

Faculty Diversity



A Union of Professionals

AFT Higher Education

Promoting Racial and Ethnic Diversity in the Faculty: What Higher Education Unions Can Do



A Union of Professionals

AFT Higher Education

A Division of the American Federation of Teachers

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Faculty Diversity

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“Scholarship has consistently shown that racial and ethnic diversity has both direct and indirect positive effects on the educational outcomes and experiences of students.”

Statement of Purpose

AFTER GENERATIONS OF ACTIVISTS pushed back against a higher education system largely restricted to affluent white males, the campaign for racial and ethnic diversity in American colleges and universities gathered momentum in the post-World War II era, spurred by court-ordered desegregation, the grass-roots civil rights movement, the resulting Civil Rights and Voting Rights acts, and the Great Society educational opportunity programs. During the 1960s, the diversity movement was also advanced by student protests, including the Black Power demonstrations and the Vietnam War protests, as well as the campaign for Chicano and migrant worker rights.

Part of the response to this activism was the advent of black, ethnic and gender studies programs and cultural centers located at predominantly white colleges and universities. This was coupled with a surge in campus-based programs to open opportunities in admissions and hiring to members of underrepresented ethnic and racial groups and women. These “affirmative action” programs were, and remain, a critical factor in promoting diversity on campus, yet affirmative action continues to generate controversy in the political system. The key moment in setting the parameters of affirmative action was the 1978 U.S. Supreme Court case *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, which barred quotas but also resulted in the acceptance of affirmative action as a reasonable approach to diversify the student body.

As this report will demonstrate, one result of all these efforts has been a continuing, though inadequate, increase in the diversity of the student population. The ranks of underrepresented groups in college and university faculty have also diversified. However, progress in faculty diversity has not kept pace with student diversity. Leaders of AFT higher education unions are deeply concerned, both as educators and as unionists, about the pace of efforts to diversify higher education faculty and staff. This report focuses on one aspect of diversity—the diversity of racially and ethnically underrepresented faculty members.

As educators, we know that in order for students to succeed academically, they need role models and mentors with whom they can identify. Scholarship has consistently shown that racial and ethnic diversity has both direct and indirect positive effects on the educational outcomes and experiences of students. The campus is a more welcoming place when the diversity of the student population is also represented among the faculty—underrepresented students feel less that they are “strangers in a strange land.” Students from majority groups equally benefit from learning and exchanging ideas in a multicultural environment offering a wider range of research and a broader representation of alternative perspectives.

Faculty members from racial and ethnic minority groups have extended the breadth of scholarship in traditional disciplines and lead in developing new areas of study. While some critics continue to argue that African-American, Women’s, Latino and Asian Studies programs and scholars are “noncanonical,” or balkanized (even ghettoized), most of the scholars in these fields see and understand their work as creating new canons rather than trying to fit their scholarship into pre-existing disciplines. The research interests of underrepresented faculty add new knowledge and, often, alternative political perspectives as well.

Finally, faculty diversity is a union issue. We see the process of effectuating a diverse faculty and staff as an essential element in achieving a greater measure of economic and social justice in America. We recognize that diversity efforts, even on the part of faculty members and the union, have been insufficient, sometimes even off-putting, to prospective faculty members from underrepresented racial and ethnic groups. We need to correct this. Another serious concern from a union perspective is that a disproportionate number of underrepresented faculty members continue to be hired as contingent rather than full-time tenured faculty, which often marginalizes the contributions they could make to their institutions and provides them with grossly inadequate pay and working conditions.

The national American Federation of Teachers recognizes the importance of advancing educational diversity, and the union is proud of its efforts to support educational opportunities for underrepresented groups throughout the education system. AFT conventions have passed numerous policy resolutions in support of diversity, including a recent resolution that set this report in motion. The union has backed up its pro-diversity policies by putting into the field substantial sums of money, expertise and activism to defend diversity in the face of hostile legal and political challenges. The union is a key player in support of state and federal legislation to expand college diversity, such as the federal student aid programs, the TRIO programs and the McNair graduate education program. The union has also supported loan forgiveness for students who become higher education faculty members. In order to obtain the information needed to accurately follow the progress of diversity efforts, the AFT is working for the establishment of a stronger federal student data system. Most important, the AFT is campaigning around the country to create more full-time faculty positions, and bring financial and professional equity to contingent faculty members through the union’s Faculty and College Excellence (FACE) program.

At the same time, we believe there is much more we can do—on our own campuses, in our own unions—to promote racial and ethnic diversity. This report explores a broad array of obstacles that impede hiring and retaining an ethnically and racially diverse faculty. The report highlights a number of activities already under way to break down these obstacles and presents a long list of ideas that unions may be able to undertake on their own campuses.

We recognize that most local unions may not be in a position to act on all or even most of these recommendations at once. But we believe it is high time to get more coordinated and ambitious plans started, and we hope that the ideas presented here will prompt a new wave of activity on the local level.

HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM AND POLICY COUNCIL

American Federation of Teachers

Barriers to Diversity

Overview

By any measure, the representation of racially and ethnically underrepresented groups in the ranks of college and university faculty is disproportionately low compared with the general population or with the demographics of the undergraduate and graduate student populations, who are the training pool for higher education. In 2005-2006, approximately 5.4 percent of all tenure-eligible and contingent faculty members were African-American, 4.5 percent were Hispanic, and 0.04 percent were Native American, even though these groups represented, respectively, 12 percent, 14 percent and 0.8 percent of the total U.S. population.¹

Despite administrators and faculty members around the country expressing strong support for improving faculty diversity, there has not been significant movement on the diversity front. College officials can point to some increases in the hiring of underrepresented groups as evidence of progress. However, in many cases, new hiring among the ranks of underrepresented groups has been centered on contingent rather than tenure-track jobs. Furthermore, it has been reported on several occasions that attrition rates are higher among racially and ethnically underrepresented faculty members. Notably, the Association of American Colleges and Universities released a study in 2006 examining the efforts of 27 colleges and universities to enhance faculty racial and ethnic diversity between 2000 and 2004. Findings suggest that despite relative success in hiring ethnic and racial minority faculty, the turnover rate—found to be at 50 percent—was a critical factor contributing to a lack of substantial advancement for minority faculty.²

To understand the challenge of increasing faculty diversity, it is important to look at the educational pathway along with hiring and retention practices. Without a more diverse undergraduate and graduate student population—one that is encouraged to pursue careers in academe—efforts to recruit and retain faculty of color are much less likely to succeed. In addition, a variety of factors in the culture of the academy seem to have a negative impact on hiring and retention. This culture sometimes breeds a sense of isolation and exclusion, creates confusion about how to meet job responsibilities and advance professionally, and imposes unreasonable work burdens on faculty from racially and ethnically underrepresented groups. Diversity is an important issue for higher education faculty and staff members; within those

groups, women, the gay and lesbian community, and people with disabilities (among others) also face difficulties in academe.

In addition to background information about the educational pathway, hiring and retention in the context of diversity, we also provide, toward the end of this report, a series of recommendations and activities that your local union can consider to promote diversity on your campus.

Barriers to Academic Attainment, Employment and Success

This report addresses three major barriers to racial and ethnic diversity: (1) barriers in the educational pathways that lead to becoming a faculty member, (2) barriers in the faculty hiring process, and (3) barriers to retention of faculty members. We will examine each in turn.

BARRIERS IN EDUCATIONAL PATHWAYS

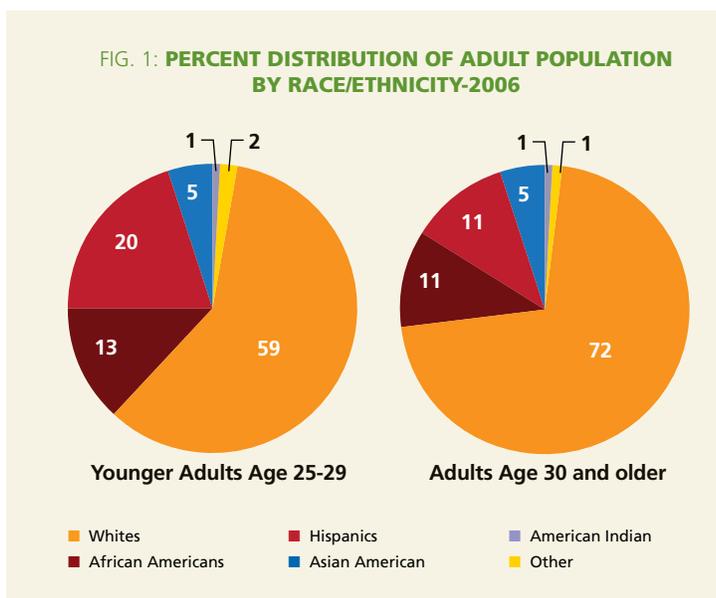
As we define it, the educational pathway is the progression from the start of a person’s education, from prekindergarten or kindergarten, on through elementary, middle and high school, to undergraduate education and then on to graduate education—which, of course, is the typical route to becoming a faculty member. (What we call the “pathway” is often called a “pipeline” in educational research and policy discussions, but we consider the “pipeline” term too limiting.)

Obviously, a greater percentage of the population attends high school than attends college, and a greater proportion of the population attends college than graduate school. However, there is an abundance of evidence to indicate that the educational pathway narrows disproportionately for students from underrepresented racial and ethnic groups.

To get the facts, we looked at a number of data sources, focusing particularly on longitudinal data on students beginning in the eighth grade and progressing through their level of degree attainment in 2000. These data, covering only up to the year 2000, are the most recent longitudinal data available. We also looked at more recent surveys covering particular aspects of the issue.

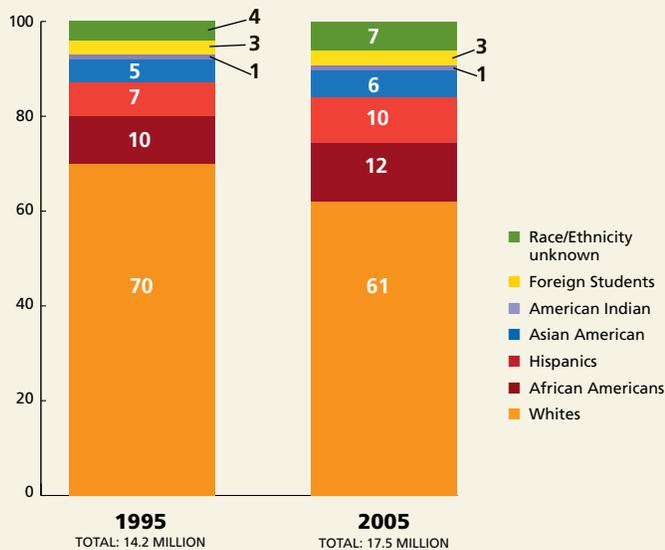
U.S. Adult Population

Looking at the U.S. adult population by race and ethnicity, we see that members of underrepresented racial and ethnic groups will comprise an increasing share of the population. African-Americans and Hispanics—the two largest underrepresented groups—make up 33 percent of 25- to 29-year-olds, compared with 22 percent of those aged 30 and older in 2006. (See Figure 1)



SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS, AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY 2006 (ANALYSIS BY AUTHOR)

FIG. 2: PERCENT TOTAL HIGHER EDUCATION ENROLLMENT BY RACE/ETHNICITY: 1995 AND 2005



SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATION STATISTICS, INTEGRATED POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION DATA SYSTEMS (IPEDS), FALL ENROLLMENT SURVEY 1995 AND 2005 (ANALYSIS BY AUTHOR).

Total Higher Education Enrollment

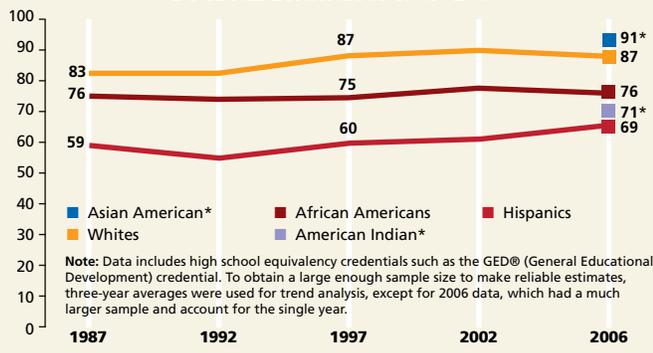
As indicated in Figure 1, in 2006, 20 percent of younger adults in the United States were Hispanic; yet of those enrolled in higher education in 2005, only 10 percent were Hispanic. (See Figure 2) The enrollment percentages for other groups are more in line with their proportion of the total U.S. population. However, this data does not break down by type of degree pursued; for that we will look at longitudinal data in Figures 4-7.

High School Completion Rates and College Enrollment Rates

While ethnic and racial minority groups continue to be underrepresented in higher education, it is important to note that high school completion rates and college enrollment rates for each race or ethnic group have improved over the last 20 years (see Figures 2 and 3). For example, Hispanics saw a 9 percent increase in their high school completion rate between 1987 and 2007, and an 8.4 percent increase in college enrollment rates during the same time period. African-Americans also saw improvement: while their high school completion rates remained flat, their college enrollment rate jumped 10 percent. So it is especially concerning that, while more members of racial and ethnic minority groups are graduating from high school and enrolling in college—both absolutely and percentage-wise—they continue to be underrepresented among those who complete a bachelor’s degree or higher.

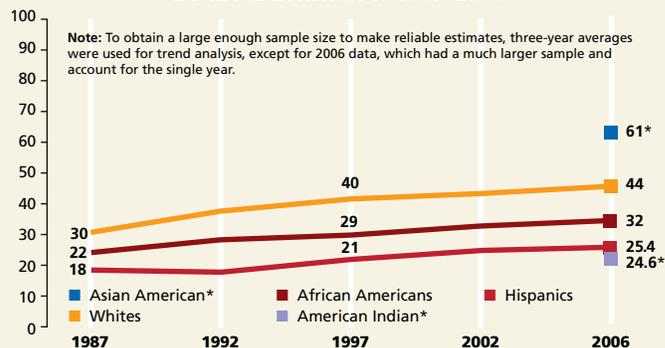
NOTE: In charts below, items marked with an asterisk (*) are shown for 2006 only, due to unavailable data

FIG. 3: HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION RATES FOR TRADITIONAL COLLEGE AGED POPULATION AGE 18-24 BY RACE/ETHNICITY: 1987-2006



SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY (DATA FOR 1986-2005) AND AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY 2006 (DATA FOR 2006).

FIG. 4: COLLEGE ENROLLMENT RATES FOR TRADITIONAL COLLEGE AGED POPULATION AGE 18-24 BY RACE/ETHNICITY: 1987-2006



SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY (DATA FOR 1986-2005, RELEASED ONLINE) AND AMERICAN COMMUNITY SURVEY 2006 (DATA FOR 2006, ANALYSIS BY AUTHOR).

Longitudinal Data: Eighth-Graders Surveyed from 1988-2000: Looking at Secondary Education

Because national data sets do not provide disaggregated data with respect to credential goals and race/ethnicity, we looked to the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS:88), which is a nationally representative sample of eighth-graders first surveyed in the spring of 1988. A sample of these respondents were then resurveyed through four follow-ups in 1990, 1992, 1994 and 2000.

This longitudinal data illustrates that the educational pathway already begins to narrow from the eighth grade through the end of high school. This is particularly true for Hispanic students, who made up 11.3 percent of eighth-grade graduates (and, presumably, high school enrollers, given that secondary education is compulsory through the age of 16 in most states), but only 9.64 percent of high school graduates. Keep in mind that Hispanics accounted for 11 percent of the population over age 30 today—which is the population that graduated from high school in 1992. African-American students made up 12.7 percent of the eighth-grade graduates and 11.48 percent of high school graduates. Conversely, whites actually saw an increase along the educational pathway, from 70.5 percent of eighth-grade graduates to 73.9 percent of high school graduates four years later (see Figures 5 and 6).

FIG. 5: Percentage distribution of 1988 eighth-graders by race/ethnicity

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Asian/Pacific Islander	119,604	3.8
Hispanic	354,122	11.3
Black, not Hispanic	398,151	12.7
White, not Hispanic	2,211,958	70.5
Native American	55,372	1.8

FIG. 6: Percentage of 1988 eighth-graders completing high school by September 1992, by race/ethnicity

RACE	HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES SEPTEMBER 1997
Asian/Pacific Islander	
Percentage of APIs who completed high school	90.58
Overall percentage of high school grads	4.17
Hispanic	
Percentage of Hispanics who completed high school	70.96
Overall percentage of high school grads	9.64
Black, not Hispanic	
Percentage of blacks who completed high school	74.97
Overall percentage of high school grads	11.48
White, not Hispanic	
Percentage of whites who completed high school	86.04
Overall percentage of high school grads	73.19
Native American	
Percentage of Native Americans who completed high school	71.73
Overall percentage of high school grads	1.53

SOURCE: NATIONAL EDUCATION LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF 1988 (NELS:88)

Longitudinal Data: Eighth-Graders Surveyed from 1988-2000: Looking at College Enrollment and Attainment

Students were surveyed again in 1994 to assess their credential goals at their first postsecondary education institution. For our purposes, we can consider this college enrollment data broken out by degree type and race/ethnicity.

When broken down by race and ethnicity, the proportion of students in this survey entering college varies considerably depending on the type of degree program in which they enroll. For example, Hispanics and African-Americans make up 13 and 12 percent, respectively, of the proportion of students enrolled in an associate degree program (see Figure 7)—which actually exceeds their representation in the general population. However, the percentage of African-Americans enrolling in a bachelor’s degree program is smaller (almost 11 percent), and for Hispanics, the percentage is markedly smaller (only 6 percent).

FIG. 7: Percentage of 1988 eighth-graders by credential goal at first postsecondary education institution, by race/ethnicity

RACE	TYPE OF DEGREE/CERTIFICATE				
	None	Certificate	Associate degree	Bachelor’s degree	Other
Asian/Pacific Islander					
Percent of APIs with credential goal	9.54	7.31	20.15	54.28	8.72
Overall percentage within credential goal	5.2	4.73	3.75	5.57	6.35
Hispanic					
Percent of Hispanics with credential goal	10.44	10.53	39.54	33.45	6.03
Overall percentage within credential goal	10.14	12.16	13.11	6.12	7.84
Black, not Hispanic					
Percent of blacks with credential goal	4.97	13.81	28.88	46.7	5.64
Overall percentage within credential goal	6.15	20.31	12.19	10.89	9.33
White, not Hispanic					
Percent of whites with credential goal	9.85	6.32	25.65	51.16	7.02
Overall percentage within credential goal	78.52	59.87	69.79	76.89	74.77
Native American					
Percent of Native Americans with credential goal	0	24.8	34.29	28.04	12.87
Overall percentage within credential goal	0	2.93	1.16	0.53	1.71

For the purpose of clarification, when the table indicates “percent of x with credential goal,” this means the percentage of all those within that ethnic group who are pursuing x degree. When the table indicates “overall percentage within credential goal,” this means of those pursuing x degree, the percentage of those who fall into x ethnic group.

The proportion of students attaining a college degree by the year 2000, when analyzed by race/ethnicity, indicates a continuous constriction of the educational pathway. The proportion of Hispanics and African-Americans attaining an associate degree is not too far off from their representation within the general population—12.5 percent and 9.6 percent, respectively, attained an associate degree by 2000. However, the percentage of members of underrepresented groups attaining bachelor’s, master’s and doctoral degrees is extremely low. Hispanics comprise only 4.9 percent of those who completed a bachelor’s degree, 3.3 percent of those who completed a master’s degree, and 3.2 percent of those who completed a Ph.D. For African-Americans, the corresponding percentages are 8.2 percent, 3.6 percent and 4.6 percent. (See Figure 8)

FIG. 8: Percentage of 1988 eighth-graders who enrolled in postsecondary education institutions and attained credentials by 2000, by highest degree attained and race/ethnicity

RACE	HIGHEST PSE DEGREE ATTAINED AS OF 2000					
	Some PSE, no degree attained	Certificate/ license	Associate degree	Bachelor’s degree	Master’s degree/ equivalent	Ph.D. or a professional degree
Asian/Pacific Islander						
Percent of APIs attaining a degree	39.1	6.44	3.76	45.49	3.66	1.54
Overall percent of degree attainment	4.37	2.61	1.97	6.13	4.72	12.5
Hispanic						
Percent of Hispanics attaining a degree	57.82	13.1	10.98	16.73	1.19	0.18
Overall percent of degree attainment	14.06	11.54	12.46	4.9	3.33	3.15
Black, not Hispanic						
Percent of blacks attaining a degree	50.94	18.51	6.82	22.48	1.03	0.21
Overall percent of degree attainment	15.4	20.29	9.63	8.19	3.58	4.6
White, not Hispanic						
Percent of whites attaining a degree	37.19	10.19	9.25	38.35	4.39	0.63
Overall percent of degree attainment	64.7	64.25	75.1	80.42	88.03	79.53
Native American						
Percent of Native Americans attaining a degree	62.98	15.44	7.71	12.47	1.27	0.13
Overall percent of degree attainment	1.47	1.31	0.84	0.35	0.34	0.22

For the purpose of clarification, when the table indicates “percent of x attaining a degree,” this means the percentage of all those within that ethnic group who are pursuing x degree. When the table indicates “overall percent of degree attainment,” this means of those pursuing x degree, the percentage of those who fall into x ethnic group.

IN SUMMARY, THEN, WHAT DO THESE DATA TELL US?

First, the data indicate that we have seen some progress. Between the years of 1995 and 2005, the number of Ph.D.s awarded to African-American and Latino students has doubled for both groups, from a combined total of 5.9 percent to 9 percent of those receiving Ph.D.s. At the same time, the data demonstrate that while the pathway from high school completion to doctorate attainment narrows for all groups up the educational ladder, the narrowing for underrepresented groups is more substantial and plays a persistent role in the continued underrepresentation of these groups in higher education. Considering the changing shape of the 21st-century job market and U.S. population demographics, the nation needs to develop a greater cohort of members of ethnically and racially underrepresented groups holding graduate degrees.

The impact of race and ethnicity has on student persistence and attainment goes hand in hand with the role of family, particularly the families of first-generation students. The likelihood of enrolling in postsecondary education is strongly related to parents' education, even when other factors are held constant. Among 1992 high school graduates whose parents had not gone to college, 59 percent had enrolled in some form of higher education by 1994. This rate was higher (75 percent) among those whose parents had some college experience, and even higher (93 percent) among those who had at least one parent with a bachelor's degree (Choy, 2001).³

Barriers in the Faculty Hiring Process

National Factors

Potential faculty members from underrepresented racial and ethnic groups may encounter obstacles in their job search because of two national factors that transcend the campus itself. First is a persistent opposition to affirmative action efforts, which goes hand in hand with the false assumption that minority faculty members are less qualified than their peers. The second factor is the stunning national trend away from creating and filling full-time tenure-track faculty positions, which greatly constricts the career options faced by members of underrepresented groups.

Attacks on Affirmative Action

Affirmative action programs are designed to ensure that job applicants from underrepresented racial and ethnic minority groups are given a fair shake at employment. Unfortunately, that intention has sometimes been turned on its head because of a lingering perception that affirmative action somehow confers an unfair advantage to candidates from underrepresented groups. Many job candidates report that interviewers tend to view their qualifications and accomplishments with some suspicion. On a more concrete level, four states have passed anti-affirmative action

referenda that ban preferential treatment of groups or individuals based on their race, gender, color, ethnicity or national origin. Political campaigns to enact such referenda are coordinated by a well-financed national organization led by Ward Connerly, with the massively misleading name the American Civil Rights Institute. The passage of anti-affirmative action referenda have had a demonstrably negative effect on faculty hiring of members from underrepresented racial and ethnic groups. These referenda may contribute more subtly to a sense that higher education is not a welcoming terrain for underrepresented faculty.

- In the four years following the passage of Proposition 209 in California, many University of California campuses experienced a drop in the rates of hiring women and members of underrepresented racial and ethnic groups for faculty positions.⁴
- After Initiative 200 passed in Washington in 1998, the expected enrollment of the freshman class of 1999 at the University of Washington was down 40 percent for African-American students and 30 percent for Hispanic/Latino students.⁵
- On the other hand, forces opposing anti-affirmative action initiatives won their first victory in November 2008, when Colorado rejected such an initiative.

The Academic Staffing Crisis

At the same time affirmative action is under attack, state funding cutbacks and negative administrative policies have generated a rapid and continuing loss in the proportion of full-time tenure-track faculty positions. Today, only about a quarter of the people teaching undergraduate courses are tenured or on the tenure track, and two-thirds of new hiring in the ranks of faculty is in contingent, mainly part-time/adjunct positions. Most often, there are extreme limitations on the salaries, pensions and benefits offered by contingent positions, along with little or no job security, time to conduct research or academic freedom. In other words, the loss of full-time tenure-track positions greatly complicates the process of offering stable, well-paid careers to faculty and instructors from underrepresented ethnic and racial groups.

Of the 10.4 percent of faculty positions held by underrepresented racial and ethnic groups in 2007, 7.6 percent are contingent positions—which means that 73 percent of underrepresented faculty hold positions that do not give them adequate wages or benefits, job security, or meaningful academic freedom. And while there has been an increase in the proportion of contingent jobs among all groups in all sectors of higher education, underrepresented groups have seen a somewhat higher increase in the percentage of contingent jobs—a 7 percent increase versus a 5 percent increase for white faculty over the past 10 years. (See Figure 8 on next page)

Campus Factors

Experience has generally shown that institutions need to mount targeted, coordinated hiring campaigns to attract a sufficient pool of applicants from ethnic and racial minority groups. This, in turn, requires a strong commitment on the part of the campus administration and the faculty at large. Too often, however, faculty job candidates from underrepresented groups report that a bottom-to-top commitment to diversity hiring

FIG. 8: Percentage distribution of instructional staff by race/ethnicity and instructional staff type, 1997 and 2007

	1997	2007
White	77.7	70.7
Full-time tenured/on-track faculty	27.9	21.2
Contingent faculty	49.8	49.5
Black	4.8	5.4
Full-time tenured/on-track faculty	1.6	1.4
Contingent faculty	3.2	4.0
Hispanic	3.7	4.5
Full-time tenured/on-track faculty	1.2	1.3
Contingent faculty	2.5	3.2
American Indian	0.4	0.5
Full-time tenured/on-track faculty	0.1	0.1
Contingent faculty	0.3	0.4
Asian/Pacific Islander	5.0	6.0
Full-time tenured/on-track faculty	1.8	2.1
Contingent faculty	3.2	3.9
Nonresident Alien/Unknown	8.4	12.9
Full-time tenured/on-track faculty	0.5	1.1
Contingent faculty	7.9	11.8

*Contingent is defined as full-time nontenure-track faculty, part-time/adjunct faculty, and graduate assistants.

SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATION STATISTICS, INTEGRATED POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION DATA SYSTEM, FALL STAFF SURVEY DATA FILE, VARIOUS YEARS.

is not evident on campus or may not be communicated widely enough. Case studies report that recruitment efforts may be spotty or insufficiently comprehensive. For example, applicants often report that job openings are not advertised in publications typically read by underrepresented faculty. Similarly, candidates often report that members of hiring committees are not diverse themselves or are not well-informed about the mission to recruit underrepresented faculty.

Even when underrepresented faculty members are given a job interview, they may continue to face obstacles. For example, some members of screening committees may consider graduates of historically black colleges and universities to be inferior candidates, despite excellent academic records. Evidence of bias is reinforced by a study of how African-American candidates fared in searches⁶. The study concluded that potential faculty candidates were most often eliminated based on what graduate school they attended, and that the highest-ranked candidates frequently came from elite graduate institutions. Studies have long indicated that employers tend to hire those who have backgrounds and characteristics similar to their own, and may not exhibit fairness and consistency in the search process.

Finally, when applicants consider whether or not an institution is a good fit, they

need to know if they will be able to find communities outside the campus that will suit their lifestyle. That information, however, may not be shared by, or even known by, those who sit on the hiring committee. Even when a campus has a diversity mission in place, there may not be a strategic plan implemented to realize the goals of the mission. Without this commitment, it is easy for members of underrepresented groups to fall victim to the reality that authority over faculty hiring is very dispersed in higher education and is not designed to ensure that institutions employ a diverse group of educators.

Barriers to Retention

A body of research, usually in the form of case studies, indicates that faculty from underrepresented groups experience lower levels of job satisfaction than their white counterparts, especially when there are few (or no) fellow faculty members from underrepresented racial and ethnic groups in their departments. Even when the authors controlled for academic rank, the pattern of dissatisfaction among underrepresented faculty remained powerful. Most dissatisfied were African-American and Hispanic faculty members, who reported feeling the most singled out and alone in their departments⁷. Nearly 70 percent said the racial climate at work affected their job satisfaction.⁸

Underrepresented faculty members may feel tokenized, stigmatized, left out or out of place. In addition, they often cite, as a primary reason for leaving their institutions, an inability to connect with mentors to help them navigate the institutional culture and the demands of their departments and disciplines. In particular, some studies point to the confusion engendered by the tenure and promotion process.

Given their visibility, faculty members from underrepresented racial and ethnic groups are often asked to devote an inordinate amount of time to serving on committees, participating in organizations and speaking at events, as a representative of their racial/ethnic group, leaving them with less time to devote to their research and other academic duties. They also sometimes report experiencing a double standard with regard to their credentials; for example, some find it an impediment to be graduates of an HBCU or to pursue research in racially sensitive areas.

Myers and Turner's study "Elements Influencing the Workplace Environment" cites the following as contributing factors to attrition among underrepresented faculty members:

- Faculty of color are involved in a Catch-22; they feel they cannot refuse to serve on committees, but heavy service loads mean less time for research that is the focus of tenure review.⁹
- African-American faculty members have higher stress levels relating to research and service than do white faculty.¹⁰
- One example of special demands involves excessive committee assignments.

Another is the expectation that faculty of color should be the “ethnic” resource for the entire institution.¹¹

- Women and underrepresented scholars in the academy suffer under disproportionate loads of student advising and service directly related to their visibility as “the only one” of their group in the department. These faculty members report that this extra service is expected only for underrepresented scholars, while their academic interests in studying pressing social, political and economic questions involving race and gender are often devalued in the faculty-promotion process.¹²

Recommendations

THE AFT HIGHER EDUCATION PROGRAM AND POLICY COUNCIL (PPC) believes that making a strong commitment to diversifying the ranks of the student body, faculty and staff should be a high priority for all of us in academe. Based on the information gathered in the preceding pages, the PPC believes that many obstacles to diversity can be mitigated or eliminated in the face of serious, coordinated efforts by institutions and unions like ours, acting in concert with other key actors on campus.

But as a practical matter—given all our work and union responsibilities, given the limits on our local’s capacity—how can we possibly add faculty diversity to our responsibilities, even if we know we should?

We’ve tried to address that question below, by putting forward a number of general principles to guide diversity-related activities on campus. These are followed by a long laundry list of possible activities to carry these principles out. Let’s be clear—we do not expect that any local will be able to undertake all the activities listed here, certainly not at one time. We do hope the list of activities in this report will prompt you to think about what you can accomplish on your own campus, and will help you shape a program that works for you.

Basic Recommendations to Promote Faculty Diversity

We recommend that each AFT higher education local make faculty diversity an important part of the union agenda on campus. This can be done by:

- Taking an in-depth look at what is happening on the diversity front on your campus;
- Initiating a discussion with your leaders and membership about possible plans of action, including ways to incorporate diversity activities into the collective bargaining contract; and
- Designating a group of people to coordinate the union's efforts.

This can be accomplished with the following steps:

1 INVENTORY

As a first step, we urge you to consider conducting an inventory of your institution to assess the condition of diversity in the student body and the faculty, both campuswide and in individual departments. Take a look at the obstacles to diversity enumerated in this report, and see how your institution stacks up in terms of eliminating these obstacles and creating a positive environment for faculty from underrepresented racial and ethnic groups. Similarly, look at the state of diversity in the ranks of the union itself, in its governance and its pathways to leadership.

2 LEADER/MEMBERSHIP INVOLVEMENT

We encourage you to take your inventory of campus diversity conditions, bring the facts to your leaders and members, and initiate probing discussions about the issues raised in this report. Expand that dialogue as widely as you can.

3 DIVERSITY COMMITTEE

In order to transform analysis and discussion into a concrete program of action, we recommend that each local affiliate establish a standing diversity committee to oversee and coordinate diversity-related activities.

In addition to coordinating the union's work, these committees can serve as the main point of contact in attempts to build coalitions with other stakeholders—preK-12 unions, university systems and local community groups, to name a few. Whenever possible, the work of the union diversity committee can be coordinated with any administration diversity committee or activities that may already exist on campus. The union may, in fact, prompt the administration to create diversity structures at the institution. Joint labor-management diversity committees are another avenue that can be considered as a means toward creating effective and lasting ways to increase diversity for both the student population and faculty ranks.

Activities to Promote Diversity on Your Campus

THIS IS A LAUNDRY LIST of activities for you to chew on, as you consider how to effectuate a diversity agenda. The activities are divided into three categories—hiring, retention and diversifying educational pathways.

Establish More Diverse Hiring Practices

In light of the dispersed responsibility for faculty hiring at most institutions of higher education, here is a series of activities for your local union to consider in order to promote an institution wide, coordinated focus on outreach to and recruitment of underrepresented faculty.

ACTIVITY #1:

Encourage the institution to develop and implement a clear diversity mission and strategic plan.

An institutional commitment to diversity has been shown to create a more welcoming campus climate by sending the message to faculty, staff and students that employing a diverse faculty is necessary to the institution's success. Local unions can encourage the creation of such missions and plans, and can aid in their implementation. The union could, for example:

- Organize forums/workshops at which leading researchers on diversity present findings to college administrators about the benefits of a diverse faculty and staff.
- Facilitate discussion groups that build coalitions of students, faculty and staff around the issue of faculty diversity and its effect on student success.
- Promote and reward the success of departments that have made substantial efforts toward increasing the diversity of their faculty as well as students.

ACTIVITY #2:

Promote collaboration with historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), Hispanic-serving institutions (HSIs), tribal colleges, and other community and advocacy groups serving underrepresented populations.

Building relationships with colleagues at minority-serving institutions (MSIs,) including faculty exchanges, can be a key element in addressing lingering negative perceptions about MSIs, connecting with a wider pool of potential faculty members, and showing underrepresented faculty what their own campuses have to offer. Here are three interesting examples of interchange:

- Virginia Tech draws on the resources of HBCUs by frequently inviting professors from HBCUs to deliver lectures on campus, which gives the campus more exposure to potential candidates for faculty positions.¹³
- In 1993, Duke University implemented the Black Faculty Strategic Initiative, which introduces potential black faculty to black faculty members in and outside of the candidates' departments, increasing lines of communication and promoting the exchange of ideas and resources.¹⁴
- Cornell University, along with five major businesses, formed a council to deal with equity issues in the community, and has created more than a dozen public service announcements that focus on diversity, equity and race. To attract faculty and staff members, the university showcases social programs both on and off the campus. Officials bring prospective black faculty members and other employees to Cornell during "First Fridays," a networking and social group for young black professionals that holds monthly events. The university also recruits at an annual festival run by the Greater Ithaca Activities Center, a hub of the African-American community, as well as at the annual Dragon Boat Festival, which is run by the Ithaca Asian-American Association, and at the Latino Civic Association's yearly picnic.¹⁵

ACTIVITY #3:

Create and/or strengthen proactive partnerships with coalition partners to educate the public about the value of affirmative action.

This is especially important when the public is being presented with anti-affirmative action measures; however, such efforts should be made before attacks arise as well.

- At the national level, the AFT continues to endorse affirmative action as a necessary tool in ensuring equal access to higher education for all members of our society, which is an indispensable social condition of democracy. The AFT is an executive committee member of the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, which coordinates opposition to anti-affirmative action initiatives in the states. In addition, the AFT provides financial support to, and serves on the board of, the Ballot Initiative Strategy Center, which conducts background research and voter education in opposition to state anti-affirmative action initiatives. The AFT also maintains a national partnership with the NAACP, and

encourages local membership and participation in that organization. And the AFT contributes annually to many other organizations that support diversity.

- At the local level, consider forming or strengthening similar partnerships and devoting resources, if needed, to on-the-ground activities opposing attacks on affirmative action. In addition, local union diversity committees can take the lead in developing educational initiatives to dispel misconceptions about affirmative action among union members and, more broadly, in the community.

ACTIVITY #4:

Educate hiring committees about the institutional diversity mission and plan, and establish protocols, through collective bargaining whenever possible, for the search and hiring process.

- Encourage the formation of more diverse hiring committees, requiring, for example, that the hiring committee include faculty and staff of color whenever possible.
- Negotiate contracts that call for diverse hiring practices. For example, the Cook County College Teachers Union negotiated a contract that mandates at least one person of color be interviewed for every open position. The faculty ranks have gone from less than 10 percent African-American to nearly 50 percent, thanks to this provision in the contract.
- Press for training on sound employment practices, including the creation of protocols to ensure fairness, consistency and adherence to legal regulations in the hiring process.
- Promote the strategy of hiring several faculty from diverse populations at one time (often known as “cluster hiring”) to increase the number of diverse faculty on campus while also working to eliminate a climate of isolation. For example, Rutgers University launched an innovative “cluster hiring” initiative to improve diversity on its faculty. Since 2008, deans and provosts have submitted five-year proposals for faculty diversity cluster hires—groups of three, four or five faculty of high quality who would come to Rutgers as a “cluster.” These faculty could all be in one department, or, more likely, cross-departmental or in different schools. The proposal must demonstrate how the new hires would strategically increase the diversification of the university’s research and teaching.
- Promote recruitment through publications and listservs that target underrepresented groups, and consider other ways to coordinate recruitment between campus departments. For example, the University of California San Francisco developed a tool that creates an “academic database,” tracking faculty searches and comparing the university’s performance with national data. In May 2009, UCSF leaders took new steps to increase diversity based on the data developed.

RESOURCE: DIVERSIFYING THE FACULTY

Association of American
Colleges and Universities

For search committees, AAC&U has published a guidebook that offers a wealth of resources and strategies to increase faculty diversity before, during and after the search and hiring process.

The guidebook can be purchased online at:
www.aacu.org/publications/divfacintro.cfm.

ACTIVITY #5:

Take advantage of the national AFT Faculty and College Excellence (FACE) campaign to promote better faculty jobs on campus through political advocacy and collective bargaining.

Specifically, the FACE campaign is designed to increase the number of full-time, tenure-track positions and improve the working conditions of contingent faculty, both of which would benefit underrepresented faculty members. For more information, locals should visit the FACE Web site, www.aftface.org.

Retaining Diverse Faculty and Navigating the University Culture

Local unions may contribute to retention of underrepresented faculty through labor-management activities and the union's own governance.

ACTIVITY #1:

Promote the inclusion of members from underrepresented racial and ethnic groups in the union. Such efforts may include:

- Involving underrepresented faculty in union events, featuring speakers from underrepresented groups at union events, and fostering discussion of diversity-related issues.
- Taking steps to ensure that union executive boards, councils, committees and bargaining teams actively recruit faculty of color to serve.
- Promoting a diversity agenda with the other labor organizations to which it belongs, such as the Central Labor Council and the state AFL-CIO. (See Appendix A to read the AFL-CIO's diversity resolution, enacted in 2009.)

UUP SUPPORT FOR DIVERSITY LEAVE

ONE EXAMPLE of a union contributing to the professional development of underrepresented faculty is the union representing faculty and staff at the State University of New York. United University Professions created the Dr. Nuala McGann Drescher Affirmative Action/Diversity Leave Program to enhance employment opportunities. The program gives preference to members of racially and ethnically underrepresented groups, women, employees with disabilities and Vietnam-era veterans who are preparing for permanent or continuing appointments.

The types of support available include:

- Payment of the employee's regular salary by the institution.
- Salary for a replacement.
- Tuition and fees for course work.
- Registration fees for conferences and workshops.
- Course- and research-related supplies.
- Travel and related expenses for research or study.

ACTIVITY #2:

Focus attention on helping members from underrepresented groups succeed professionally.

Again, some aspects of this may be supported by the collective bargaining agreement. For example, the union may:

- Offer new-member workshops for all new faculty members to introduce them to the union and show them how the union can support their professional needs.
- Develop formal mentoring programs for new faculty members, such as one-on-one mentoring to counter the culture of isolation faced by many new underrepresented faculty.
- Engage administration and fellow faculty on the issue of excessive service workloads for underrepresented faculty.

The expectations imposed on tenure-track faculty should be balanced and limited to what is feasible, in order for them to pursue their research as well as service and committee work. Responsibilities should be varied enough for them to succeed when they are up for tenure review, while also ensuring good and fair working conditions.

- Support members from underrepresented groups in navigating the promotion and tenure process.

When underrepresented junior faculty members are asked to cite reasons for not staying at their institutions, they frequently focus on the idiosyncrasy and mystery surrounding the tenure and promotion process. The union could help. For example, the United Faculty of Miami Dade College provides its members with a series of faculty advancement workshops that include help with writing the self-assessment, applying for continuing contracts, navigating the promotion process, and applying for endowed chair positions. Workshops are led by veteran faculty who offer step-by-step comprehensive guidance for new faculty.

Diversifying Educational Pathways

As reported in the previous section, achieving faculty diversity, in the final analysis, will require educators to move more students from underrepresented groups onto educational pathways that lead to academic careers. Although there have been gains in this regard over the past 30 years, there is still a narrowing in the percentage of racial and ethnic minority students enrolling in college, receiving graduate degrees and finally entering the faculty ranks—especially tenured and tenure-track faculty. According to the College Board, just 9 percent of all college-ready high school graduates are African-American or Hispanic¹⁶ and the proportion diminishes at each succeeding educational level.

Improving conditions will require a good deal more time, attention and interchange among faculty at all levels. Here are some ideas organized in terms of (1) the K-12/college

connection, (2) the community/four-year college connection, (3) the undergraduate school/graduate school connection and (4) succeeding in graduate school.

Strengthening the K-12/College Connection

Lack of access to a rigorous high school curriculum, along with a lack of knowledge about the admissions process, financial aid and postsecondary education all contribute to low persistence rates.

To address these issues, we urge local higher education unions to bring some of their members together with colleagues in the colleges' "feeder" preK-12 unions for the purpose of determining what could be done cooperatively to help elementary, middle and high school students prepare for college and envision higher education careers for themselves—financially, academically and as a way of life.

Whenever possible, both preK-12 and higher education locals might try to incorporate ideas coming out of these discussions into their own collective bargaining agreements, so constructive activities could get under way without imposing a completely extracurricular and unrewarded burden on the faculty. Activities suggested during these high school-college faculty discussions might include:

FORMING a corps of college faculty who can work in local high schools, and vice versa, to encourage students to pursue college and become college-ready.

PAIRING high school counselors with college counselors and financial aid professionals to plan activities to help students and their families, particularly families where the student will be the first generation in college, understand the opportunities available to them.

College faculty can reinforce high school pre-college counseling programs and educate students about potential career paths and available financial aid. If possible, one or more college professionals could make themselves available to those students when and if they enroll at their institutions. According to a report released by the Pew Economic Mobility Project, many low-income and racially and ethnically underrepresented students miss out on college because they don't know how much it costs or how to get access to billions of dollars in financial aid. One of the ways to enable students to get a college degree, according to the report, is to provide effective guidance for students on choosing and paying for college.

PROVIDING opportunities to bring high school students to college campuses. Improving students' K-12 academic achievement and preparation increases their chance of success. Faculty might consider including high school students in summer research projects and encouraging them to sit in on their classes.

PROMOTING the initiation of "bridge" programs. The National Science Foundation and other private and public organizations have developed models of summer programs that provide experience in science, math, reading and writing for students

attending high schools that do not have the necessary resources to provide a college prep curriculum. For example, the College Bridge Program between Northeastern Illinois University and the Chicago Public Schools provides opportunities for Chicago public school juniors and seniors to become familiar with a college environment, enjoy the use of their facilities and earn college credits while fulfilling high school electives. There is no cost to students. Chicago Public Schools, through its partnership with Northeastern, assumes the cost of tuition, textbooks and public transportation expenses.

CONDUCTING periodic meetings between college and high school faculty in the same disciplines to discuss the high school curriculum and the expectations colleges have of entering freshmen.

Among the areas of discussion can be developmental education, and aligning high school and college expectations and curricula more closely. High schools located on college campuses, often known as “laboratory high schools,” could offer a good arena for developing ideas.

CREATING programs to make higher education faculty available as mentors to high school students identified as promising by their teachers and counselors.

PROVIDING high school students with union-sponsored financial assistance for college. Several local unions offer scholarships to members’ dependents for higher education. Two programs are sponsored by the national AFT:

Robert G. Porter Scholars Program

Four-year, \$8,000 postsecondary scholarships are available to AFT members’ dependents. Applicants must be graduating high school seniors whose parent or guardian has been an AFT member for at least one year.

Union Plus Scholarship Program

Sponsored by the Union Plus Education Foundation, the program is open to members of unions participating in any of the Union Plus programs, and their spouses and dependent children. The amount of the award ranges from \$500 to \$4,000.

CONNECTING with community leaders to create programs that educate parents about the value of and pathways to an affordable college degree.

Strengthening the Two-Year/Four-Year College Connection

Higher education unions should consider bringing together faculty at local two- and four-year institutions to help resolve problems of student persistence and articulation between community colleges and baccalaureate institutions. Articulation standards may or may not be within the control of faculty, but faculty can seek ways to facilitate the transition by aligning program criteria between two- and four-year institutions and facilitating the transfer of credits.

SERVING THE UNDERSERVED

California State University has undertaken a program to reach out to underrepresented communities. CSU entered an agreement with the Parent Institute for Quality Education with the goal of increasing the number of students eligible to enter the CSU from underserved communities. Under this partnership program, parents receive training and resources to support the education of their children. The project’s mission is designed to bring schools, parents and community members together in the education of underserved students. Through a nine-week training program, the partnership helps parents create a home learning environment, navigate the school system, collaborate with teachers, counselors and principals, encourage college attendance, and support a child’s emotional and social development. In 2007-08, all 23 CSU campuses participated in PIQE.

For more information about PIQE, visit www.piqe.org.

SUNY SUPPORTS GRADUATE STUDENTS

The State University of New York at Albany's Graduate Tuition Opportunity Program (GTOP) is a good example of a program that provides full tuition scholarship support to graduates of the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP), the Higher Educational Opportunity Program (HEOP), and the Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge program (SEEK). The University at Albany's GTOP is designed to continue the educational pathway for eligible students who want to earn a graduate degree.

The Undergraduate/Graduate School Connection

Faculty members can help create incentives for their undergraduate students to pursue graduate programs. Considerable amounts of time and money are necessary for a successful graduate career, as well as some degree of understanding that jobs will be available upon completion of the degree. Local higher education unions can push for contracts supporting mentoring efforts and leadership training to encourage undergraduates to consider a graduate academic career as well as graduate-level professional programs such as dental, medical or law schools. Related activities could include:

CONDUCTING education fairs that are similar to job fairs. The education fairs should be aimed at informing undergraduate students about pursuing a career in academe and showcasing what kind of positions are available.

CONNECTING students from underrepresented groups with government or private financial incentive programs, including institutional or union programs, that are available to pursue graduate degrees. Faculty should attempt to familiarize themselves with these opportunities and encourage their undergraduate students to pursue them.

STRENGTHENING mentorship efforts aimed at undergraduates from racial or ethnic minority groups—under collective bargaining contracts, whenever possible. Mentoring ideas will undoubtedly be generated by the union diversity committees. Other efforts may involve taking advantage of existing federal and private programs. Either way, collective bargaining agreements should have language in them to support faculty's mentoring efforts.

Mathematical and Theoretical Biology Institute and Institute for Strengthening the Understanding of Mathematics and Science (MTBI/SUMS)

Founded 11 years ago, the Mathematical and Theoretical Biology Institute and Institute for Strengthening the Understanding of Mathematics and Science (MTBI/SUMS) at Cornell University and Arizona State University mentor highly diverse groups of students who have not yet been tracked into selective mathematics programs. The programs are designed to provide the best quality support and research-based education to individuals who are underrepresented in the mathematical sciences by fostering the academic and professional development of its participants. This dedication to increasing the number of U.S.-educated students, particularly members of underrepresented racial and ethnic groups and women who are pursuing advanced degrees in the mathematical sciences, is achieved by providing a supportive and diverse environment where mentorship, cooperative learning and leadership training play a critical role.

MTBI/SUMS has sent 112 students from underrepresented groups to graduate school over its 11 years of existence, and a total of 178 students overall. It also has sent 120 of its alumni into Ph.D. programs, including 71 from underrepresented groups.

To learn more about the development of MTBI/SUMS and its successful implementation, visit <http://mtbi.asu.edu>.

The Graduate School Experience

Higher education unions can help improve the inclusiveness of graduate programs by providing students with the support and resources they need to successfully complete their studies. Faculty and staff mentoring and cross-departmental communication will enhance graduate students' success and persistence.

Students, especially those from underrepresented groups, often cite a lack of connection with faculty and their programs as a key obstacle to their persistence and success. As for faculty, a common obstacle to their involvement in mentoring and retention strategies is a lack of time and resources to support such initiatives. Locals may want to consider pushing for contract language that supports initiatives to:

DEVELOP and promote interactive faculty-student groups with the theme of cross-departmental collaboration and graduate student success. Graduate research and teaching assistants should be included in these groups.

SUPPORT faculty mentoring activities at the departmental and cross-departmental levels.

IDENTIFY community partners to support graduate student persistence and success.

For example, the union might encourage the administration to undertake a program like one at the University of Washington. In 2005, the University of Washington won the CGS/Peterson's Award for their proposal "Committed to Diversity; Committed to Community." Building on a project in place, the Graduate Opportunity and Minority Achievement Program (GO-MAP), UW sought to create a wider and more diverse group of mentors to provide role models and social support for UW graduate students. Those mentors came from local businesses, industry, profession, government, nonprofit organizations and area higher education institutions. The proposed project was aimed at enhancing "relationships between the UW, the Graduate School, communities and businesses of color, and others interested in advancing diversity and inclusiveness."¹⁹

This national award recognizes innovative institutional programmatic efforts in the identification, recruitment, retention and graduation of underrepresented graduate students. Winning programs demonstrate creative approaches that enhance current recruitment practices and that can serve as models for other institutions.

ENCOURAGE student participation in public and private diversity-related programs.

One example of this is the PhD Project, a national mentorship program designed to support African-American, Hispanic and Native American students on the path to earning Ph.D.s and becoming business school faculty members. The PhD Project has succeeded not only in increasing the number of underrepresented business faculty, but also in inspiring them to create more avenues for support. Today, the

PhD Project has tripled the number of underrepresented business school professors, increasing from 294 to 898 since 1994. To learn more about the PhD Project, visit www.phdproject.org.

Similar to the PhD Project, the Compact for Faculty Diversity's Institute on Teaching and Mentoring has a simple goal: to increase the number of students from underrepresented groups who earn doctoral degrees and become college and university faculty. Around 1,100 doctoral candidates and recent Ph.D. recipients from underrepresented groups gather annually to learn how to prepare for a career as a professor, network, and support one another through information and story sharing. For more information on the Compact for Faculty Diversity and the Institute on Teaching and Mentoring, visit www.instituteonteachingandmentoring.org.

PROMOTE other funding opportunities for diversity efforts through the creation of a union-sponsored listserv or e-mail network devoted to diversity.

A Diverse and Democratic Labor Movement

AFL-CIO (2009)

RESOLUTION 7

Submitted by the Executive Council

Amended by the Civil, Women and Human Rights Committee

AT THE 2005 AFL-CIO CONVENTION, delegates unanimously passed Resolution 2, “A Diverse Movement Calls for Diverse Leadership.” The resolution was a bold call for diversity and full inclusion of women and people of color at every level of leadership and in every program of our union movement. The resolution called on the AFL-CIO, central labor councils, area and state federations and national and international unions to take steps to achieve diversity in leadership and throughout their organizations. It also laid out a vision for our movement and outlined steps to achieve those goals. The resolution said, “America’s union movement must stand as a model of inclusion....In our hiring, organizing, representation, outreach and leadership, the union movement must embody our goal of equal welcome and equal opportunity for all.” It went further to state, “... we [labor] must act decisively to ensure diversity at every level and hold union organizations accountable to diversity standards. We must go beyond acknowledging where we fall short and move into full and committed action.”

The call for diversity was based on the voices of AFL-CIO constituency groups—A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI), Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA), Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA) and Pride At Work (PAW)—the Labor Coalition for Community Action (LCCA) and union members of color as well as women members, backed up by surveys and polling. Women and people of color overwhelmingly said they believed (based on their experience and perception) there was a lack of commitment from the labor movement to address diversity issues; leadership at all levels of the movement in national and international unions, local labor councils and state federations was dominated by white males; and that the paths to leadership and full participation were blocked. We also examined available demographic data and considered anecdotal evidence. These measures indicated a lack of inclusion and diversity in our labor movement. We found this was in some instances rooted in tradition—“this is the way we have always done it,” and was often informal and sometimes systemic.

Whatever the cause, the outcome was unacceptable. Women and people of color remained underrepresented in our movement and there were real barriers to leadership and opportunity. Our movement was not benefiting from the skills, talents and experience of the majority of our members. In 2005, more than 40 percent of members were women and nearly one-third were people of color. Meanwhile, a study by Kate Bronfenbrenner, “Organizing Women: The Nature and Process of Organizing Efforts Among U.S. Women Workers Since the Mid-

1990s,” found that women and people of color are most likely to champion and join unions. This is in large part because women and people of color have traditionally been shortchanged in the workplace, so they have the most to gain from union membership: Union women earn 32 percent more than nonunion women, African American union members earn 28 percent more than their nonunion counterparts and the union pay advantage for Latino workers is 43 percent.

Ultimately, there was no question that passing Resolution 2 and expanding diversity at every level of the union movement in 2005 was the right thing to do. It was also the only thing to do if we were serious about building power for working families.

Resolution 2

When the AFL-CIO 2005 Convention passed the historic Resolution 2, we pledged to increase leadership development, fully integrate the AFLCIO constituency groups into state federation and central labor council programs, expand diversity at the highest levels of federation governance, call on affiliated unions to adopt diversity principles established by the Executive Council, require state federations and central labor councils to develop and implement target levels of diversity in leadership and make the federation a model in hiring and promotions. We also established a new federation policy that each union’s credentialed delegation to the AFL-CIO Convention, the highest policymaking body of the federation, shall generally reflect the racial and gender diversity of its membership, and we encouraged affiliates to include young workers as delegates.

Through the resolution, the labor movement made a commitment to full participation and inclusion of all members, just as we have historically spoken out for equality for all people regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, faith, age, sexual orientation, disability or immigrant status. To ensure that the resolution moved beyond the business of the Convention, the federation sponsored a series of diversity dialogues across the country in 2007 to inform leaders and rank-and-file members about the resolution and create the best conditions for implementation. In addition, across the country the constituency groups informed union members about the resolution through town hall meetings, conferences and other methods. The pledge made in 2005 was to make Resolution 2 and diversity real, not rhetoric.

Progress

Four years later, we see results and progress. The AFL-CIO adopted its first diversity policy as an employer and purchaser of goods and services. It is a model for all labor organizations, calling for broad recruitment of women and people of color to achieve a diverse hiring pool, encouraging mentoring and establishing a permanent committee to monitor policy implementation. Changes were made to the AFL-CIO’s governance to ensure diversity on the Executive Committee, the Executive Council and the General Board, where key decisions are made. The federation also made good on its promise to create additional paths to leadership through leadership development. Through the Leadership Development Institute for central labor councils and state federations, the participation of women and people of color

increased nearly 100 percent. At the state and local levels, the AFL-CIO constituency groups became affiliates of the central labor councils and area and state federations. Nearly half of all state federations (46 percent) went beyond the mandate of Resolution 2 and established one or more seats on their executive boards for representatives of constituency groups. State and local bodies also made great strides forward in electing diverse leadership and in hiring diverse staff.

Progress can also be measured beyond the mandates of Resolution 2. Over the past four years, national and international unions have expanded their national boards to create more opportunities for diversity, started women's and other minority caucuses, sponsored diversity workshops and made extra efforts to increase diversity opportunities within their unions. Thirty-two percent of our unions have adopted the Diversity Principles established by the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

There is a growing consensus that we have made progress.

Building on Resolution 2

The progress we have made does not leave us complacent. It leaves us inspired to build on Resolution 2 and commit to more aggressive steps to ensure that our union movement—in membership, action and leadership—truly reflects the face of America's workforce.

In 2009, with the passage of national labor law reform, it will be more important than ever for the union movement to speak to, speak for and nurture leadership by women, people of color, immigrants, young workers, LGBT workers and workers with disabilities. We now are poised to extend the benefits of union membership to tens of thousands more workers and, in the process, build new strength and capacity that can serve millions and rebalance America's economy.

All workers need and deserve unions. And they need a union movement that welcomes and recognizes the imperative of full inclusion, full participation and inclusive leadership opportunities at every level. With the potential to enable so many workers to improve their lives through union membership and collective bargaining, it is time to move forward beyond the progress of Resolution 2. At this Convention, we commit to:

Expand leadership development. Leadership development has proven to be a path to leadership.

- Working with our affiliates, we will expand and strengthen the existing Leadership Development Institute, which is now offered for central labor council and area and state federation leaders, so that it can also focus on recruiting the next generation of leaders, especially women, people of color and other historically disadvantaged groups.
- The federation urges national and international unions to recruit and support the attendance of at least one to two students at the institute per year.

State federations and area and central labor councils will create and sustain efforts and opportunities for diversity.

- State, area and local bodies must have concrete goals for achieving progress in the diversity of their leadership and governing boards. These goals should be reported annually to the federation. The labor bodies should make every effort to promote diversity and inclusion throughout their organizations, including programs, meetings, conferences and committees created or sponsored by their organizations.
- Efforts on diversity will be used by the federation as a critical benchmark for evaluating the overall effectiveness of a state or local labor body.
- The federation, when reviewing proposed constitutional changes for state and local bodies, will evaluate the impact on diversity and will reject proposed actions if they undermine diversity.
- When hiring new staff, every effort should be made by state, area and local central bodies to recruit broadly to attract a diverse pool of applicants.
- The AFL-CIO will continue to provide training opportunities for new leaders and staff through the Leadership Development Institute.
- Beginning with the next regularly scheduled AFL-CIO Convention in 2013, state, area and local central bodies that send a regular and an alternate delegate to the Convention must ensure that at least one of these delegates is a woman or person of color.
- Annual reports should be made to the AFL-CIO regarding the ethnicity/race, age and gender demographics of officers, staff and executive boards and on the affiliation of constituency groups. This data will be provided to the AFL-CIO Executive Council and the State Federation/Central Labor Council Advisory Committee.
- In areas with one or more viable AFL-CIO constituency group, state, area and local labor bodies are required to designate one or more seats on their governing board for a representative(s) of constituency groups.
- Building on progress that has been made, the State Federation/Central Labor Council Advisory Committee will work with the AFL-CIO to collect a set of best practices for promoting diversity, including model constitutional language approved by the AFL-CIO for promoting diversity. The federation will distribute best practices to all labor bodies, and the Advisory Committee should play a leadership role in promoting their implementation.
- The federation will review the status of efforts under this resolution on an annual basis and take the necessary steps to ensure implementation.

Increase commitment to the inclusion and full participation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) workers in our society and movement. LGBT workers make a tremendous contribution to the labor movement.

- We must include LGBT brothers and sisters in all our efforts to achieve diversity within the union movement.
- LGBT workers must have every opportunity for full participation and representation at every level of the labor movement, including leadership.
- The rights of LGBT workers must be protected and the issues and concerns of LGBT workers must be addressed.
- The AFL-CIO supports the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) and will do all in our power to see that it passes.

Increase inclusion of workers with disabilities at all levels of the labor movement. Workers with disabilities form a large segment of the labor movement. Our initiatives for greater diversity in the labor movement should be inclusive of workers with disabilities.

- We will work to ensure that workers with disabilities are included in all aspects of the labor movement, including leadership.
- We will ensure the rights of workers with disabilities are protected and their concerns and issues are addressed.

Young workers (16- to 34-year-olds) are the future of our movement. They currently make up 25 percent of total union membership. However, they are not, in general, active in union leadership or in the life of the union movement.

- We will actively recruit, train and include young workers in all activities and programs, and provide opportunities for access to leadership.

Recommit to the struggles and concerns of working women in the United States and around the world. The AFL-CIO remains committed to addressing the struggles and concerns of working women and considers this among our highest priorities, as we detail in the March 2009 Executive Council statement “Charter Rights of Working Women.”

- The federation will make every effort to have conferences and programs on issues that particularly affect working women. We will educate, mobilize grassroots action and lobby Congress and state legislatures on policies and legislation critical to working women.
- We also will work with the AFL-CIO constituency groups to address the struggles and issues of working women.

Continue the struggle for opportunity and inclusion for people of color. The AFL-CIO will continue to ensure that the struggle for diversity for people of color be a high priority in all areas of the work and leadership of the federation. We also will work with the AFL-CIO constituency groups toward this goal.

- The federation will make every effort to hold conferences on issues that are of particular concern to people of color, and continue opportunities for education, leadership development and inclusion in the programs of the federation.
- The federation will continue to diligently monitor the progress of diversity and full participation at all levels of the movement for people of color and all underrepresented union members.

Build and maintain strategic partnerships with community organizations. As we have in efforts from local school funding issues to the Employee Free Choice Act and health care reform, we will establish and nurture strategic collaborations and coalitions with national community-based organizations that struggle against oppression, work for inclusion and diversity, support policies that benefit working families and advocate workers' rights. They are natural allies of the labor movement.

- The AFL-CIO and state and local bodies will build and strengthen our alliances with these organizations and together build the progressive movement for social change through joint work on issues of fairness, justice and equality.
- AFL-CIO constituency groups are bridges between the labor movement and many community organizations. These relationships are of great value to our movement. The AFL-CIO will work with the constituency groups and community organizations to build a progressive movement nationally and in communities across the country.
- We urge all national and international unions to support the work of these organizations and to establish partnerships with them at the national and local levels. Encourage affiliate unions to continue to build on their support for diversity.
- We urge all national and international unions to appoint liaisons who will work with the AFL-CIO to focus on diversity and full inclusion of women, people of color, LGBT workers, young workers and workers with disabilities in their unions and in the labor movement.
- The federation also urges all affiliate unions to increase inclusion and diversity in leadership at all levels of their unions, to provide mentoring opportunities for potential new leaders and to report these efforts to the AFL-CIO annually.
- National and international unions are also encouraged to report demographic data on their membership and local and national leadership to the AFL-CIO through the annual Secretary-Treasurer's Questionnaire.

Endnotes

¹ Jennifer Jacobson, "Scaling the Ivory Tower," *AFT On Campus*, January/February 2008.

² José F. Moreno et al., *The Revolving Door for Underrepresented Minority Faculty in Higher Education* (San Francisco: James Irvine Foundation, 2006).

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⁵ Richard McCormick, "Maintaining Diversity at the University of Washington after Initiative 200" (statement issued by president of University of Washington, November 3, 1998).

⁶ Roslyn A. Mickelson and Melvin L. Oliver, "Making the Short List: Black Candidates and the Faculty Recruitment Process." In *The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education*, edited by Philip G. Altbach and Kofi Lomotey, 149-166. Albany, NY: SUNY University Press, 1991. "The Racial Crisis in American Higher Education."

⁷ Bridget Murray, "Why Are Some Minority Faculty Unhappy?" *APA Monitor Online* 29, no. 6 (June 1998), www.apa.org/monitor/jun98/frus.html.

⁸ Jaschik, Scott. "Culture of Arrogance." *Inside Higher Ed*, September 13, 2005. Available at www.insidehighered.com/news/2005/09/13/black.

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¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 33.

¹² Sheila O'Rourke, "Diversity and Merit: How One University Rewards Faculty Work That Promotes Equity," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 26, 2008.

¹³ Ben Gose, "Whatever Happened to All Those Plans to Hire More Minority Professors?" *Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 26, 2008.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ College Board's Commission on Access, Admissions and Success in Higher Education, *Coming to Our Senses: Education and the American Future* (New York: College Board, December 2008).

¹⁷ Ron Haskins, Harry Holzer, and Robert Lerman, *Promoting Economic Mobility by Increasing Postsecondary Education* (Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trusts, May 2009).

¹⁸ Press release accompanying release of *Promoting Economic Mobility*, www.pewtrusts.org/news_room_detail.aspx?id=51958.

¹⁹ Abstract proposal excerpted from news release, www.cgsnet.org/portals/0/pdf/NR_Thomsons05.pdf.

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