Black Faculty in Traditionally White Institutions in Selected *Adams* States: Characteristics, Experiences and Perceptions

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Atlanta, Georgia 30308

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA

This document is published and distributed by the Southern Education Foundation. The interpretations and conclusions contained in this publication represent the views of the author and not necessarily those of the Foundation.

Acknowledgements

The research team would like to thank the Southern Education Foundation for sponsoring this project and for recognizing the need for research in the area this study encompasses. Special thanks to Ms. Karima Al-Amin of the Foundation for her advice throughout the project and also to the Research Task Force for their critique of the initial project design.

We are also thankful to Mr. Jerry Atkins and Ms. Judy Dennis for assisting in the layout and typesetting of the questionnaire. To Ms. Lerah Spikes, Mr. Tony Gamble, Mr. Shelton Silver, and St. Anthony's School, we say thank you for your technical and clerical assistance. We also gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Ms. Mary Cunningham who typed the initial proposal and initial correspondences to various institutions and Mrs. Patricia Wright who typed several drafts and the final draft of this report.

We are appreciative to the governing boards and institutions within the targeted nine states which are a part of this study who provided us the listings of Black faculty in their respective systems or institutions such that the research team could contact them to request their participation in our study. We are also appreciative to this same group for recognizing the importance of this study which we consider the basis for their complete cooperation. We are appreciative to those individuals who set up and coordinated our campus visits to interview Black faculty. Finally, we are most appreciative to those Black faculty members who took time out of their schedules to complete questionnaires, which were the basis for our data.

We dedicate this report to everyone in Higher Education and other related agencies who, by their actions and deeds, try to bring about equal access and equal opportunity to the hiring and retention processes in higher education. Peace be with you.

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CHAPTER 1. BACKGROUND

The underrepresentation of Black scholars on the faculties of the nation's colleges and universities remains a serious problem in our pluralistic society. In its 1986 Status Report on Minorities in Higher Education, the American Council on Education reported Black faculty appointments actually declined in the period from 1977 to 1983. During this period, full-time faculty positions held by Blacks decreased from 19,675 (4.4 percent) to 18,827 (4 percent), a loss of 4.3 percent (American Council on Education, 1986).

In predominantly white institutions, it is well documented that minorities make up only a tiny portion of the regular teaching faculty. Bok (1982) notes that Asian-Americans are represented on university faculties in numbers that equal or exceed their percentage in the population. However, Blacks are represented in proportions far lower than their percentage in the total population or in the student bodies of these institutions. Estimates of the number of Black faculty in traditionally white institutions (TWIs) are difficult to obtain with any high degree of accuracy, and the data that are available tend not to be very current. Scott-Jones and Harvey (1985) cite a Wall Street Journal estimate that Blacks constitute only one (1) percent of the faculty at TWIs. The American Council on Education (1986)

reported more recently that overall representation of Black faculty at TWIs is 2.3 percent. Pruitt's (1982) research indicated that Black faculty made up 2.9 percent of the faculty of TWIs in eight of the Adams states in 1975.

Factors Relevant to Underrepresentation

The factors that contribute to the tiny proportion of Black faculty in TWIs are multilayered and long-standing. Historical, legal, psychosocial, and socioeconomic factors all contribute to current dearth of Black scholars in higher education. Three major currents in this issue are now briefly examined. They include the historical legacy of institutionalized discrimination, the intervention of the Adams case litigation, and the realities of post-compliance difficulties.

Institutionalized Discrimination

William Banks (1984) notes that very few Black faculty were employed at TWIs prior to 1965. Banks then goes on to document the allegations of some scholars who explain the absences as a shortage of manpower by citing Weinberg's (1977) observation that the number of Black Ph.D. holders at the time far exceeded their percentages at TWIs. In their comprehensive treatise on affirmative action in higher education, Fleming, Gill, and Swinton (1978) document the historical opposition to Black scholars in white higher education. In the mid 1940s, only 43 northern TWIs had Black faculty members, and not all of these were permanent appointments. This number increased to 72 of the 1,051 TWIs toward the end of the decade. A survey of 179 TWIs in 1945-47 and again in 1967-68 revealed that percentages of Black faculty members increased from .002 percent to .009 percent.

Fleming et. al maintain that the tiny percentages of Black faculty members was the result of deliberate and accepted exclusionary policies. They detail the examples of several

prominent and eminently qualified Black scholars who were never provided permanent faculty positions at TWIs for most or all of their careers. These include E. Franklin Frazier, historian Rayford W. Logan (prolific Phi Beta Kappa graduate from Williams College), surgeon Charles R. Drew (whose pioneering blood research saved countless lives), and internationally known chemist Percy Julian. Others who were qualified to teach at TWIs prior to 1950 included John Hope Franklin, Carter G. Woodson, Chancellor Williams, Benjamin Mays, Horace Mann Bond, Kenneth Clark, Ralph Bunche, Sterling Brown and Alain Locke (the first Black Rhodes Scholar). Fleming et. al note that many others were qualified, but were ignored by TWIs who employed substantial numbers of white professors who neither held the doctorate nor excelled in their disciplines. They document reasons provided by some college administrators for not hiring Black professors. These reasons encompassed geographic location, lack of qualifications, commitment of Black scholars to Black institutions, tradition and the fact that other institutions were not doing it. "Only one chairman acknowledged the situation as it existed. His candid observation was 'we haven't been pushed to it. Easiest way out is not to have done it.'" (Fleming et. al., 1978 p. 30).

Many observers today maintain that the exclusionary sentiments that were prevalent prior to the 1960s still linger in TWIs. A recent conference on minority scholars examined issues of exclusion and cultural bias. One participant termed segments of academia as a protected "elite social club." Another asserted that minority researchers and scholars must subjugate their true feelings and beliefs and focus on non-minority research in order to demonstrate that they belong (Clark, 1987).

Adams Case

Historically, a dual system of education had been the rule rather than the exception. For many years, Jim Crow laws and judicial decisions such as the Civil Rights Cases of 1883 and Plessy vs. Ferguson have perpetuated the segregation of public

facilities, including education institutions.

The Brown vs. Board of Education decision, which made racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional, contributed significantly to increasing access for minorities. However, the Brown decision did not settle the question concerning segregated facilities. Nor did the Brown decision address the issue of "who" would teach students. The major issue in that case was the provision of access to public education for all, regardless of race or national origin. Realistically, the decision had little immediate impact on the integration of public schools. Accordingly, the racial composition of school and college faculties underwent little or no change. Legislation following the Brown decision did, however, begin to address this issue. One such piece of legislation was the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This Act provided a potent weapon to combat discrimination in hiring practices. It has been used in attempts to eliminate barriers that have prevented Black scholars from joining faculties at TWIs.

One of the most contemporary legal developments in the ongoing efforts to integrate faculties at TWIs is the Adams vs. Richardson case. In 1970, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund sued the then Department of Health, Education and Welfare to force 10 states to desegregate their dual systems of higher education. As a result, a total of 19 states were eventually required to submit acceptable plans for desegregating their colleges and universities or face the cutoff of all federal funds for higher education. Black faculty percentages increased in TWIs in the early part of the 1970s, but The American Council on Education (1986) reports that Black participation in faculty positions between 1977 and 1983 declined in all but seven Adams states. On the other hand, white student and faculty participation in traditionally Black public institutions increased during that period.

The continued difficulty in substantially increasing minority faculty representation is illustrated in the following excerpt from the Chronicle of Higher Education discussing the effectiveness of the Adams ruling:

> In hiring, predominantly white colleges and universities have generally done better at recruiting black administrators than at recruiting black faculty members. They have also fared better at recruiting blacks for positions requiring master's degrees, rather than those requiring a doctoral degree.
>
> In the 1985-86 academic years, at Virginia's predominantly white colleges and universities, blacks occupied 6.7 percent of the administrative positions for which a Ph.D. was required and 10.8 percent of those requiring the master's, but only 2.15 percent of Ph.D. faculty positions and 5.1 percent of those requiring the master's.
>
> In some states, several public colleges have only one or two black faculty members (Jaschik, 1987, p. 22).

While most state leaders point to the scarcity of qualified Black scholars as the source of the problem, civil rights leaders reject the argument that demographic trends have made it impossible for states to meet the goals mandated by the Adams decree (Jaschik, 1987).

The impact of the Adams rulings has been vigorously debated by all parties involved in the issue. This debate has been intensified by the December 1987 decision of U.S. District Court Judge John H. Pratt to terminate the Adams case. In view of the ongoing controversy over the outcome of this legal intervention in the hiring practices of public TWIs, the present study takes on added significance. Fully ninety-five (95) percent of the Black faculty who participated in this research were hired during the period of the Adams decision.

Post-Compliance Difficulties

The degree to which the small numbers of Black professors is symptomatic of a scarce supply or of bias in hiring practices is not clear, and subject to debate. Bok (1982) argues that qualified minority candidates are not ignored or overlooked. Rather, only 3 percent of the nation's Ph.D.'s are Black, thus limiting the supply of potential candidates. Bok further contends that Black Ph.D.'s were commanding higher average salaries than their white counterparts with comparable experience and

publication records. A different view is presented in the report of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1981). Their report found that Black faculty had a lower median salary than white faculty. This finding could be an artifact of the concentration of minority faculty in lower ranks, an inequity reported by Fleming, Gill and Swinton (1978) and the U.S. Department of H.E.W. (1978). The issues of salary, promotion and tenure of Black faculty at TWIs appear to be as critical as the issue of underrepresentation. Exum (1983) notes that "minority faculty are certainly scarce, however, how highly they are valued by the institution is problematic. As a result, assessments of value, merit, and performance are crucial in the evaluation and review of individual minority faculty . . . (p. 395)." Pruitt (1982) recognized the significance of promotion and tenure, terming them a more collegial process than recruitment, and subject to political and economic forces. Various other researchers have implicitly or explicitly identified, discussed or explained the situation of Black faculty at TWIs in terms of "post-compliance' retention difficulties (e.g., Anderson, Frierson, and Lewis, 1979; Moore and Wagstaff, 1974; Scott, 1981; Steele and Green, 1976).

The imposition of a court mandate upon higher education institutions may be particularly problematic in view of the traditionally autonomous and meritocratic value systems held in academia. Fernandez (1981) uncovered difficulties that affirmative action met in the business sector. He writes that there was strong resistance from sectors bent upon maintaining the status quo. Additionally, minorities were adversely affected by the perpetuation of myths concerning their "inferior" qualifications. Fernandez notes that even though Blacks are hired, they are not fully integrated into the formal network. More importantly, they are not privy to the informal network which may deprive them of valuable information that could affect advancement opportunities within the organization. There is reason to believe that similar processes operate in higher education. Moreover, these processes may be exaggerated in higher education because the judgement of merit in higher educatior

appears to be somewhat subjective and related to the individual's ties to the collegial network.

Seemingly, the importance of the collegial network inhibits the effectiveness of affirmative action. Additionally, custom, precedence and unsystematic evaluation criteria are inhibiting factors. These traditional values and procedures are characteristic of the academic "market" and are difficult to overcome because they are ingrained and unexamined by their adherents (Exum, Menges, Watkins and Berglund, 1984). William Banks (1982) observes that:

> It is difficult to get white administrators and faculty to accept that race still influences the life and career chances of minority scholars. Beguiled by their own myths, they believe that the academy is above the type of discrimination that may occur in the non-academic world. Consequently, when black scholars suggest the salience of race in their professional lives, the contention is denied. To do otherwise would undermine the elaborate fantasy that academic institutions have been constructed around notions of fairness and reason (p. 47).

Exum et. al. (1984) interpret the problems of inequity in higher education as resulting from the nature of academia as an "internal market," where jobs are filled by those already within the system. Affirmative action is resisted because it introduces costly features that are inimical to the customary procedures: e.g., different, expanded search and recruitment activities; additional or alternative appeals and grievance criteria; and learning new or different ways of evaluation and measuring merit.

Assessing the Current Status

Whether one views the equity problems of higher education from a perspective of cultural chauvinism or internal market dynamics, the outcome may not differ for Black faculty. Having overcome the hurdles to access, the Black faculty member may then be faced with a broad range of barriers to success. Various researchers have defined these barriers to include exclusion from influence networks, lack of resources and incentives, difficulty in

publishing works in mainstream publications, heavier service workloads and less recognition for unconventional scholarships.

Given the contemporary nature of the mandate from the judicial system and given the political and social ramifications of a Black presence on traditionally white campuses, the phenomenon merits scholarly analysis. The purpose, then, of this study is to provide an empirical analysis of the hiring, promotion/advancement and retention of Black faculty in traditionally white public institutions of higher education in the Adams states. The overall intent of this study is to provide a framework from which a clear understanding can be derived regarding characteristics of the Black faculty, employment sequence (i.e. how did they hear about the position, selection process, initial rank, present rank, etc.); how these Black faculty perceive their relationships, status, and prospects for success within the institutions; and what are significant correlates of salary, advancement and retention of Black faculty.

CHAPTER 2. METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Research Problem

Exum (1983), using an extensive review of the literature as his basis, posits that continued underrepresentation of minority faculty in higher education is due not only to a limited supply, but exacerbated by a limited demand for such faculty and by characteristics of the institution of higher education itself. These characteristics include a fierce resistance to coercion (as opposed to the customary normative consensus) and a rejection of any interference from the outside. Furthermore, academic institutions are dominated by professionals, who stress the importance of merit, autonomy, and neutrality.

These institutional characteristics identified by Exum (1983) are seemingly threatened by affirmative action efforts that challenge the status quo. This is especially true for court-mandated affirmative action, as in the Adams case. Yet, in reality, the values of meritocracy and neutrality are often compromised in higher education. Caplow and McGee's (1958) study of hiring and promotion practices in academia identified the personal influence in the collegial network and the subjective quality of "prestige" (not productivity) as important factors. Exum writes:

> Most colleges and universities use a merit system of hiring. However, it is not an objective, competitive system, but rather a patronage system of merit. Publication, achievement, and performance are important in such a system, but so are ascriptive traits, personal qualities of style and manner, conforming behavior, and mentors and sponsors (Daniels, 1979; Lewis, 1975; Smelser and Content, 1980). Mobility -in this case, access, promotion, and tenure- is not simply a result of an individual's research and teaching. Rather, in most successful academic careers, there is an important element of sponsored mobility. Minorities, with racial, cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds not common or highly valued in the academic world, find it difficult to succeed in a patronage merit system. Public adherence to the competitive system of merit disguises the real character and imperfections of the merit system, while legitimizing the exclusion of minority faculty.

Many of the studies that have examined the characteristics, experiences, and perceptions of Black faculty in TWIs have been limited in focus. Much of the research has been demographic or has only examined faculty in specific disciplines. A difficulty with some of the studies has been low response rates or small samples. A study by Elmore and Blackburn (1983) dealt with demographic data, as well as important experiences and perceptions that appear to be related to salary, promotion and tenure. Additionally, they compared the Black faculty to a matched sample of white faculty and employed pretested instruments. The authors report that Black academicians were generally satisfied and shared perceptions similar to their white counterparts regarding work effort, scholarly productivity, social climate and reward systems. However, the generalizability of Elmore and Blackburn's findings remains in question because of the uncharacteristically skewed proportion of associate (40%) and full (30%) professors in their sample and the midwest locations of the institutions they sampled. Scott (1981), for example, found that productivity patterns differed for Black assistant, associate and full professors. Contacts with white colleagues were associated with higher productivity for Black full professors and lower productivity for assistant professors. In respect to location, Andrulis, Iscoe, Sikes and Friedman (1975) found a higher percentage of Black faculty and administrators employed in central and midwestern

states than other areas of the country. Contrary to Elmore and Blackburn's (1983) speculation, there may not be "more liberal leanings in the East and Far West" in the arena of higher education. For example, in 1985, the percentage of Black faculty at MIT was 2; at Cornell, 1.6; at the University of Pennsylvania, 1.2; and at Stanford, 1.6 percent (Scott-Jones and Harvey, 1985).

The accumulated research on Black scholars in TWIs points to a multilayered problem that defies simple description and analysis. In view of conflicting claims and much speculation, an assessment of the characteristics, experiences and perceptions of Black faculty at TWIs is now required. The current study is specifically concerned with Black faculty in nine Adams case states: Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky.

One of the significant outcomes of the Adams decision was the imposition of nontraditional methods of recruitment and hiring. These methods may involve costly advertising and paperwork but may be justified if more minorities are hired than under the traditional influence networks that favor white males (Exum et. al., 1984). It has not been clear to what degree nontraditional methods have been used to identify and recruit Black faculty in the Adams states. Thus, the present study examines the recruitment and hiring pathways for those faculty members.

Once Black faculty members are admitted into the academy, their race as well as their actual or perceived "enforced" entry may create special difficulties. Some of these difficulties have been discussed or enumerated. Collegiality is viewed as one of the most significant areas of difficulty for Black faculty. While the Adams mandate may lead to increased access, concomitant equity may be elusive because of the collegial nature of the promotion, tenure and scholarship process in higher education. In examining Black faculty in the Adams states, the present research views the collegiality issue as a critical issue. Thus, factors considered to be components of collegiality are examined in relationship to professional experiences.

Another broad issue of importance in this study concerns the attitudes and perceptions of Black faculty in the Adams states. Very little empirical research has examined the often-discussed notion that Black faculty members at TWIs are dissatisfied with their situation. The current research probes levels of satisfaction, as well as the extent to which Black faculty members at TWIs perceive race to be an advantage to their careers.

Perhaps the overriding research problem in this study is to construct an accurate profile of the current Black professoriate in white institutions in the Adams states. This research has special importance at this time because employment gains that were made in the 1970s appear to be eroding in the 1980s. The objectives of this research are to provide a comprehensive view of Black faculty in TWIs and to probe significant factors that appear to be related to their entry into and progress through the academy.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

There are a multitude of hypotheses and research questions that could be explored in this study, and the findings have dictated the appropriateness of some of these questions. As a starting point, we developed a series of questions and hypothetical statements that are organized in three areas. These areas are derived from the general research question, "What are the characteristics, perceptions, and experiences of Black faculty at TWIs in the Adams states?"

Characteristics

1. What are the characteristics of Black faculty at TWIs?
2. Qualifications of Black faculty are not significantly different from white counterparts.
3. Black faculty are not as productive as white faculty in areas of publications and paper presentations.

Experiences

1. Successful recruitment/hiring of Black faculty is influenced by professional contacts and relationships.
2. Adjusted for experience and qualifications, Black faculty have lower than average salaries.
3. Black faculty have a different workload profile than white faculty.
4. Mentoring relationships with senior college personnel will affect the advancement process of Black faculty.
5. Frequency and quality of contact with the department chair and colleagues affect the advancement process for Black faculty.
6. The Adams case rulings have influenced the pathways by which Black faculty enter the academy.

Perceptions

1. In the areas of salary, promotion, and tenure, a significant portion of Black faculty members perceive they are unfairly treated.
2. In respect to salary and advancement, Black faculty members perceive more inequity than do whites.
3. Black faculty members are generally not satisfied with their work environment.
4. Blacks do not perceive that they are in the professional mainstream at their institutions.
5. As a result of relatively recent entry into the academy, Black faculty members hold a different view about the factor important to career advancement than do white faculty members.

Methods

There was a clear objective in this study to learn as much as reasonably possible about recruitment, employment sequence, experiences, and perceptions of Black faculty in the target institutions. In effect, the more comprehensive the data base on this population, the greater the usefulness of the research for planning future actions. A survey was administered by mail to nearly all full-time regular Black faculty members in the public four-year colleges and universities of the nine states in this study. The design of the survey instrument in this study was influenced by the research of Anderson, Frierson and Lewis (1979), Elmore and Blackburn (1983), and Scott (1981). Anderson et. al. explored Black faculties' reasons for accepting their positions, anticipated length of service, closeness to white colleagues, and sense of team spirit. Elmore and Blackburn dealt with equality in the department, relationship with department chair, productivity, and job satisfaction. They cited studies by Blau (1973), Fulton and Trow (1974) and Blackburn, Behyner and Hall (1978) as sources for framing their questions on workload and scholarly productivity, and cited Kanter's (1977) work as the source for generating hypotheses on performance pressure, isolation from critical informal networks, and the need to overachieve. Scott (1981) views productivity as the critical issue in tenure and promotion and explored varieties of interpersonal contacts with white colleagues and institutional quality as they related to productivity. Other issues addressed by most or all of the above studies include racial climate, reward systems, and demographic variables.

Survey Instrument

The instrument, "Questionnaire for Faculty of Public Higher Education Institutions," consists of 104 items that focus on educational experiences, prior and present; opinions and perceptions of institutional policies and the equity with which

such policies are implemented; and satisfaction with advancement and promotion. The survey requires 15 to 20 minutes to complete. Background data were requested on gender, race, colleges attended, and institutions from which degrees were conferred. Racial attitudes and race relations, recruiting and hiring, and mentoring relationship implications are also measured. Global items in the instrument are age, gender, tenure, rank, citizenship, levels of academic degree, discipline, and years of higher education experience. Global variables range in scale: e.g., 2-point scale for gender; 6-point scale for citizenship. Some of the outcome measures (salary, promotion, rank, class load, etc.) are scaled according to defined breaks or left open-end. Most of the questions are of the 4-point scale type with "1" being the lowest rating and "4" being the highest.

The survey instrument was designed to fit on a single page that folded into a four-sided 8 1/2 x 11 inch brochure. This format presumably enhanced the response rate because of the ease of administration and the apparent brevity of a single sheet. In designing the questionnaire, the decision was made to administer the identical instrument to white faculty who participated in the comparison study. The obvious advantage of the decison was to equalize the response set and enhance the comparability of the two samples. Therefore, items were carefully worded to be applicable to both races and to eliminate potential response biases. Additionally, the entire questionnaire was structured, as much as possible, to convey a focus on career issues rather than racial or affirmative action issues. A copy of the instrument is included in Appendix A.

Sample Selection

In developing the sampling frame, the first major decison was to include only faculty from four-year state colleges and universities. The decision was partly due to the practical imperative to limit the boundaries of the study and partly due to the small numbers of Black faculty members reported to be employed

in two-year institutions. The institutions included in the study were identified from a listing in the 13th edition of American Universities and Colleges (American Council on Education, 1987). Because of the focus of the study, only predominantly white institutions were included. The criterion for identifying an institution as predominantly white was a Black student population of 33 percent or less. Faculty members considered to be in this study's population were full-time regular appointments. Visiting professors, research assistants, teaching assistants, part-time faculty, and administrators were excluded from the sampling frame.

While a variety of methods, alternatives and contingency plans for sample frame construction were developed, the principle method proved to be most effective. This method involved personal contact by letter and/or telephone calls with officials in the state higher education boards or with chief academic officers at individual state institutions. Most of these persons were able to directly or indirectly supply the names and mailing addresses of the Black faculty members in their systems or institutions. In two cases, where names were not supplied directly, a contact person at the institution agreed to distribute the questionnaire to the Black faculty members. To a large degree, the identification of those contact persons--either directly or indirectly--was the result of the professional network of the investigators. Of the ninety-six institutions included in the sampling frame, responses were received from all but one of them.

For the comparison study of white faculty, a single target state was identified. When all responses had been received from the Black faculty sample in the target state, the process of matching a white faculty sample was initiated. Faculty members were matched on the basis of gender, rank, discipline, and institution. For every Black faculty member already in the sample, two matching white faculty members were identified and sent questionnaires. The oversampling was based on approximate response rate of Black faculty, and was expected to yield a comparable number of white faculty submitting completed questionnaires. The order of matching was institution, discipline, rank, and gender. The white faculty list for each

institution was organized by rank within each discipline. A random digits table was used to select eligible matches within rank.

Procedure

The number of Black faculty members reported by the institutions in this study totalled 1,268. After screening for administrators and other non-regular or part-time faculty members, 1,232 questionnaires were mailed. A second purging of the Black faculty list occurred as questionnaires were returned by individuals indicating they were not faculty, or envelopes were returned as undeliverable. Other names were deleted from the lists provided by the states when it was discovered that they were actually staff members. The resulting total of eligible Black faculty members in our sample was 948, which represents nearly the entire population of regular full-time Black faculty members in the public four-year institutions and universities in the nine states. A total of 523 completed questionnaires were returned from faculty members in the Black sample, representing a response rate of 55.2 percent. Of these 523 respondents, 474 actually identified their ethnic background as "Black." The analyses in this report are based on the responses of this group of 474 respondents.

The number of white faculty who were mailed a questionnaire totalled 212. A total of 120 completed questionnaires were returned, but 21 of these were deleted because they were actually administrators or staff with academic rank. Hence, the resulting sample was 191, with a return rate of 51.8 percent, representing 99 completed questionnaires.

Questionnaires were mailed in a large envelope containing a cover letter and an addressed, stamped return envelope. Upon receipt of the completed questionnaires, two researchers coded data and entered it into computer files. Coding reliability was obtained between the two researchers. Approximately two weeks after the last series of questionnaires had been mailed, a

reminder postcard was mailed to all faculty who had not returned their survey forms.

On-site interviews were conducted at the flagship institutions in four states. These interviews involved small group discussions and individual administration of open-ended questions to Black faculty and administrators. Preliminary data from each state were used to guide the focus of the interviews. The on-site research process was designed to provide a meaningful context for interpreting the survey results and to identify important issues that may not have been addressed in the questionnaire. Additionally, these interviews were seen as a method for collecting more candid responses than might be provided through an impersonal survey instrument. A copy of the interview questions is in Appendix B.

CHAPTER 3. FINDINGS

As discussed in Chapter 2, nine states were involved in this study. In these nine states, ninety-six colleges and universities were identified as traditionally white institutions. There were approximately 1,268 Black teaching faculty reported to be in these states. However, upon contacting these reported Black teaching faculty via the questionnaire, approximately 320 were determined to be visiting professors, teaching assistants, librarians with faculty rank, administrators with faculty rank or part-time faculty. The approximate total of teaching faculty in the institutions is 52,095, which means that the reported Black teaching faculty represents about 2.4 percent of the total (Table 1). When those who were reported but who were not actually regular teaching faculty were deleted, the number of Blacks was 1.8 percent. Their characteristics are described in the following section.

Characteristics

Distribution of Faculty Among States and Within Departments

The ninety-six institutions in this study ranged in type from small colleges to large universities. For the purpose of this

Table 1

Reported Black Teaching Faculty In Targeted Adams States
(Senior Colleges and Universities*)

State	Number of Teaching Faculty**	Reported Black Teaching Faculty	Blacks As a %
Alabama	6,176	88	1.4
Florida	6,252	226	3.6
Georgia	6,080	195	3.2
Kentucky	4,562	93	2.0
Maryland	3,203	70	2.2
North Carolina	6,710	186	2.8
South Carolina	4,834	97	2.0
Tennessee	5,453	156	2.9
Virginia	8,825	157	1.8
TOTALS	52,095	1,268	***2.4

* Source: Chief Academic Officers and System Officers. Correspondences were sent directly to CAO of each state institution, requesting the names and numbers of Black teaching faculty. Two of the state System offices were contacted for the same information.

** Source: American Universities and Colleges 13 ed., American Council on Education, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1987.

*** This figure drops to about 1.8 percent when administrators and librarians with faculty rank are screened out.

study, small senior colleges were characterized as having a student body of 6,000 or less and large senior colleges as having more than 6,000. Small universities were characterized as having a student body of 15,000 or less and large universities as having more than 15,000. Other than these qualifiers, normal definitions of colleges and universities were used. Table 2 summarizes institution types in the states in this study.

Respondents in this study were asked to give the total initial number of faculty in their departments and the present number. This information is displayed in Table 3. Most respondents are in small and medium-sized departments.

The respondents were also asked to give the total number of faculty in their department who were of the same race. Forty-three percent of the respondents indicated that they were the only Black faculty person in their respective departments when they were initially hired. Currently, 30.7 percent report that they are the only Black faculty person in their department. There were increases in the percentages of respondents indicating that one to four Black faculty members other than themselves were in their departments (Table 4).

In order to determine the extent to which departments actually increased or decreased the number of Black faculty, a crosstabulation of initial number of Black faculty within departments by present number of Black faculty within departments was made. This process revealed few overall gains, even though some movement is evident. Of the respondents who reported that they were the only Black faculty member in their departments when they were initially hired, 38.7 percent remain the only one. Of the respondents who reported one other Black faculty in the department, 65.5 percent still report the same situation. Tables 5 through 8 present data on changes in initial and present numbers of Black faculty in the same department.

Table 2

Institution Type by States
Public TWIs (Senior College and University)

	Alabama	Florida	Georgia	Kentucky	Maryland	North Carolina	South Carolina	Tennessee	Virginia
1 Small Senior College	1	0	8	0	3	0	5	0	5
2. Large Senior College	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1
3. Small University	10	3	1	5	3	7	6	7	4
4. Large University	2	5	3	2	1	3	1	2	4

1. < 6,000 students
2. > 6,000 students
3. < 15,000 students
4. > 15,000 students

Table 3

Number of Faculty in Department

Total in Department	# of Respondents Reporting Total at Initial Hire	Percent	# of Respondents Reporting Total at Present	Percent
0 - 5	92	20.3	68	14.8
6 - 10	109	24.1	111	24.2
11 - 15	69	15.2	72	15.7
16 - 20	61	17.5	64	13.9
21 - 25	43	9.5	43	9.3
26 - 30	24	5.3	29	6.3
Over 31	47	10.4	62	13.5

Table 4

Number of Black Faculty In Same Department

Number of Blacks Reported In Department	At Initial Hire		Currently	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Respondent the only one	199	43.5	98	20.7
1 other than respondent	149	32.6	208	44.9
2 other than respondent	55	12.0	93	15.7
3 other than respondent	51	4.6	47	10.2
4 other than respondent	7	1.5	10	2.2
5 other than respondent	11	2.4	12	2.0
6 other than respondent	3	.7	2	.4
7 other than respondent	2	.4	2	.4

Table 5

Increase/Decrease of Black Faculty Within Same Department
Where Respondent the Only Black

# of Black Faculty in Department	n = 195	Percent
Respondent still the only one	77	38.7
1 other than respondent	86	43.5
2 other than respondent	24	12.1
3 other than respondent	7	3.5
4 other than respondent	1	.5

Table 6

Increase/Decrease of Black Faculty Within Same Department
With One Black Other than Respondent

# of Black Faculty in Department	n = 144	Percent
Now the only one	11	7.4
1 other than respondent	97	65.5
2 other than respondent	22	14.9
3 other than respondent	13	8.8
4 other than respondent	1	.1

Table 7

Increase/Decrease of Black Faculty Within Same Department With Two Blacks Other than Respondent

# of Black Faculty in Department	n = 49	Percent
Now the only one	4	7.4
1 other than respondent	11	2.4
2 other than respondent	21	38.9
3 other than respondent	12	22.2
4 other than respondent	1	1.9

Table 8

Increase/Decrease of Black Faculty Within Same Department With Three Blacks Other than Respondent

# of Black Faculty in Department	n = 20	Percent
Now the only one	0	0
1 other than respondent	5	23.8
2 other than respondent	3	14.3
3 other than respondent	9	42.9
4 other than respondent	3	14.3

Gender

Overall, the respondents were fairly evenly distributed when stratified according to gender, with a slight edge in favor of Black males (52 percent male, 48 percent female). As previously stated, Black females in recent years have been hired in greater numbers than Black males. For the most part, Black females are hired in traditional "female" disciplines. In this study, the largest proportion of females are represented in the lower ranks. While all Blacks are underrepresented in the associate and full professor ranks, the percentage of Black females at the two higher ranks is even smaller (Table 9). The data indicate that Black females are also in lower salary categories.

Educational Background

The respondents were educated at many different colleges and universities both inside and outside of the United States. The data show that a majority of the respondents received their bachelor's and master's degrees from southern colleges and universities. The professional and doctoral degrees of the respondents were largely received from northern and midwestern colleges and universities; however, six southern universities had sizable representation, comparatively speaking. Of the respective degree holders, 54 percent received their bachelors degree from traditionally Black institutions (TBIs), 14 percent received their master's degrees, 5.4 percent received their professional degrees, and 4.9 percent received their doctorate degrees from TBIs.

Of the 54 percent receiving the bachelor's degree from a TBI, 60 percent of these graduates received their degrees from one of eighteen institutions. Fifteen of the eighteen institutions are located in the South (Table 10).

Further analysis of educational background indicates that 16.2 percent of the respondents hold professional degrees and 64 percent hold doctorates. Fourteen colleges and universities produced 34 percent of the Black Ph.D.'s in the study (Table 11).

Table 9

Gender Representation in Lower and Upper Faculty Ranks

Rank	Females		Males	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Instructors & Assistant Professors (Lower)	179	49.5	182	50.4
Associate and Full Professors (Upper)	23	35.4	42	64.6

Table 10

Selected TBIs Granting Bachelor Degrees to Black Respondents

Name of College	Number of Degrees Granted to Respondents
Florida A&M University	29
Howard University	14
North Carolina Central University	14
Tuskegee College	13
A&T University	10
Fisk University	9
Alabama State	9
Bennett College	7
Hampton University	7
Fort Valley State College	7
South Carolina State College	7
Morehouse College	6
Stillman College	6
Talladega College	6
Tennessee State University	6
Spelman College	5
Virginia State College	5
Winston Salem State University	5

Table 11

Selected Colleges/Universities Granting the Doctoral Degree to Respondent Population

Name of Institution	Number of Ph.D.'s Granted to Respondents
University of Georgia	11
Florida State University	11
Indiana State University	11
University of Florida	10
Ohio State University	9
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	8
University of Michigan	7
North Carolina State University	7
Howard University	7
University of Alabama	5
University of Pittsburgh	5
Michigan State	5
Atlanta University	4
Columbia University	4

In examining educational background, specifically majors and minors at the undergraduate level and doctoral level, a consistent trend emerges. The trend suggests that at each degree level, respondents are clustered in education, the social sciences and English. The undergraduate major, to a small extent, and the doctoral major, to a larger extent, determine the discipline in which one can teach (Tables 12 and 13). This issue is addressed in a later section.

The respondents have not, for the most part, received advanced degrees in the foreign languages, computer sciences, the sciences (e.g., physics and chemistry) and engineering. These data reflect the national trend and have significant implications as they relate to the laws of supply and demand (Table 14). Many studies suggest that the demand, growth areas and higher salaries will be in the areas of engineering, the natural sciences and business. (Fitzpatrick, 1987; Shingleton and Scheetz, 1987).

Table 12

Degrees of Respondents
by Selected Undergraduate Majors and Minors

Field of Study	Major		Minor	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Education	48	10.1	42	8.7
English	45	9.4	19	4.0
Biology	34	7.2	9	1.9
Nursing	33	7.0	3	.3
Math	27	5.6	8	1.7
Psychology	27	5.6	27	5.6
Sociology	25	5.3	13	2.7
History	21	4.4	19	4.0
Music	14	4.0	6	1.6
Social Science	18	3.8	17	3.6
Physical Educ	18	3.8	2	.4
Business	15	3.2	13	2.7
Agriculture	14	3.0	3	.6
Political Sci.	14	3.0	10	2.1
Chemistry	9	1.9	19	4.0
Engineering	8	1.7	0	0
Zoology	7	1.5	0	0
Foreign Language	7	1.5	16	3.4
Social Work	5	1.1	3	.6
Architecture	4	.8	0	0
Law	1	.2	0	0
Physics	0	0	0	0
Computer Science	0	0	0	0

Table 13

Selected Majors of Respondents - Doctoral Degree

Major	Number	Percent
Education	93	20.1
Nursing	24	5.1
Psychology	24	5.1
English	19	4.0
Social Work	18	3.8
Business	16	3.4
Music	13	2.7
Law	12	2.5
History	12	2.5
Biology	12	2.5
Math	11	2.3
Social Science	9	1.9
Sociology	8	1.7
Political Science	8	1.7
Agriculture	7	1.5
Engineering	6	1.3
Chemistry	4	.8
Architecture	3	.6
Physical Education	2	.4
Zoology	1	.2
Foreign Language	1	.2
Physics	0	0
Computer Science	0	0

Table 14

Doctorates Earned by Blacks and Whites in 1986*

Fields	All Ethnic Groups	White	Black	Black As a % Total
Engineering	1,379	1,224	14	1.0
Physical Sciences	3,003	2,714	25	.8
Life Sciences	4,342	3,958	64	1.5
Social Sciences	4,548	4,080	163	3.6
Humanities	2,728	2,496	70	2.7
Professional & Other	1,289	1,246	63	4.5
Education	5,595	4,820	421	7.5

* Source: Summary Report 1986: Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities. National Academy Press, Washington, D.C. 1987.

Teaching Disciplines

The results reveal that 98 percent of the respondents were teaching in the area in which they obtained their last degree. Although Black faculty are represented in a wide range of disciplines, they are largely clustered in education (18 percent); nursing (6.6 percent); English (5.3 percent); business (4.9 percent); and social work (4.7 percent). The next significant grouping, includes developmental studies (2.5 percent); history (2.5 percent); music (2.8 percent); and biology (2 percent). A third tier includes teaching fields in which Black faculty presence is virtually non-existent. These areas include computer science (.8 percent); chemistry (.4 percent); physics (.6 percent); dentistry (.8 percent); foreign language (.8 percent); geography (.2 percent); engineering (1 percent); and law (1 percent). Table 15 presents a comparison of the percentage of initial teaching fields and present teaching fields. The relative ranking of disciplines with large numbers of Blacks did not change even though the percentage of Blacks per discipline increased slightly.

The data concerning degrees received by the respondents suggest that Blacks are not getting degrees in the hard sciences, engineering, and languages in any large numbers. It follows that a Black faculty presence in the teaching fields these degrees represent will also be minimal.

The data concerning length of service indicate that in recent years Black women were being hired in greater numbers than Black men. Further analysis of disciplines controlled for gender suggests that Black females make up a greater percentage of the teaching force in the traditional "female" fields when compared to Black males in a given discipline. The teaching areas in which many Blacks find themselves have certain consequences for professional mobility. Teaching discipline often determines marketability, which has an effect on the negotiation of salary and rank.

Table 15

Blacks in Selected Teaching Fields

	Initial Teaching Field				Present Teaching Field			
Subject Area	n	% of Total	Female n	Male n	n	% of Total	Female n	Male n
Nursing	30	6.3	29	1	31	6.6	30	1
Social Work	22	4.6	17	5	22	4.7	17	5
Developmental Studies	10	2.1	6	4	12	2.5	9	3
English	20	4.2	14	6	25	5.3	18	7
Sociology	7	1.5	5	2	7	1.5	5	2
Education	51	10.8	21	30	84	18	38	46
Mathematics	5	1.1	0	5	5	1	0	1
Computer Science	2	.4	1	1	4	.8	1	3
Engineering	3	.6			5	1	1	4
Biology	2	.4	0	2	10	2	2	8
Law	5	1.1	1	4	5	1	1	4
Business	15	3.2	5	10	17	4.9	5	12
Medicine	14	2.9	5	9	18	4	8	10
Political Science	8	1.7	0	8	9	1.9	1	8
Physics	1	.2	0	1	3	.6	1	2
Chemistry	2	.4	1	1	2	.4	1	1
Dentistry	4	.8	2	2	4	.8	1	3
Foreign Language	4	.8	1	3	4	.8	1	3
Geography	1	.2	0	1	1	.2	0	1
History	10	2.1	6	4	12	2.5	6	6
Music	13	2.7	2	11	13	2.8	2	11
Psychology	19	4.0	7	12	19	4.0	8	11

Teaching Assignments

The respondents were asked to identify their initial teaching assignments and their present teaching assignments with the following levels as choices: undergraduate only, graduate only, both undergraduate and graduate, and "other." The data show that the majority of the respondents were initially assigned to the undergraduate level. The information concerning present assignment reveals that even though a greater percentage of the respondents are teaching at the undergraduate level, a noticeable decrease has occurred at this level when compared to initial teaching assignments.

There is a corresponding increase in the number of respondents whose present teaching assignments are in both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Length of Service

Black faculty are relative newcomers to the predominantly white campuses (Table 16). Even though it has been over 20 years since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 15 years since the Adams vs. Richardson case, the data reveal that the greatest percentage of Blacks have less than five years of service at their present institution of employment (49.3 percent).

The data also show that 14.9 percent of the respondents had five to ten years of service, 18.5 had ten to fifteen years of service and 17.4 had fifteen or more years of service. There are several historical observations that can be made relative to these findings. These observations center around the fact that if one related the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the initial Adams litigation and the 1983 Addendum to Adams State Plans for Further Desegregation to the categories of length of service at present institution, one could see a pronounced trend of increased hiring activity immediately after each of these events occurred.

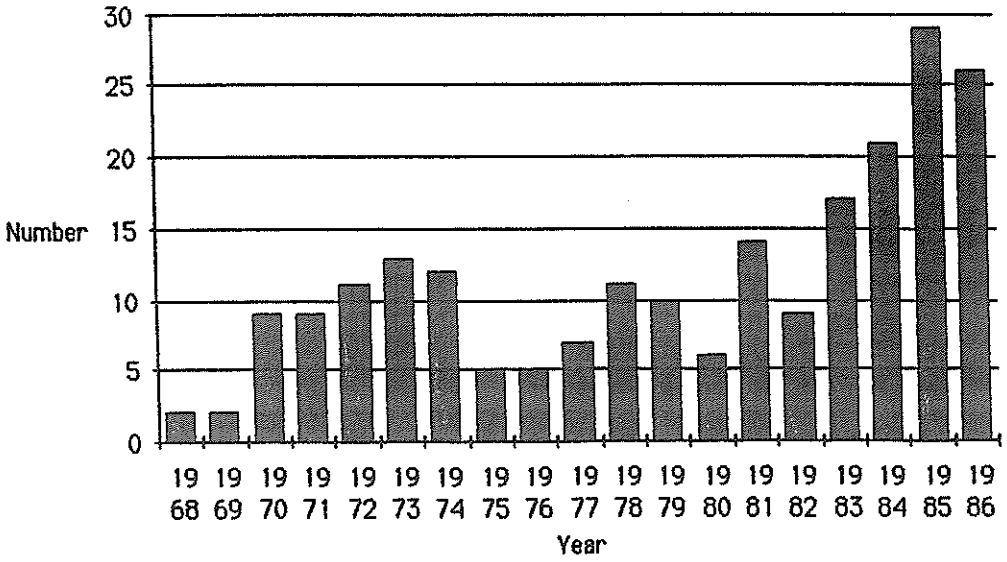
Table 16

Black Faculty Length of Service by Gender
at Present Institution

Length of Service	Total Respondents	Female As a %	Male As a %
Up to 5 Years	49.3	51	49
5 to 10 Years	14.9	47	53
10 to 15 Years	18.5	47.1	51.7
15 or More Years	17.4	40	60

Figure 1

Male Hires 1968-1986



From the data in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEO) reports, it is apparent that there were more Black faculty hired at TWIs after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act than before its passage. Additionally, looking at the data compiled in Table 16 in the category of "10 to 15 years" (roughly the period of the first Adams litigation) there is a slight increase in faculty members over the category of "15 or More Years," which would be the period accompanying the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. There is a noticeable decline in the number of Blacks in the "5 to 10 Year" category; yet, there is a significant increase in the number of Blacks in the "Up to 5 Years" category. This "Up to 5 Years" category is the same period in which the courts renewed the push to get TWIs to hire more Black faculty. In 1983, TWIs in the Adams states were required to re-examine their "Plans" with the intent to develop new strategies to increase minority presence.

Data on the initial date of hire provide a clearer illustration of the previously mentioned trend. Only 2 percent of the respondents in this study were hired prior to 1964. However, between 1972 to 1977, 25.5 percent of the population was hired. Even more revealing is the fact that between 1983 and 1986, 42.2 percent of the population was hired. Figures 1, 2 and 3 provide a year by year analysis from 1968 to 1986. It is clear that more hiring took place between 1973 and 1976 and between 1984 and 1986 than in any other periods. This increase in hiring coincides with the proactive stance the courts took during these years requiring institutions to hire more Blacks in faculty and administrative ranks.

Further analysis of Table 16 indicates a fairly even distribution of Black males and Black females in the category of "Up to 5 Years" of service. There is a noticeable difference in the category of "15 or More Years" of service, and a slight difference in the "5 to 10 Years" and "10 to 15 Years" categories. These data suggest that while the total number of Blacks teaching in TWIs in the Adams states is still low, in the last five years Black females are being hired at a greater rate than they were in previous years (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Female Hires 1968-1986

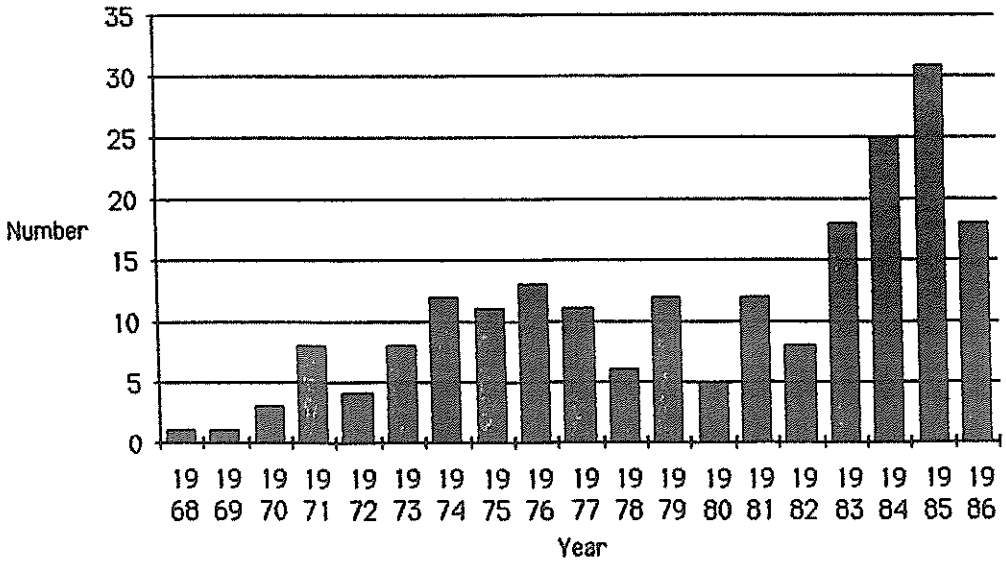
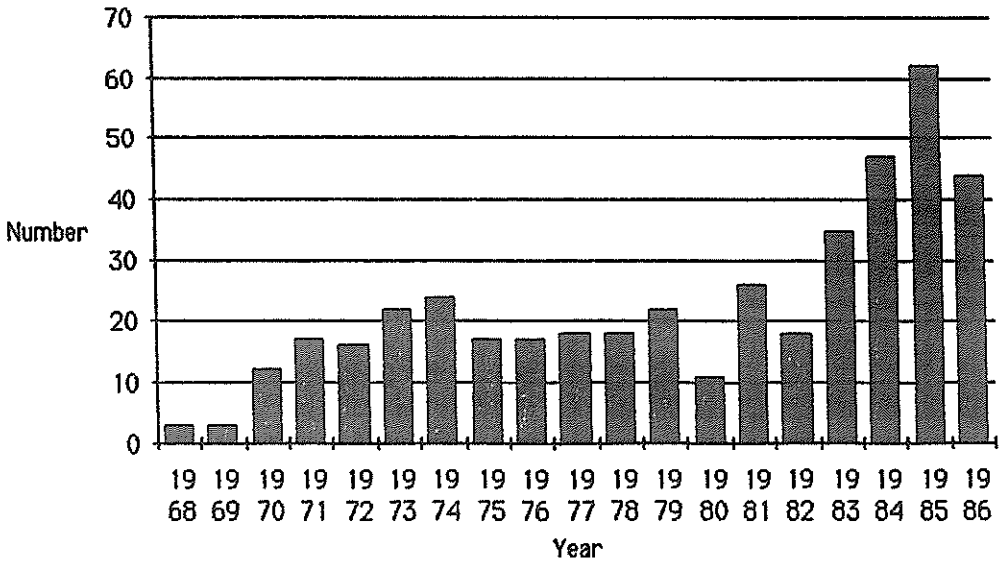


Figure 3

Male & Female Hires 1968-1986



Another finding relates to the length of service the respondents previously had at TBIs. Seventy-one (71) percent of the respondents had no experience at TBIs. Only 5.8 and 3.2 percent had one and two years of experience, respectively, at TBIs (see Table 18). A crosstabulation of the respondents who had prior experiences at TBIs by years of experience at TWIs further supported the fact that the majority of the Black faculty in Adams states' TWIs do not have teaching experience at TBIs.

As a result of the findings in Table 17 and Table 18, it can be surmised that TBIs are not being "raided" of their faculty to any great degree to remedy the shortage of Black faculty at TWIs. Further, the TWIs are recruiting Blacks with little or no prior experience, probably upon completion of graduate and professional schools. This practice may have an effect upon initial rank.

Tenure Status

Tenure has long been recognized as a source of security for teaching faculty. Pruitt (1982) recognized the significance of promotion and tenure, terming them a more collegial process than recruitment and subject to political and economic forces. The data suggest that for the most part Blacks are not being tenured. Even when controlled for length of service at the present institution of employment, the findings are the same (see Tables 19-22). This finding suggests that retention should be an issue of concern to the Adams states institutions. The limited number of Blacks being tenured, in the final analysis, translates into a maintenance of the status quo. Looking at tables 19 through 22, one can surmise that the greatest percentage of Black faculty in each of the length of service categories have not been tenured. In the "Up to 5 Years" category, 89.6 percent of the Black faculty have not been tenured; in the "5 to 10 Years" category, 75.9 percent have not been tenured; in the "10 to 15 Years," 49 percent have not been tenured; and in the "15 or More Years" category, 49.1 percent have not been tenured. If there is a direct correlation between tenure and job security, most of the Black

Table 17

Years of Service at TWIs

Number of Years	n = 468	Present Total Respondents	Female As a %	Male As a %
0	54	11.5	46.3	53.7
1	34	7.3	47.1	52.9
2	38	8.1	55.3	44.7
3	31	6.6	54.8	45.2
4	28	6.0	42.9	57.1
5	25	5.3	56.0	44.0
6	25	5.3	44.0	56.0
7	15	3.2	53.3	46.7
8	26	5.6	42.9	57.1
9	15	3.2	42.3	57.7
10	27	5.8	51.9	48.1
11	12	2.6	50.0	50.0
12	18	3.8	61.1	38.9
13	24	5.1	41.7	58.3
14	23	4.9	56.5	43.5
15	19	4.1	52.6	47.4
16	14	3.0	57.1	42.9
17	14	3.0	7.1	92.9
18	10	2.1	50.0	50.0
19	2	.4	50.0	50.0
20	6	1.3	16.7	83.3
Over 20	7	1.5	13.0	87.8

Table 18

Years of Service at TBIs

Number of Years	n = 462	% Total Respondents	Female As a %	Male As a %
0	330	71.4	46.7	53.3
1	27	5.8	48.1	51.9
2	15	3.2	66.7	33.3
3	11	2.4	36.4	63.6
4	9	1.9	77.8	22.2
5	10	2.2	40.0	60.0
6	7	1.5	57.1	42.9
7	6	1.3	16.7	83.3
8	9	1.9	44.4	55.6
9	5	1.1	60.0	40.0
10	10	2.2	40.0	60.0
11	3	.6	33.3	66.7
12	2	.4	0	100.0
13	4	.9	75.0	25.0
14	2	.4	50.0	50.0
15	0	0	0	0
16	0	0	0	0
17	3	.6	100.0	0
18	1	.2	100.0	0
19	1	.2	0	100.0
20	0	0	0	0
Over 20	7	1.5	86.6	13.3

Table 19

Tenure by Gender Controlled for Length of Service
Up to 5 Years

Years Tenured	n = 191	Total %	Female As a %	Male As a %
0	173	89.6	50.9	49.1
1	5	2.6	20.0	80.0
2	4	2.1	50.0	50.0
3	3	1.6	33.3	66.7
4	1	.5	0	100.0
5	0	n/a	0	0
6	1	2.1	25.0	75.0
7	2	.5	0	100.0
8	0	n/a	0	0
9	2	1.0	50.0	50.0

Table 20

Tenure by Gender Controlled for Length of Service
5 to 10 Years

Years Tenured	n = 74	Total %	Female As a %	Male As a %
0	56	75.9	50.0	50.0
1	3	4.1	33.3	66.7
2	3	4.1	33.3	66.7
3	6	8.1	50.0	50.0
4	1	1.4	0	2.6
5	1	1.4	100.0	0
6	1	1.4	0	100.0
7	2	2.7	0	100.0
8	0	n/a	0	0
9	1	1.4	100.0	0

Table 21

Tenure by Gender Controlled for Length of Service
10 to 15 Years

Years Tenured	n = 104	Total %	Female As a %	Male As a %
0	51	49.0	56.9	43.1
1	4	3.8	75.0	25.0
2	1	1.0	0	100.0
3	6	5.8	33.3	66.7
4	5	4.8	40.0	60.0
5	7	6.7	85.7	14.3
6	5	4.8	60.0	40.0
7	7	6.7	42.9	57.1
8	7	6.7	42.9	57.1
9	11	10.6	54.5	45.5

Table 22

Tenure by Gender Controlled for Length of Service
15 Years or More

Years Tenured	n = 57	Total %	Female As a %	Male As a %
0	28	49.1	39.3	60.7
1	1	1.8	0	100.0
2	0	n/a	0	0
3	0	n/a	0	0
4	0	n/a	0	0
5	3	5.3	66.7	33.3
6	1	1.8	100.0	0
7	1	1.8	0	100.0
8	3	5.3	66.7	33.3
9	20	35.1	20.0	80.0

faculty in the Adams states possess little or no job security.

The offer of a tenure track position is frequently an inducement to join a given institution. The inducement is that within a few years tenure may be awarded, thereby providing a sense of job security. The "carrot" of a tenure track position was offered to a great percentage of the respondents in this study; yet, most have not been tenured. In fact, 84 percent of the respondents were offered tenure track positions at the initial date of hire. Of that 84 percent offered tenure track positions, 73.8 percent have not yet been awarded tenure.

Of the respondents participating in this study who were offered a tenure track position since their initial hire date, 70.2 percent have not been tenured. These data suggest that whether Blacks are brought in on a tenure track or were switched to a tenure track after being hired, the results are similar (Table 23).

Another "carrot" used to entice faculty to join a given institution is the awarding of probationary credit toward tenure. When probationary credit was indeed offered to respondents in this study, the majority indicated they were only offered one year of probationary credit. Of the respondents offered tenure track positions at the initial date of hire, 69.8 percent were offered one year of probationary credit toward tenure, but 98 percent of this group have not yet received tenure. The respondents offered two years probationary credit made up 15.4 percent of the total offered a tenure track position at the initial hire date and 19 percent of this group have not been tenured. The respondents offered three years probationary credit toward tenure made up 11.1 percent of the total respondents offered a tenured track position at initial date of hire and 21 percent of this group have not been tenured. The respondents offered four years probationary credit toward tenure made up 3.7 percent of the total respondents offered a tenure track position at the initial hire date and each of these respondents have been tenured for at least two years. The same pattern exists when one looks at those respondents offered tenure track position since the initial date of hire.

Table 23

Tenure Status at Initial Hire by Years Tenured

Offered Tenure Track at Initial Hire		Offered Tenure Track Since Initial Hire	
Years Tenured	% of the Respondents	Years Tenured	% of the Respondents
0	73.8	0	70.2
1	1.7	1	5.3
2	1.3	2	3.5
3	3.0	3	3.5
4	2.3	4	0
5	1.7	5	7.0
6	3.0	6	1.8
7	2.3	7	3.5
8	2.7	8	0
9	8.1	9	5.3

Of the respondents offered a tenure track position since the initial date of hire, 71.9 percent were offered one year probationary credit toward tenure, but 95.1 percent have not been tenured. Of those respondents offered a tenure track since hire, 17.5 percent were offered two years probationary credit toward tenure and 10 percent of this group have not been tenured. Of those offered a tenure track position since hire and receiving three or four years probationary credit toward tenure, each has been tenured for at least one year. Thus, two or more years of probationary credit toward tenure dramatically enhances the prospects for gaining tenure status.

Rank and Salary

In academia, professional rank not only determines salary range, but it also has an effect on clout within the institution. The scrutiny one must endure to advance up the professorial ranks, for the most part, is just as rigorous as the initial hiring process. The data suggest that the greatest percentage of Blacks are in the lower ranks, whether initial rank or present rank is isolated. Specifically, the highest percentage of Blacks are represented in the the rank of assistant professor (Table 24).

A crosstabulation of initial rank by present rank can illustrate to what extent the respondents have been promoted from their initial rank. As a result of doing this, we see that of the respondents initially hired at the rank of instructor, 39.7 are still instructors, 39.7 are assistant professor, 15.9 are associate professors and 2.6 are professors. Of the respondents initially hired at the rank of assistant professor, 64.3 are still assistant professors, 23.2 are associate professors and 9.7 are professors. Of the respondents initially hired as associate professors, 68.9 are still associate professors and 20.0 are professors. Table 25 is a summary of Black faculty of the same rank in the same department.

Table 24

Initial Rank and Present Rank by Gender

	Initial Rank				Present Rank			
Rank	Number	Percent	Female As a %	Male As a %	Number	Percent	Female As a %	Male As a %
Instructor	151	32.8	60.9	39.1	69	14.8	58.0	42.0
Assistant Professor	208	45.1	41.8	58.2	209	44.7	54.1	45.9
Associate Professor	45	9.8	40.0	60.0	109	23.4	37.6	62.4
Professor	21	4.6	38.6	71.4	57	12.3	29.8	70.2
Other	36	7.8	58.3	41.7	23	4.9	65.2	34.8

Table 25

Black Faculty In Same Rank Within Same Department

Rank	Number of Blacks at Same Rank	n	Percentage
Instructor	Respondent the only one	20	28.6
	1 other	28	40.0
	2 others	8	11.4
	3 others	8	11.4
	4 others	1	1.5
Assistant Professor	Respondent the only one	38	18.5
	1 other	102	49.8
	2 others	35	17.1
	3 others	19	9.3
	4 others	3	1.5
Associate Professor	Respondent the only one	18	22.0
	1 other	49	48.6
	2 others	16	14.8
	3 others	11	10.2
	4 others	4	3.7
Professor	Respondent the only one	15	26.3
	1 other	20	35.1
	2 others	12	21.1
	3 others	5	8.8
	4 others	2	3.5

Fifteen salary levels were provided on the survey questionnaire. Respondents indicated a level that was converted to a digit from 1 to 15. Analyses of salary variations thus used the converted digits. In reporting these analyses, the digits are sometimes re-converted to a salary dollar figure.

The data on faculty salaries reveal that the initial mean salary level for the entire group was $20,250 and the present mean salary level for the entire group is $39,550. Table 26 compares respondents on initial and present salary levels. Over 50 percent of the respondents indicated that their initial salary was less than $20,000. Presently, 6.5 percent of the respondents have a salary of less than $20,000. Only 6 percent of the respondents had initial salaries over $40,000. Presently over 21 percent of the respondents have salaries over $40,000.

A crosstabulation of initial salary level by present salary level illustrates the extent to which respondents in the various salary levels moved from one level to another. Table 27 shows that about 50 percent of the respondents in the last seven categories respectively are still at the same salary level. However, there seems to be more movement in the lower salary categories.

Another means of analyzing movement of salary is stratifying initial salary level and present salary level by present rank. The initial mean salary level for the various ranks was as follows: instructor $15,550, assistant professor $21,650, associate professor $22,500 and professor $36,450. The present mean salary level for the various ranks is as follows: instructor $21,350, assistant professor $27,800, associate professor $33,950 and professor $46,650. Tables 28 and 29 illustrate the initial salary level and present salary level by present rank.

With the exception of the initial mean salary for male instructors, the mean salary for women was less than that of men in every rank, whether looking at initial rank or present rank. The initial mean salary for female instructors was $16,100 and for male instructors was $15,000. The initial mean salary for female assistant professors was $21,000 and for male assistant professors, $22,200. The initial mean salary for female associate professors

Table 26

Initial Salary and Present Salary by Gender

	Initial			Present		
Salary	Percent Total	Female As a %	Male As a %	Percent Total	Female As a %	Male As a %
Less than 15,000	24.7	52.7	47.3	1.7	50.0	50.0
15,000 < 20,000	25.4	50.8	49.2	4.8	54.5	45.5
20,000 < 25,000	20.5	53.8	46.2	17.0	65.4	34.6
25,000 < 30,000	11.0	36.0	64.0	25.7	52.5	47.5
30,000 < 35,000	6.6	53.3	46.7	19.2	46.6	53.4
35,000 < 40,000	4.0	33.3	66.7	9.8	44.4	55.6
40,000 < 45,000	1.5	14.3	85.7	5.7	50.0	50.0
45,000 < 50,000	1.8	25.0	75.0	5.4	32.0	68.0
50,000 < 55,000	1.3	66.7	33.3	3.5	31.3	68.7
55,000 < 60,000	.4	50.0	50.0	2.4	18.2	81.8
60,000 < 65,000	.4	0	100.0	2.0	11.1	88.9
65,000 < 70,000	.4	0	100.0	1.3	16.7	83.3
75,000 < 90,000	.2	100.0	0	1.0	25.0	75.0

Table 27

Initial Salary Controlled for Present Salary

INITIAL SALARY	PRESENT SALARY Less than 15,000	15 < 20	20 < 25	25 < 30	30 < 35	35 < 40	40 < 45	45 < 50	50 < 55	55 < 60	60 < 65	65 < 70	70 < 75	75 < 80	80 < 100
Less than 15,000	6.4	4.5	17.3	31.8	25.5	5.5	.9	3.6	1.8	.9	.9	.9	0	0	0
15,000 < 20,000	1.7	13.4	26.1	16.0	17.6	9.2	6.7	2.5	2.5	2.5	.8	.8	0	0	0
20,000 < 25,000	.1	0	29.0	36.6	10.8	7.5	6.5	3.2	3.2	0	2.2	0	0	0	0
25,000 < 30,000	0	0	2.0	48.0	24.0	8.0	6.0	4.0	0	4.0	2.0	0	0	0	0
30,000 < 35,000	0	0	0	3.4	41.4	27.6	10.3	6.9	6.9	0	0	0	0	3.4	0
35,000 < 40,000	0	0	0	0	5.9	41.2	11.8	29.4	5.9	5.9	0	0	0	0	0
40,000 < 45,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	28.6	28.6	14.3	14.3	0	14.3	0	0	0
45,000 < 50,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50.0	0	12.5	25.0	12.5	0	0	0
50,000 < 55,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50.0	16.7	16.7	16.7	0	0	0
55,000 < 60,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50.0	0	0	0	0	0
60,000 < 65,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50.0	0	50.0	0	0
65,000 < 70,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50.0	0	0	50.0
70,000 < 75,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
75,000 < 90,000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 28

Initial Salary by Present Rank

	Instructor		Asst. Professor		Assoc. Professor		Professor	
	n(74)	%	n(200)	%	n(104)	%	n(55)	%
Less than 15,000	18	25.7	43	21.5	31	29.8	13	23.6
15,000 < 20,000	34	48.6	31	15.5	33	31.7	15	27.3
20,000 < 25,000	12	17.1	54	27.0	17	16.3	6	10.9
25,000 < 30,000	1	1.4	34	17.0	6	5.8	6	10.9
30,000 < 35,000	1	1.4	13	6.5	11	10.6	2	3.6
35,000 < 40,000	2	2.9	10	5.0	3	2.9	2	3.6
40,000 < 45,000	0	0	3	1.5	1	1.0	3	5.5
45,000 < 50,000	0	0	4	2.0	1	1.0	3	5.5
50,000 < 55,000	0	0	2	1.0	1	1.0	3	5.5
55,000 and Above	2	2.8	3	1.5	0	0	2	3.6

Table 29

Present Salary by Present Rank

	Instructor		Asst. Professor		Assoc. Professor		Professor	
	n(69)	Percent	n(206)	Percent	n(108)	Percent	n(54)	Percent
Less than 15,000	3	4.3	3	1.5	0	0	1	1.9
15,000 < 20,000	17	24.6	4	1.9	0	0	0	0
20,000 < 25,000	28	40.6	46	22.3	1	.9	0	0
25,000 < 30,000	23	18.6	82	39.8	18	16.7	1	1.9
30,000 < 35,000	3	4.3	36	17.5	39	36.1	6	11.1
35,000 < 40,000	3	4.3	11	5.3	23	21.3	7	13.0
40,000 < 45,000	1	1.4	6	2.9	11	10.2	6	11.1
45,000 < 50,000	0	0	8	3.5	8	7.4	8	14.8
50,000 < 55,000	0	0	3	1.5	6	5.6	7	13.0
55,000 < 60,000	0	0	3	1.5	0	0	6	11.1
60,000 < 65,000	1	1.4	1	1.5	2	1.9	5	9.3
65,000 < 70,000	0	0	1	.5	0	0	4	7.4
70,000 and Above	0	0	2	1.0	0	0	3	5.6

was $18,150 and for male associate professors, $24,800. The initial mean salary for female professors was $35,850 and for male professors, $36,665. The present mean salary for female instructors is $21,250 and for male instructors $21,400. The present mean salary for female assistant professor is $27,150 and for male assistant professors, $28,550. The present mean salary for female associate professor is $30,950 and for male associate professors $35,500. The present mean salary for female professors is $43,250 and for male professors $48,250. The differences are apparent in each rank, but the greatest differences prove to be at the associate professor and professor ranks (Table 30). More detailed analyses of teaching discipline, experience and productivity are needed to properly interpret these findings.

Table 30

Mean Salary by Initial Rank and Present Rank

Initial Rank	Salary	Female Salary	Male Salary
Instructor	15,550	16,100	15,000
Assistant Professor	21,650	21,000	22,200
Associate Professor	22,500	18,150	24,800
Professor	36,450	35,850	36,665

Present Rank	Salary	Female Salary	Male Salary
Instructor	21,350	21,250	21,400
Assistant Professor	27,800	27,150	28,550
Associate Professor	33,950	30,950	35,500
Professor	46,650	43,250	48,250

Experiences

Recruitment

The first step in attracting Black faculty to TWIs is a successful recruitment program. Normally, institutions engage in a diversified approach when recruiting faculty, whether Black or white. A major tool in the process is placement of ads in the Chronicle of Higher Education, journals and appropriate newsletters. These ads usually give a description of the position (i.e., associate professor of English), a specific date the applications must be submitted, starting date and a statement concerning the institution being an equal opportunity employer. Placing ads in the previous mentioned medium of advertisement several times for each vacancy can be very expensive and still may not achieve the desired results. Yet, this is the procedure which is, for the most part, followed by institutions in their attempt to recruit Black faculty. This approach does not provide the potential Black faculty member with a sense of the campus environment, the institutional commitment to affirmative action, the kind of experiences Black faculty may expect, the prior success levels of other Black faculty members, and other concerns of this nature.

In an attempt to address this issue as part of this study, respondents were specifically asked to identify the most important factors in assisting them in finding their present positions. Also, during on-site interviews, a question was posed to each interviewee concerning the same matter. The options listed on the questionnaire were: mentor; college placement office; faculty member at present institution; professional journals, newsletters, etc.; advertisement; friends; networking; other personal contact and "other." Each respondent was asked to indicate the three most important factors instrumental in locating his/her present position. Additionally, the respondents were asked to rank the three choices.

The data indicated that among the first ranked factors, the most frequently listed was a faculty member at the present

institution. This was followed by mentor, friends, advertisement, and journals/newsletters (Table 31).

When the data were analyzed according to length of service, the findings revealed cohort differences in the pathways by which Black faculty have entered academia over the years. In the most recent cohort of faculty hired less than five years ago, faculty at the institution was followed by mentors, advertisements, journals/newsletters, friends and networking as the most important factors in locating their positions. Figure 4 presents the relative percentages of six pathways used by faculty to locate their positions. This information is presented for four length of service cohorts: less than five years (4a); five to ten years (4b); ten to fifteen years (4c); and over fifteen years (4d).

Several patterns clearly emerge from examination of Figure 4. The role of faculty at the institution, though slightly decreasing, remains the most frequently used pathway. The role of mentors and networking has remained fairly stable over the years. Advertising has emerged as a significant pathway for Black scholars entering academia. Similarly, the use of journals, virtually a non-factor 15 years ago, has now become the fourth most frequently listed factor.

When the data were stratified according to length of service, gender and rank, the findings were slightly different. The data indicate that faculty with up to five years of service more frequently selected advertisements, journals and newsletters ahead of friends. This pattern also existed in the category of instructor when the data were stratified according to rank. Further, the instructors selected the use of a mentor most frequently, followed by the use of faculty mentor at the present institution.

Looking further at rank and specifically at the category of assistant professor, advertisements were the third most frequent and friends were the fourth most frequent choices as the most important factors in locating the position. The fact that the frequency of selections changed when stratified according to length of service (specifically the "Up to 5 Years" cohort) and rank (specifically the instructor category) suggests that as a

Table 31

Most Useful Factors in Locating Present Position

Factors Ranked First	Percent of Respondents Selecting
Faculty at Present Institution	24.6
Mentor	18.0
Friends	11.0
Advertisement	9.7
Journals, Newsletters, etc.	7.4
Other Personal Contacts	6.6
Networking	5.5
Institutional Placement Office	.4
Others (composite)	16.7

Figure 4. Recruiting Factors Used By Black Faculty in Locating Position

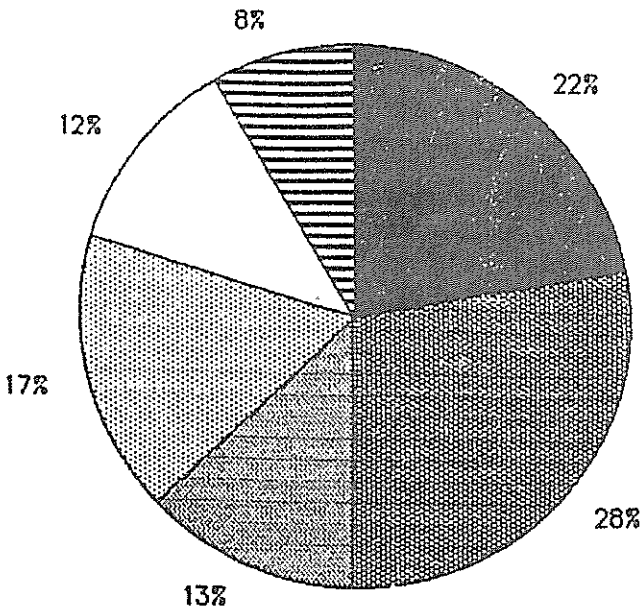


Figure 4a. 0 to 5 Years Ago

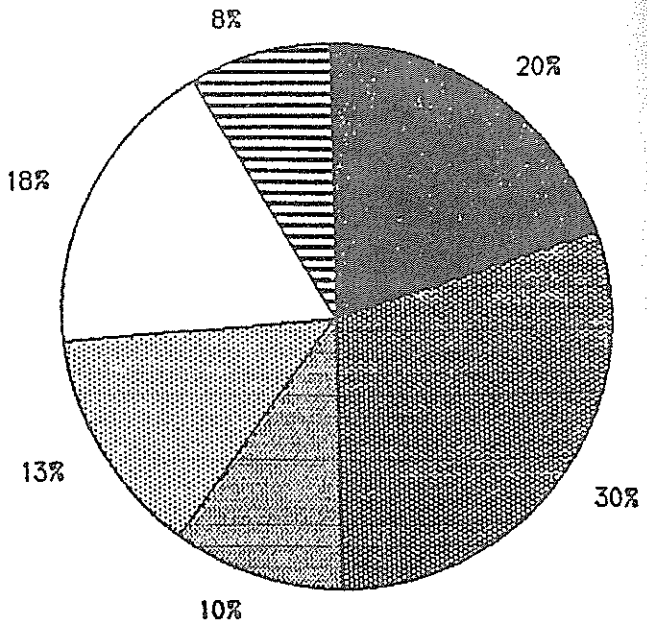


Figure 4b. 5 to 10 Years Ago

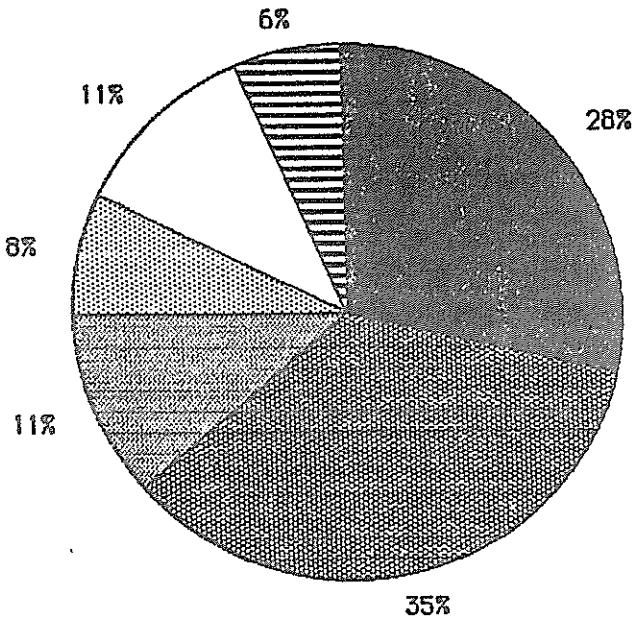


Figure 4c. 10 to 15 Years Ago

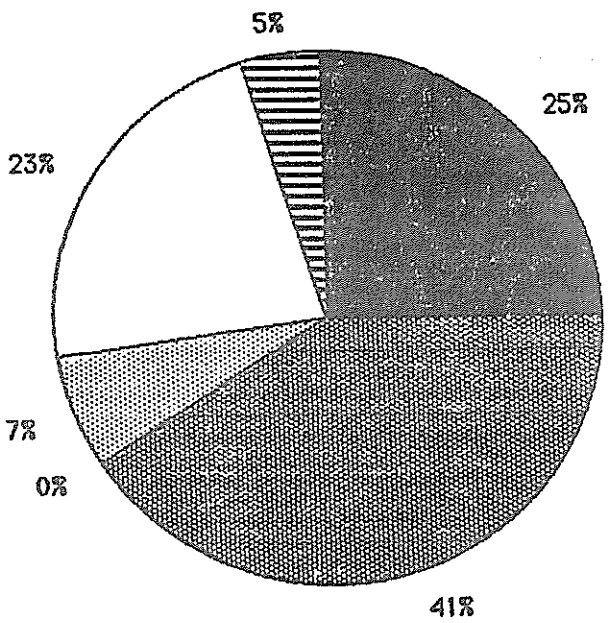
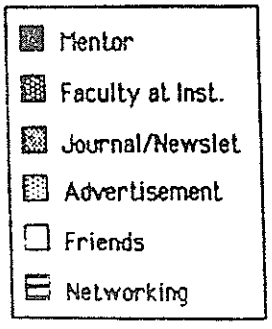


Figure 4d. 15 or More Years Ago



result of the courts demanding that numbers be increased, institutions are trying to diversify the ways that they attract Black faculty. Though the overall relative frequency of all the factors is fairly consistent over time, the use of advertisements and journals gained in popularity. In the "15 or More Years" cohort, the use of advertisements, journals and ads were not used by the respondents in trying to find jobs. Yet, in the "Up to 5 Years" cohort, 10.5 percent of the respondents attributed the locating of their jobs to the use of advertisements, journals and ads.

When looking at factors faculty considered most important in locating their positions, the commonality of the three most frequently identified factors is a person to person approach.

Mentoring

Broad definitions of mentoring relationships are rather clear: guidance and support provided by an individual in an established position to a novice. In academia, a more precise operational definition of mentoring is elusive because of the various forms that such a relationship may assume. For that reason, the present study did not attempt to directly measure mentoring. Instead, respondents were asked to evaluate the value of mentoring relationships with respect to their own advancement and promotion.

Respondents considered mentoring relationships with department heads and senior professors to be of greater value than mentoring with the dean, vice-president or president (Table 32). Generally, Black faculty in this study did not overwhelmingly view mentoring as important to their career advancement. Slightly more than half (57.1% and 52.3%, respectively) attached importance to department head mentors and senior professor mentors.

Mentoring with senior professors was viewed as being more important to faculty members who must publish to gain tenure ($F = 4.6$; $p < .01$). On a four point scale, from 4 = maximum value to 1 = no value, faculty who stated that they must publish to gain

Table 32

Value of Mentoring Relationships with Respect to Advancement and Promotion

Mentor Type	No Value	Little Value	Considerable Value	Maximum Value	n
Department Head	18.4%	24.5%	35.1%	22.0%	(442)
Senior Professor	21.7%	26.0%	30.8%	21.5%	(441)
Vice President or Dean	25.3%	27.1%	28.5%	19.1%	(439)
President	37.6%	26.4%	19.4%	16.6%	(439)

tenure averaged 2.5 percent, whereas faculty who do not have to publish averaged 2.13. The value of mentoring with senior professors was also expressed more strongly by faculty who know that their institution was under the Adams case mandate than by faculty who were not aware of the Adams case mandate (means of 2.61 versus 2.24, $F = 9.48$; $p < .01$).

Contact with Department Head and Colleagues

In assessing the significance of contacts with colleagues, the respondents considered close contact with the department head (64%) and close affiliations with senior professors (53.2%) to be more valuable to their careers than social contacts with colleagues (42.6%; see Table 33).

The significance of the department head on the measures of mentoring and contact invited an analysis of the relationship of formal contacts with the department chair to other types of relationships with colleagues. In a series of analyses, the reported level of formal contact with the department chair was designated as the independent variable, and formal and informal contacts with other colleagues were the dependent variables. Results are summarized in Table 34 and reveal that Black faculty who had the highest levels of formal contact with the department chair were also likely to have higher levels of formal contact with senior professors, vice-presidents, deans, presidents, and "others." The level of formal contact that Black faculty had with department heads was also related to the amount of informal contact with the department head, but not related to informal contact with vice-presidents or "others."

The measure, Formal Contacts with Department Head, appears to be sufficiently related to other formal contact measures to be a general indicator of colleague contact. A series of analyses were performed to provide greater detail about the formal contacts experience of Black faculty, and its relation to other important career variables. Specifically, formal contacts were related to the following variables:

Table 33

Value of Contacts with Colleagues for Advancement and Promotion

Type of Contact	No Value	Little Value	Considerable Value	Maximum Value	n
Close Affiliation with Senior Professor	17.7%	29.1%	35.1%	18.1%	(436)
Close Contact with Department Head	12.3%	23.7%	40.8%	23.2%	(439)
Social Contacts with Colleagues	18.0%	39.4%	32.8%	9.8?%	(439)