cultural and social norms about acceptable behavior, and feelings of isolation.

As faculty in higher education become more diverse, institutions must provide mentoring that successfully responds to such challenges. Central to this task is the development of high-quality mentor-mentee relationships. Mindful relationship-development activities are an important facet of any mentoring experience, but are particularly important when mentors and mentees have different backgrounds and perspectives. Currently, white men form the majority in higher faculty ranks, and therefore are most likely to serve as mentors. In contrast, mentees are increasingly likely to be women and minorities, particularly as institutions make concerted efforts toward equity and diversity. The consequence is that a large portion of faculty mentoring relationships will be cross-gender or cross-ethnicity. Strategies for developing effective mentoring relationships—with particular attention to cross-gender and cross-ethnicity relationships—are the focus of this article.

Importance of the Mentor-Mentee Relationship

Attention to developing the mentoring relationship itself is the foundation of any successful mentoring experience. The quality of interaction between mentor and mentee is critical, as a good mentoring relationship enhances mentees' attitudes toward their jobs and careers.[8] This is a highly desirable outcome for any institution seeking to attract and retain the best faculty.

Another reason to care about the quality of a mentoring relationship is that the relationship is the medium in which the mentee's learning and development takes place. In the context of that relationship—through the personal interaction between mentor and mentee—self-reflection occurs, career goals are set, specific competencies that need to be gained are identified, encouragement is given, challenges are presented, and new opportunities are explored. In short, when the mentor and mentee are interacting well, they can successfully engage in important mentoring activities. In contrast, when the interaction breaks down—e.g., is compromised by misunderstandings, damaging behaviors or attitudes, or a lack of helpful behaviors or attitudes—the goals of mentoring are unlikely to be achieved. An environment must be built and maintained in which both the mentor and mentee can honestly reflect, openly converse, creatively solve problems, and think critically. That environment is the relationship.

Developing effective mentoring relationships can be challenging, particularly across gender and ethnicity. Fortunately, the literature provides helpful strategies. We searched the literature to identify research studies and literature-based writings on the subjects of mentoring in general, mentoring for women and minorities, challenges to the professional success of women and minorities, and the status and experiences of women and minority faculty in academe. From this review, we identified common challenges to professional success and satisfaction that women and minority faculty might experience. We also identified strategies to help mentors and mentees address these challenges and establish effective mentoring relationships. In this article, we synthesize these findings into a single resource. Generally, these strategies are useful for all dyads or mentoring teams. But when mentoring relationships involve women and minorities, concerted mindfulness of these strategies can increase the likelihood of success.

The strategies and challenges described herein are, to some extent, based on generalizations. Not every mentoring relationship that includes a woman or a

member of a minority group will require additional focus on certain strategies. Each person will bring a unique set of circumstances that will shape the mentoring relationship. Nonetheless, there is value in being aware of factors that might uniquely influence the careers of women and minority faculty, as well as strategies that might help them overcome these challenges.

Particularly in the United States, individuals bring *multiple layers* of historical circumstances, culture, religion, and ethnicity to their interactions with others. Thus, it is important not to make assumptions based on first impressions or basic demographic information. Knowing an individual's ethnic or cultural "phenotype" does not necessarily predict the extent to which cultural differences may be present and relevant. For example, an individual of Chinese ancestry whose family has been in the United States from the mid-19th century may share little culturally with a recent immigrant from China. By contrast, members of groups historically excluded from full participation in American society (e.g., African Americans, Native Americans, women, gays and lesbians), though residents of the United States for centuries, may still experience considerable cultural divergence from the majority population because of the history of institutionalized racism, sexism, and homophobia. Mentoring relationships—which of necessity require openness, trust, mutual expectation of fairness and benevolence, and the freedom to express constructive commentary—can be complicated or hindered by cultural differences, expressed or unexpressed.

In order to acknowledge the multiple layers that make up individuals, we use the broad terms "ethnicity" and "culture." In contrast to race (a categorization narrowly defined in terms of ancient continent of origin), ethnicity and culture encompass many characteristics, some of which include language habits, race, and religion.

Strategies for More Effectively Mentoring Women and Minority Faculty

Establish Trust

Trust is a significant factor discussed in the literature on effective mentoring, especially in regard to cross-gender and cross-cultural mentoring relationships.[9] When the mentor and mentee have a lot in common, they may easily perceive each other as trustworthy and predictable. In a cross-gender or cross-cultural mentoring relationship, discomfort can arise from uncertainty about the other person's culture, experiences, values, and behaviors.[10] The historical distrust between minority and majority group members "serves as a barrier that both must overcome to achieve the degrees of intimacy and trust that are necessary in a productive mentoring relationship." [11]

In order to establish trust, both the mentor and mentee must strive to learn about and respect each other's perspectives and cultures.[12] People have different perceptions of reality, which have been formed by unique experiences. Thomas (2001) urges mentors not to subscribe to negative stereotypes of minority mentees by withholding support until the mentee proves "worthy of investment." Self-reflection is needed to uncover and address possible unintended bias. Further, as Bowman et al. (1999) emphasize, minority mentees need to meet a nonminority mentor halfway in the relationship. A deeper understanding of each other's worldviews will promote learning and growth for both parties.

Communicate Openly and Often

Thomas (2001) emphasizes that close relationships between mentor and mentee are important in the early career phase, "when [the protégés] needed to build confidence, credibility, and competence…protégés needed to feel connected to their mentors."[13] Close relationships do not just happen, of course; they require conscious work, developing in large part from quality communication. For some mentoring teams, particularly those that are cross-gender or cross-cultural, communication may not come naturally. Thomas (2001) contends that cross-race relationships can be fragile, and participants may be less willing or less able to discuss sensitive issues. The same can be said of cross-gender relationships.

Open, ongoing discussion between the mentor and mentee about gender, ethnicity, and their corresponding barriers is one way to help bridge the gender and culture gap.[14] Thomas (2001) encourages people to avoid "protective hesitation,"

the inclination to refrain from discussing sensitive issues. He conducted hundreds of case studies during a three-year study of three major corporations. He found that "minorities tend to advance further when their white mentors understand and acknowledge race as a potential barrier," because the mentors could help mentees deal with the obstacles.[15] Moreover, minorities who advanced to executive positions had "closer, fuller developmental relationships with their mentors" than did minorities who did not advance to executive positions.[16] The latter group had received only instructional mentoring, with less emphasis on the relationship itself.

Two relative strangers rarely are comfortable discussing sensitive topics early in a relationship. As a starting point, the mentor and mentee might focus on safe topics such as the mentee's professional goals, associations to join, conferences to attend, and the college or university structure. After sufficient trust has been built, mentor-mentee discussions can expand to incorporate other topics, including differences in gender, culture, family circumstances, and generation.

The framework presented above is merely a guide. Conversations will take different shapes depending on the people involved. The mentor and mentee should allow a degree of flexibility in their conversations. The main message is to confront the challenges presented by the particular mentoring relationship. Open and frequent communication is the key to making the relationship more supportive and productive.

Take the Initiative

Encourage Frequent Contact

Mentors may need to take the initiative in starting and maintaining the relationship. Some women and minority faculty may be reticent to proactively seek mentoring, stemming from a concern about being judged as incapable of making it on their own or being perceived as a burden to others. For example, in focus groups conducted at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, several assistant professors reported being reluctant to approach senior colleagues for mentoring.[17] In other work, Goto (1999) asserted that, in general, Asian Americans may be concerned about burdening others and believe the initiative for a developmental relationship will be taken by the more senior person. Even when faculty do seek out mentoring, they may consciously limit the amount of time they spend with their mentors. Mentors can quell possible wor-

ries by assuring their mentees that they are invested in the relationship, learning from it, and committed to their mentees' success.

Facilitate Network Building

One specific way that mentors can take the initiative is by including their mentees in networking opportunities. Networks are a vital part of a faculty member's professional development, as "[s]tandards for professional behaviour and socialization into the profession of university academics are still largely determined by unwritten rules handed down from one generation of scholars to the next."[18] Unwritten rules include such things as which committees are important for advancement and which are not; when it is acceptable to work at home and when it is not; norms with regard to availability to students; and the number of publications expected for promotion when officially there is no specific number.

Unfortunately, research has shown that the networks of women are not as high in quality or as effective as the networks of men. This disparity results in less social capital for women, which acts as a barrier to their productivity and success.[19] Using data from hundreds of interviews with faculty and doctoral candidates at research universities, Kemelgor and Etzkowitz (2001) found that, on the whole, women reported not having access to the informal professional networks available to their male peers. This led to women having more difficulty with establishing research collaborations and securing grants. In a study of tenure-track faculty at a research institution, the "thread running through many of the stories that women told was a sense of disconnectedness. Frequently female faculty were not invited to go out to lunch or drinks after work, or included in other important venues for informal communication."[20] Thomas (2001) found that strong networks were a key characteristic of successful minority executives. Unfortunately, his study of cross-race mentoring relationships indicated that black and white men rarely engaged in after-work activities together that would typically promote bonding.[21] Social events outside of work provide a forum for informal "work talk" and can foster a bond among participants. Absence of collegial support not only can hinder the professional advancement of women and minorities, it may isolate and frustrate them enough to leave academe altogether.

Simple acts on the part of the mentor—inviting the mentee to meetings and events, introducing the mentee to colleagues inside and outside of the department and institution, encouraging the mentee to collaborate with influential

others on projects, and including the mentee in informal social activities—will greatly benefit the mentee professionally. Mentors should consistently take the initiative to include mentees as appropriate situations arise. For mentees with young children, in particular, it is important to make these opportunities "real" by ensuring they occur within normal work time.

Publicly Support the Mentee

Public endorsement of the mentee is vital to increasing the mentee's confidence to take risks, network, and explore new avenues for personal and professional growth.[22] Women and minority mentees may be especially reluctant to tout their own achievements; hence, plentiful outward praise should be given and recorded when deserved. In addition, mentors can teach mentees methods of graceful self-promotion.

See Each Other as Individuals

There are two lenses through which this mentoring strategy must be viewed. First, mentors and mentees must view each other through a group lens: it is important to recognize that there are differences in behaviors, attitudes, and language for different groups (e.g., women and men). There is value in knowing these group differences, because they can unknowingly influence our behaviors and attitudes, and thus affect our relationships. Second, mentors and mentees must view each other through an individual lens: it is important to recognize that just because an individual identifies as a member of a group does *not* mean that individual adheres to the societal expectations for that group, or shares all of the characteristics or behaviors expected of that group. This point, while most easily applied to cross-gender or cross-ethnicity mentoring relationships, holds true for any mentor-mentee situation. For example, two white women in a mentoring relationship should not assume they approach things the same way just because they are of the same gender and ethnicity. In short, it is important that both the mentor and mentee identify each other as individuals and not as representatives of a group, while also remaining aware of group norms that might be coming into play.[23] With both the group and the individual lenses in mind, we have highlighted below a few examples from the literature of how interpersonal styles can vary across groups.

Interpersonal styles vary across gender and ethnicity, although women and minorities are allowed a narrower band of acceptable assertive behaviors.[24]

Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, and Tamkins (2004) posit that "the self-assertive and tough, achievement-oriented, agentic behaviors for which men are so positively valued are typically prohibited for women."[25] For example, a white man who speaks boisterously and who firmly delegates responsibilities is seen as showing qualities of authority and leadership, whereas the same behaviors from a woman cause her to be labeled "bitchy" and "unfeminine." Brinson and Kottler (1993) provide an example of a Native American professor who may be viewed as apathetic about department matters if he acts reserved in a meeting; however, his behavior may be a reflection of his cultural background. Goto (1999) points out the need to understand the silence of an Asian American mentee. She holds that mentors "should learn not to interpret the absence of questions and suggestions to mean that neither problems nor ambitions exist."[26] Goto also notes that it is appropriate for mentors to encourage mentees to adopt more assertive behaviors in situations when those behaviors would benefit the mentee. One should use caution, however, in determining the appropriate situations. In a study by Thomas (2001), one African American who was encouraged to mirror the aggressive style of his white mentor was consequently labeled an "angry black man." Out of respect for individual differences and the narrower band of acceptable behaviors allowed to women and minorities, simple clarification by the mentor such as "this approach worked for me, but may not work the same for you" would be a good way of providing guidance without assuming the approach is right for the mentee.

A collaborative versus competitive approach is another example of differences in interpersonal styles. The literature suggests that, in general, women operate with a more collaborative approach than men.[27] Similarly, some cultures employ a more collaborative approach to tasks than the individualistic, "fend for yourself" approach used by some Americans.[28] Given the different approaches, mentors and mentees need to understand their relative views on competition versus collaboration in work situations.

In summary, both mentors and mentees benefit by understanding that gender and cultural background can influence behavior and attitudes. Mentors should implement mentoring strategies that incorporate those values and behaviors. In turn, mentees may need to stretch beyond familiar behaviors to succeed. Mentors can help with this challenge, but should also encourage mentees to seek additional support from successful role models and peer groups who share

common characteristics (e.g., worldview, experience, gender, ethnicity, race).[29] Having multiple people to provide guidance and support in a variety of personal and professional areas decreases the chance of a single mentoring relationship proving inadequate.

Create and Respect Appropriate Boundaries

One of the most exciting aspects of being an academic is developing relationships with people who share similar values and passions. It is to be expected that mentors and mentees will enjoy spending time together and conversing. However, perceived risk of sexual involvement and concerns about public image could inhibit a mentoring relationship.[30] For the most effective mentoring, the mentor and mentee need to set boundaries on the level of intimacy in the relationship. The goal is to maintain the relationship at an appropriate professional level without stifling the degree of trust and closeness that is needed to facilitate learning and growth. Ragins and McFarlin (1990) suggest that organizations sponsor social events where mentoring pairs can interact comfortably, without as much concern about appearance of sexual involvement. Clawson and Kram (1984) assign the responsibility of managing the closeness of the relationship to both the mentor and mentee, in a quest to find "an appropriate balance of intimacy and distance that facilitates learning, growth, and productivity."[31]

Once the boundaries are established, it is equally important that they are respected. It is recommended that the mentor and mentee each review their institution's sexual harassment policy. Sexual harassment is commonly defined as unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical behavior of a sexual nature when such conduct influences employment or academic decisions, interferes with an employee's work, or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work or learning environment. If a sexual harassment claim is made, it is commonly assumed that the conduct in question cannot be consensual when there is a power differential in the professional relationship.

Recognize the Implications of the Relationship Structure

A power differential based on position is a natural characteristic of most mentoring relationships. This differential needs to be managed thoughtfully, particularly when the mentor is in a position to evaluate the mentee's professional performance (for example, when the mentor is also the department chair or a member of the promotion committee). Power differentials based on social

power can inhibit the success of women and minority mentees. These differentials may be exacerbated in cross-gender and cross-cultural mentoring relationships because, in many cultures, the power differential between men and women, and between majority and minority members, is maintained through socialization. Unfortunately, power is so historically ingrained in certain societal and structural positions that it often goes unrecognized. Kimmel states that "[w]hile individual men do not feel powerful, power is so deeply woven into their lives that it is most invisible to those who are most empowered."[32] An example of the effects of socialization on our mental models is illustrated by a study of mentors, which showed that women with qualifications that were equivalent to their male counterparts' viewed themselves as less qualified to be mentors.[33]

The effects of socialization also can be seen in how the power of mentors is perceived. A female or minority mentor may be viewed by mentees as less powerful than a white male mentor.[34] In a study of undergraduate students, Ekrut and Mokros (1984) found that male students purposefully avoided female faculty role models, and instead chose "high status, powerful male models who could promote their educational or career goals."[35] Other studies similarly suggest that mentees can have trouble accepting a mentor who belongs to a group associated by society with lower status and power.[36]

The power differential in a mentoring relationship also can affect the assertiveness of mentees who come from a culture that instills a great respect for authority and formality in its members. Cultural norms may lead a mentee to avoid asking questions, to hesitate to participate in informal interactions, and to take on any task assigned, regardless of its feasibility.[37]

Both parties benefit from being aware of the implications of the mentoring relationship's structure. Mentors, however, have additional responsibility to seriously reflect on the power that comes with the position and how it affects their interactions with mentees. The existence of power differentials is one reason that having more than one mentor may be beneficial. Both mentors and mentees need to recognize and communicate openly about this issue, distinguishing appropriate positional power from social power ascribed by gender and ethnicity. Together, the pair can ensure that neither positional power nor the illegitimate aspects of power based on socialization, stereotypes, and attributions act as a barrier.

Recognize the Mentee's Potential Challenges to Success

Cultural Taxation

Cultural taxation is represented in the literature as a heavy weight on the shoulders of women and minorities in academe.[38] It is defined as "the obligation to show good citizenship toward the institution by serving its needs for ethnic [and gender] representation on committees, or to demonstrate knowledge and commitment to a cultural group, which may even bring accolades to the institution but which is not usually rewarded by the institution on whose behalf the service was performed."[39] Often, women and minority faculty are pressured to represent their gender and ethnicity through committee work, service, and student advising.[40] Women and minorities are handed the aforementioned tasks under the assumptions that first, they are interested in fulfilling those roles, and second, that they possess a superior knowledge of how to be effective in those roles.[41] Although such roles can be satisfying, they take time away from scholarship and other work essential to one's career advancement. Junior women and minority faculty receive a mixed message when they are subsequently not rewarded in the promotion process for their extra efforts outside of research or educational productivity.[42]

Cultural taxation should be given serious attention by mentors. According to a male department chair, "[a] mentor has to be somebody who says no for you.… [W]omen and minorities…get asked to do every crappy little job and [accept] pseudo-leadership positions.…[S]omeone has to tell you which of those things are worth your time and which are not."[43] Mentors of women and minority mentees should be acutely aware of this implicit "responsibility" and encourage their mentees to strike a thoughtful balance so that professional accomplishment does not suffer.

Feelings of Isolation

Given the dearth of women and minorities occupying senior faculty positions, many faculty lack interaction with role models of the same gender or ethnicity.[44] It is common for women to feel isolated from collegial networks in their departments, even if there are some women present. This is especially true in the science disciplines, where women's "marginal status and collegial exclusion not only interferes with achieving complex tasks and objectives, but reduces options to deal with adversity."[45] The same could be said for underrepresented minority faculty.

In addition, many minorities experience internal conflict, feeling they must yield parts of their cultural identity in order to be accepted into academic society.[46] Mentors can help by being open to discussion of these issues, purposefully including women and minorities in departmental collegial networks, and working to change the larger system so that a greater number of women and minority faculty are able to advance into senior positions and become mentors and role models.

Biculturalism

Biculturalism results when "individuals learn how to maintain their dominant ethnic culture while increasing an awareness of another cultural set of values and norms."[47] Minority faculty need to have both affiliations in order to succeed in the Western model of academe. The ability to be bicultural enables them to function better in the academic environment; however, "[t]he energy required to interpret new situations places subtle pressure on ethnic and racial minority faculty who attempt to gauge appropriate responses and to shift between value structures."[48] For example, some minority faculty are from cultures in which public promotion of accomplishments is not a norm, yet the tenure and promotion process requires that faculty make their successes visible.

In general, minority faculty interviewed by Johnsrud and Sadao (1998) viewed biculturalism as a necessary "survival skill," but one that came at a cost. The faculty "felt that they constantly compromised their cultural values and norms out of deference to Western values…," yet their compromise was not reciprocated, as the majority did not work to understand their "other" perspectives.[49] Faculty working with mentees from a minority culture should be aware of the energy that functioning biculturally demands, and the frustration that can be associated with the compromise of cultural values. Both mentors and mentees can work to understand and appreciate cultural differences. In the best scenario, the mentoring dyad or team will find ways to leverage those differences to best achieve the mentee's professional goals.

Unintended Bias

Unintended biases are a function of societally defined norms and are subscribed to subconsciously by many women and men of all cultures. Despite the best efforts of mentors and mentees, unintended biases based on gender, ethnicity, age, and other factors can still exist. Unintended biases are so socially

ingrained that they are often beyond conscious recognition, yet they can affect one's professional development and advancement.

An excellent illustration of how unintended biases are manifested in academe is given by Carnes, Geller, Fine, Sheridan, and Handelsman (2005) in an article on the selection process for the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Director's Pioneer Awards. The authors evaluated the reasons why none of the first nine award recipients were women, despite the NIH's commitment to advancing women in biomedical careers and an adequate number of qualified women applicants. They identified six elements that could have caused unintended bias to affect the selection process: "(1) time pressure placed on evaluators, (2) absence of face-to-face discussion about applicants, (3) ambiguity of performance criteria, given the novelty of the award, combined with an emphasis on subjective assessment of leadership, potential achievements rather than actual accomplishments, and risk taking, (4) emphasis on self-promotion, (5) weight given to letters of recommendation, and (6) the need for finalists to make a formal, in-person presentation in which the individual and not his or her science was the focus of evaluation."[50]

To support some of the elements they identified, Carnes and colleagues cite Martell's (1991) conclusions about assumptions that allow for cognitive efficiency. These assumptions, which are relied on in time pressure situations, can lead to an unintentional bias against women. In the case of the Pioneer Awards, the assumption is that men are better scientists than women. Unintended bias can also be introduced by the language used. Carnes et al. (2005) argue that the emphasis on "risk taking," a term used implicitly in the description of an ideal Pioneer Award applicant, biases the selection process against women: "Although all innovative scientists consistently take calculated risks, being described as a risk taker would generally align with male rather than female or gender-neutral descriptive and prescriptive behaviors."[51]

The story changed in the second year of the Pioneer Awards. The NIH "did make a very deliberate attempt to level the playing field" by making appropriate adjustments to the competition process, according to Jeremy Berg, director of the National Institute of General Medical Sciences, who oversaw the competition.[52] Women and underrepresented minorities were encouraged to apply, only self-nominations were accepted, and the reviewers were trained "on the importance

of looking for the best people with the most exciting ideas."[53] In the second year of the program, six of the 13 recipients were women.

Unintended biases may or may not play a role in the mentoring relationship. It is important for the mentor and mentee to recognize, however, that these biases do exist in a larger context and can have an especially negative impact on the success of women and minorities.

Success as a Barrier

"[A] woman's success can create new problems for her by instigating her social rejection."[54] Heilman and colleagues (2004) found that women who violated stereotype by being successful at traditionally male tasks were perceived as more interpersonally hostile than women who exhibited unclear performance and than men who succeeded at the same tasks. Further, when information about level of performance at a traditionally male task was *not* provided, subjects almost always rated women as less competent and less achievement-oriented than men, as well as less interpersonally hostile. Alternatively, if women conformed to stereotype by being successful at traditionally female or neutral tasks, they were not met with disapproval by subjects. In short, Heilman and colleagues argue that the social disapproval of women who are successful at traditionally male tasks occurs because the women violate stereotype norms. The problem is not so much the fact that the women are successful, as it is that they are successful in nontraditional areas.

Heilman and colleagues (2004) further show that despite a woman's success, being disliked can be detrimental to her career. Regardless of competence, employees who were portrayed as likable were more highly recommended for higher salaries and special opportunities than were less likable employees. It follows that if successful women in nontraditional settings (e.g., hard sciences and engineering) elicit negative social reactions, then they will be less likely to be recommended for professional advancement and other rewards. These findings substantiate the concept that even if women overcome barriers to achieve success, it is not enough of a buffer to protect them from the effects of gender stereotypes.

The ubiquity of gender stereotypes, erroneous attributions, and the effects of socialization present a quandary for women who strive to advance and find that, for a variety of reasons, their very success is a roadblock. Mentors who recognize

this dilemma will do their best to publicly support the accomplishments of their mentees, while working diligently to dismantle the stereotypes surrounding normative behaviors based on gender.

Commitment to Family

A central issue currently affecting both women and men in academe is how to balance work and family.[55] Women, however, still tend to take on the majority of family responsibilities, which translates into a hefty obstacle in their professional lives. In a study of department chairs by Yedidia and Bickel (2001), 28 of 36 chairs viewed the traditional gender role of caretaker for children and family as a significant barrier to the professional advancement of women. Time committed to family matters can "often preclude [women] from devoting essential time and energies to achieving milestones that are central to favorable tenure review and promotion, and these roles limit the geographic mobility that is often necessary to advance in the profession."[56]

The intersection of family and professional responsibilities creates additional obstacles to success for women with children. Many women are of childbearing age during their tenure process. Mason and Goulden (2004b) argue that, "[t]he employment structures of the professions…are configured for the typical male career of the nineteenth century, in which the man in the household was the single breadwinner and the woman was responsible for raising the children. According to this explanation, such rigid employment structures force women to choose between work and family."[57] Their studies show that women with children, especially women who have children when in the early stage of their careers, are significantly less likely to achieve tenure, hold regular appointments, and stay in academics. Further, women who achieve tenure or hold fast-track positions make significant tradeoffs in family life, such as remaining single, having fewer children than they desire, or not having children altogether. None of these effects were found for men, and the findings are consistent across disciplines and institutions.[58]

More and more often, the concerns of women faculty about the overlap of family and professional responsibilities are being recognized and accepted as an institutional system issue. Suggested strategies to enhance work-life balance include improved on-site child care in the workplace, flexible hours and leave time, delay of the tenure clock, and scheduling of meetings during more convenient

times for women with child care responsibilities.[59] Many institutions have already implemented policies related to the tenure clock for all faculty. According to Liu and Mallon (2004), by 2002, "more than three-quarters (92) of U.S. medical schools with tenure systems had 'tenure-clock-stopping' policies that allow tenure-eligible faculty members to remain 'on track' but to have their probationary period extended."[60] To help support mentees in this situation, mentors can advocate for these or alternative strategies to be implemented in the institution.

Beyond policy change, women should be encouraged to use the policies available. They may hesitate to do so out of fear of damaging their careers and being perceived as less committed.[61] Ward and Wolf-Wendell (2004) suggest that such policies must be applied fairly, that policies be extended to men, and that both senior and junior faculty be educated about the use of the policies. Given the considerable challenges that women faculty face in terms of family demands and professional demands, mentors play an important role by helping mentees navigate the way to professional success through a more balanced lifestyle.

Role of Organizational Leaders

Support for mentoring from organizational leaders at all levels is essential, as even a well-intentioned mentoring effort can quickly become expendable when other pressures arise. An institutional mentoring policy can protect against such erosion. This is accomplished by leaders establishing an institution-wide mentoring program and placing the responsibility for and coordination of the program high in the organizational structure. Zachary (2005) succinctly points out the importance of establishing a mentoring infrastructure: "Infrastructure brings organizational mentoring to life. It is indispensable to…implement mentoring coherently, comprehensively, and conscientiously."[62] While institutional support for mentoring is essential, it is equally important that the details related to the design and implementation of a mentoring program be decided at the local level. Mentoring programs and the strategies used are most effective when they can be tailored to individual and departmental needs.[63]

Organizational leaders need to demonstrate their commitment to the mentoring program in tangible ways and hold the program accountable for facilitating faculty success. Serving as mentors themselves is a powerful way for administrators to model the importance of mentoring and demonstrate their vested interest in it. Leaders must make a long-term commitment to ensuring that the mentor-

ing program has effective leaderhip and any necessary program resources (e.g., staff, space, mentors, rewards, workshop expenses). Linking and coordinating a mentoring program with other existing programs aimed at facilitating faculty success helps to connect mentoring teams with broader resources and to integrate the mentoring program into the institution**.**

Leaders also should participate in establishing the purpose and goals of the mentoring program. This will ensure alignment of the program's goals with the goals and culture of the larger organization. Perhaps most important, leaders must find ways to enable and reward the time spent by senior faculty on mentoring. Mentoring is increasingly considered a "teaching" task that should be counted, evaluated, and rewarded like other teaching activities. When this is the case, time spent on mentoring and evidence of effectiveness can be included in annual reviews and salary decisions, and in documents for promotion decisions. In addition, organizational leaders could create awards to recognize excellence in faculty mentoring. In sum, it is imperative that organizational leaders at all levels publicly and frequently express the importance of and their support for mentoring.

Conclusion and Implications

We have identified a variety of relationship-enhancing practices applicable to the mentoring of higher education faculty. In describing these practices, we alerted mentors and mentees to some of the challenges that can arise over the course of a mentoring relationship, such as those related to trust, communication, power, and assumptions. We specifically highlighted challenges and strategies that might be relevant to cross-gender or cross-cultural mentoring relationships. Mentoring or being mentored takes effort and carries with it new challenges and responsibilities, but it also can serve as a catalyst for professional and personal growth. Thomas (2001) found that cross-race mentoring relationships allowed mentors and mentees to "explore other kinds of differences, thus broadening the perspectives of both parties."[64]

Institutions that support formal mentoring programs may wish to address some of the topics we discussed as part of a mentor training session or mentor-mentee orientation program. It is in an institution's interest to encourage and train faculty to succeed in the mentoring role, and particularly to increase the pool of mentors available to women and minority mentees. In a study of 275 executives, experience as a mentor or mentee positively predicted future intentions to men-

tor.[65] This finding highlights the importance of initiating and supporting mentoring relationships in order to perpetuate the cycle of mentoring and spread the mentoring wealth.

Mentoring is more likely to occur, and to be effective, when it is an institutional policy, when it is a rewarded activity, and when a formal institutional mentoring program has been established. A mentoring program can offer many resources to individual mentor-mentee dyads or teams. Such resources include training and recognition for mentors, facilitated access for mentees to other career development activities within the institution, and tools for goal setting and evaluation of the mentee's progress. In addition, support from organizational leaders is essential. When mentoring is supported and positioned within a larger program, it is more likely to be successful and link tangibly the individual goals of the mentored faculty to the goals of the larger institution.

Table 1. Status of Faculty in U.S. Doctoral Institutions by Gender

	1988		1993		2004	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Full-time	22%	78	27	73	32	68
Assistant professor	37	63	37	63	41	59
Associate professor	22	78	26	74	32	68
Full professor	9	91	11	89	17	83

Source: U. S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1988, 1993, and 2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty.

Table 2. Status of Faculty in U.S. Doctoral Institutions by Race/Ethnicity

	1988		1993		2004	
	URM[a]	Other[b]	URM	Other	URM	Other
Full-time	6%	95	6	94	8	92
Assistant professor	7	93	9	91	10	90
Associate professor	6	95	5	95	8	92
Full professor	4	96	4	96	6	94

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1988, 1993, and 2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty.

[a] Underrepresented minorities include American Indian/Alaska Native, black/African American, and Hispanic/Latino/Latina for 1993 and 2004, and American Indian, black, and Hispanic for 1988.

[b] Includes Asian/Pacific Islander, and white non-Hispanic for 1993 and 2004, and Asian and white for 1988.

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