

Women in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Part II. The Social Sciences

A Report by the Standing Committee on the Status of Women
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I. INTRODUCTION: GENESIS OF THE COMMITTEE'S CONCERN

The Standing Committee took up the question of the situation of women in the social sciences in 1994. An enquiry was begun into this question during Professor Seyla Benhabib's chairmanship of the committee (1994-96) and continued under the chairmanship of Professor Susan Pedersen (1996-97).

1. Sources of information

The committee gathered information in five areas. First, in the summer of 1995, social science chairs were asked to furnish the committee with information about committee assignments and advising responsibilities, broken down by gender, in order to ascertain whether there were salient differences. Second, during the winter of 1995-96, a comprehensive survey requesting information on teaching, committee work, professional development, departmental relations, and the relationship between careers and personal life was sent to all junior faculty (men and women) in the social sciences. (See Appendix) Fourteen of 24 junior women and 29 of 60 men responded to that survey; results were tabulated and analyzed by Professor Benhabib in a preliminary report to the Dean in the spring of 1996. Third, in the fall of 1996, the committee reviewed once again the statistics on senior offers, junior appointments, and internal promotions for the last ten years. Fourth, in that same semester, the committee gathered information from social science departments on the later careers of junior faculty who have left the FAS during the last ten years. Finally, in the winter of 1996-97 the committee met in small groups or individually with 19 of the 25 women junior faculty members in the social sciences in order to gather their views on some of the crucial points of concern uncovered by the committee's investigation.¹

2. Key areas of concern

We came, through this process, to focus on several key areas of concern, including recruitment, professional development, and "mentoring." If there is one finding that stands out, however, it is the crucial role that what is often called "departmental culture" plays in the lives of faculty--and especially of junior faculty women. The relative autonomy of the departments reflects, of course, Harvard's broader practice of allowing its component parts a good deal of independence, a practice which has many strengths but also some weaknesses. Excellent policies, we found, can be undermined by indifferent departmental implementation; similarly, a lack of commitment to gender equity or junior faculty career development among other members of the department can undercut the efforts of even the most active and committed chair. We thus present this report as a document that should be read and studied not only by administrators and

¹ Although records on recruitment and promotion were particularly revealing, other quantitative information proved less easy to analyze. Several chairs expressed reservations about the quality of the data they sent to us, since they had been forced to rely for information on individual faculty reports which were incomplete and did not always contain the relevant information. The committee attempted in its survey to address this problem by asking junior faculty to report their activities on an hours/week basis: once again, however, we ended up with such disparate reports as to make evaluation difficult. Very different departmental practices in teaching, advising and administration also made comparison across departments difficult. As a result, we found that--with some significant exceptions discussed below--the qualitative data gathered through our survey and through interviews proved most useful in helping us to isolate key areas of concern. Although we refer in this report to information discovered through all parts of our inquiry, we pay particular attention to this qualitative material.

chairs, but also and equally importantly by department members in all the social science departments.

Finally, although we confined our investigation to the social sciences, many of the concerns we raise echo issues raised by the Grosz Report on women in the natural sciences and may be relevant to humanities departments as well. We thus would urge all faculty to reflect on the information presented here. The career development and simple contentment of FAS's very gifted junior faculty women are crucial to the future strength both of FAS departments and to the reputation of this Faculty more broadly. It is, then, a matter of concern for all of us.

3. Acknowledgments

We wish to express our gratitude to the many individuals who helped us with this work. Department chairs and administrators answered two quite laborious requests for information; Elizabeth Doherty, Assistant Dean for Academic Planning, spent a good deal of time reviewing FAS statistics on hiring and promotion, and tabulating these in a manner useful to the committee. Our greatest debt, however, is to the junior faculty who answered our questionnaire and to those junior women who agreed to meet with us to discuss their experiences. These discussions were confidential, and the committee took care to ensure that no junior faculty were "visited" by members of their own department; we were, in consequence, able to have an open and frank discussion of the issues. We found that no written material or statistical information could substitute for these discussions.

II. RECRUITMENT OF WOMEN IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

1. Senior offers to women

The committee reviewed the recent figures on tenure offers to men and women over the last ten years (Tables 1 and 2). We were pleased to note that the trend in offers to women was a rising one: whereas from 1986-91 only 12.8 percent of all senior offers were made to women, by 1991-96 that figure had risen to 24.2 percent of offers. We note, however, that the overall numbers remain disappointingly low: of 280 senior offers over those ten years, only 50 were made to women.

We wish to draw attention to several revealing findings. First, we were struck by the relatively low rate of outside offers to-- as opposed to promotions of -- women. Although 17.9 percent of all offers, and 24.6 percent (14 of 57) of promotions, were to women in the past ten years, only 16.1 percent (36 of 223) of outside offers were made to women. Taking the past five years only, figures are somewhat better, but still show a lag in the area of outside offers in particular: whereas 32.1 percent (9 of 28) of internal promotions were of women, only 22.1 percent (21 of 95) of outside offers were made to women.

This lag is particularly marked in the social sciences. Over the past ten years, 15.6 percent (17 of 109) of senior offers were made to women, but only 12.5 percent (11 of 88) of outside offers. Taking the past five years only, 22.2 percent (10 of 45) of all offers, but only 17.1 percent (6 of 35) of outside offers, were made to women. While we welcome the increased rate of promotion of Harvard junior faculty to the senior ranks, we also encourage departments to make greater efforts to identify talented women as candidates in searches that do not involve the review of a junior colleague.

We note, however, one encouraging finding. Contrary to our own expectations, **there is no measurable difference in the rate of acceptance of outside offers between men and women, across the FAS.** Over the past ten years, 57 percent (106 of 187) of outside offers to men, and 56 percent (20 of 36) of outside offers to women have been accepted. We wish to draw attention to this finding, as it is often alleged that senior women may be especially difficult to recruit. There is no general basis for this belief. It is true, however, that the social sciences in particular have had trouble recruiting women: **eleven outside offers were made to women in the social sciences between 1986 and 1996, of which seven were declined.** This finding confirmed our view that the social sciences were in need of vigorous attention.²

² We should note that 1996-97 saw the appointments of five senior women in the social sciences, to join the Faculty in 1997-98.

**TABLE 2:
SENIOR OFFERS BY DIVISION, 1991/92 -1995/96**

	Humanities	Social Sciences	Natural Sciences	TOTAL
TOTAL OFFERS	45	45	34	124
<i>women</i>	15	10	5	30
Accepted	30	28	26	84
<i>women</i>	9	7	4	20
Declined	15	17	8	40
<i>women</i>	6	3	1	10
OUTSIDE OFFERS	39	35	21	95
<i>women</i>	13	6	2	21
Accepted	25	18	13	56
<i>women</i>	7	3	1	11
Declined	14	17	8	39
<i>women</i>	6	3	1	10
PROMOTIONS	6*	10	13	29
<i>women</i>	2	4	3	9

* 1 (male) candidate declined offer

Finally, the figures on senior appointments underscored the importance of internal promotion as a source of recruitment for women in particular. In 1986-91, a mere 17.9 percent of Harvard's internal promotions were of women--and this at a time when between a quarter and a third of junior faculty were women; in 1991-96, by contrast, 32.1 percent of such internal promotions were of women--a percentage roughly equal to the percentage of women among the junior faculty as a whole. Although promotion rates for women appear to have lagged behind rates for men in the recent past, then, women now appear to be promoted roughly at the same rates as men. **Nevertheless, because women are underrepresented in external hires, the proportion of senior members appointed through promotion is far higher for women than for men: over the past ten years, 42 percent (14 of 35) of senior women, but only 29 percent (43 of 147) of senior men, were appointed through internal promotion.** Within the social sciences, given the low rate of recruitment from outside, the proportion of women faculty promoted from within is still more marked: over the past ten years, six of ten senior women, compared with 15 of 56 senior men, were appointed through internal promotion. Only the recent relatively even promotion rates for men and women internally has prevented the university from embarrassingly low recruitment rates for women at the senior level. This confirms our view of the importance of vigorous attention to the recruitment and retention of women junior faculty; such women are an important source of candidates for the senior ranks.

2. Recruitment of junior faculty women

When we examined statistics across FAS for the junior faculty, we found trends that are cause for concern. In all areas of FAS, the representation of women on the junior faculty falls behind availability rates, which reflect the percentage of PhDs awarded to women during the preceding three years (Table 3). Thus, while availability rates are 53.7 percent in the humanities, only 43.6 percent of our humanities junior faculty are women; likewise, while there is a 24.3 percent availability rate in the natural sciences, only 20.3 percent of our natural sciences junior

faculty are women. Our most worrying results, however, were those from the social sciences. In both the humanities and the natural sciences, the proportion of women on the junior faculty has increased over the last five years; in the social sciences, by contrast, it has declined both relatively and absolutely (Table 4). In 1991 (an admittedly good year), 37 percent (34 of 92) junior faculty were women; in 1996, 30 percent (24 of 80) were women. The current availability rate in social science is 36 percent. **In the social sciences in particular, then, we have lost ground.**

Of course, figures vary enormously by department. Thus, the proportion of women on the junior faculty in Anthropology, Psychology and Sociology is roughly in line with or above the availability rate in those fields, while the proportion of women on the junior faculty in Economics, Government, History and Statistics is clearly below the availability rate (Table 5)³. In view of the important role played by internal promotion in recruitment, it is crucial that both FAS and the social science departments make vigorous efforts to recruit and retain talented women faculty.

**TABLE 3:
LADDER FACULTY WOMEN: 1996/7**

Faculty	Total	Women	Availability	Current %
Humanities	55	24	53.7%	43.6%
Social Sciences	80	24	36.6%	30.0%
Natural Sciences	59	12	24.3%	20.30%
Total FAS	194	60	37.6%	30.9%

³ We note as well that relatively small numbers, combined with relatively high turnover, may result in rapid changes in percentages within departments. Searches in several social science departments during 1996-97 resulted in the appointment of women. These will be reflected in statistics in years to come.

**TABLE 4:
JUNIOR FACULTY CENSUS, 1991/92 - 1996/97**

	Avail. (1991)	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	Avail. (1996)
Total		227	217	214	200	194	194	
Men		156 (68.7)	153 (70.5)	150 (70.1)	138 (69.0)	137 (70.6)	134 (69.1)	
Women	31.6%	71 (31.3)	64 (29.5)	64 (29.9)	62 (31.0)	57 (29.4)	60 (30.9)	37.6%
Humanities		70	61	58	48	47	55	
Men		44 (62.9)	34 (55.7)	32 (55.2)	25 (52.1)	26 (55.3)	31 (56.4)	
Women	47.2%	26 (37.1)	27 (44.3)	26 (44.8)	23 (47.9)	21 (44.7)	24 (43.6)	53.7%
Social Sciences		92	93	94	89	84	80	
Men		58 (63.0)	66 (71.0)	66 (70.2)	62 (69.7)	60 (71.4)	56 (70.0)	
Women	30.7%	34 (37.0)	27 (29.0)	28 (29.8)	27 (30.3)	24 (28.6)	24 (30.0)	36.6%
Natural Sciences		66	64	63	64	63	59	
Men		55 (83.3)	54 (84.1)	53 (84.1)	52 (81.3)	51 (81.0)	47 (79.7)	
Women	16.2%	11 (16.7)	10 (15.6)	10 (15.9)	12 (18.7)	12 (19.0)	12 (20.3)	24.3%

**TABLE 5:
LADDER FACULTY WOMEN IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, 1996/97**

DEPARTMENT	Women/Total	%	Availability rate
Anthropology	5/9	55.6	57.4
Economics	2/18	11.1	23.9
Government	6/26	23.1	27.3
History	2/11	18.2	34.6
History of science	1/3	33.3	42.3
Psychology	5/9	55.6	59.8
Sociology	3/4	75.0	50.8
TOTAL	24/80	30.0	36.6

3. What the Dean can do

We wish to note, and to commend, the Dean's very swift response to our findings on this issue of junior faculty recruitment. As soon as the data had been made available to him by our Committee and by Dean Doherty, Dean Knowles included the topic on his agenda for discussions with department chairs, distributed data on the persistent underrecruitment of women at the junior ranks, and urged vigilance on this issue. We wish to underscore the Dean's message. Furthermore, precisely because there is no substitute for leadership by department chairs on the issue of recruitment of women, we would urge **that the dean pay close attention to the views and record of departments and of individual senior members on this issue when appointing department chairs.**

We also recommend that the Dean improve FAS record-keeping on junior appointments and resignations. On beginning this inquiry, we had hoped to discover whether the underrepresentation of junior women might reflect a particular disinclination among women to accept Harvard's offers. We found, however, that there is no general database with records of such offers, and that the process of reconstituting such records was too onerous to contemplate. We also wished to have better information on every junior faculty resignation--including the contract year on resignation, whether a review preceded resignation, and the position and rank at the new institution. Yet while department chairs furnished us with some of this information, we once again discovered that much was incomplete, particularly with respect to post-Harvard appointments. This is a problem: we will only be able to assess the success or failure of our own efforts at junior faculty recruitment to Harvard, and junior faculty career development within and/or beyond Harvard, if such records are kept. **We are pleased to learn, therefore, that the Office of Academic Affairs has been updating its records on junior faculty, in order to be able to track cohorts and analyze patterns. These include information on junior faculty promotions and resignations (year in contract, whether a review was done). We ask that departments provide more detailed records to the Dean's Office regarding junior searches (including all final shortlists, offers made, offers accepted, offers refused, and competing offers accepted) and the initial post-Harvard appointments of departing junior faculty.**

4. What departments can do

It is at the level of the department that junior searches are defined and conducted. Decisions about the nature of the search and about the composition of the committee are thus of real importance in either encouraging or precluding serious attention to the recruitment of women. Departmental leadership is crucial in such areas: just as the Dean can influence departments by activism and leadership, so too can department chairs. Committed leadership by successive chairs of several social science departments in the 1980s succeeded in diversifying the faculty and bringing in large numbers of talented young women and men; several of those junior faculty have now joined the senior ranks.

Chairs therefore need to pay close attention to the composition of search committees. Committees should search widely and deeply and take seriously FAS's commitment to make every effort to locate and consider talented women and minorities. **Chairs should pay attention to such issues when appointing committees; they should also arrange for committees to meet with the Associate Dean for Affirmative Action to devise a strategy for recruitment.** Search committee chairs, and committee members, can also take the lead in this area.

Issues of field definition can also be important. A decision to define a field in a particular way may, however inadvertently, disproportionately exclude women or minority candidates. Battles over rival methodologies (e.g. narrative vs. quantitative) may have gender implications; likewise, narrow field definitions could serve to exclude candidates heavily involved in interdisciplinary work. We would note that some junior faculty at Harvard believe that sometimes field definition may disadvantage women candidates. One male respondent to our questionnaire stated that "in some departments, in some cases, good women candidates are not considered for senior positions--often because they do work or use methodologies considered more 'radical' than those of the mainstream." If this is the case, it may help to explain the persistent underrecruitment of women at both the junior and senior levels. **Both department chairs and committee chairs should take care to ensure that job definitions are broad enough to include candidates whose work may creatively challenge field definitions and established methodologies.**

We would also urge departments to spend some time thinking and talking openly about their recruitment goals. The breadth and quality of the junior faculty is a matter of concern to all of us; all faculty profit from efforts to locate talented candidates and to revise field definitions that may be outmoded or exclusionary. Department members can do a good deal to ensure fairness and openness in the search process; they can promote discussion of such issues within the department; and they can invite the Associate Dean for Affirmative Action to address the department on these issues. It is particularly important that departments integrate junior faculty into the search process, whether through committee membership or through consultation.

Finally, departments can make every effort to ensure that the culture of the department is welcoming to junior faculty and to women. Seeking out good candidates is only the beginning; the more crucial task is to ensure that departments are able to recruit and retain them. Both our survey of all junior faculty and our conversations with junior women uncovered some real areas of concern. It is to these issues that we now turn.

III. THE STATUS OF WOMEN JUNIOR FACULTY IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Harvard has an exceptionally talented social science junior faculty. Department chairs provided us with some information on the careers of junior faculty who left Harvard either at an early stage or after an unsuccessful tenure review. It is not possible to generalize from this information; nevertheless, it is clear that while some junior faculty (especially those leaving Harvard at an early stage) moved to positions without tenure, others moved to tenured positions in comparable institutions (Stanford, Michigan, Berkeley, Columbia, and others). There is no evidence that junior women did any less well upon leaving Harvard than did junior men.

Likewise, our survey of all junior faculty in the social sciences revealed no significant differences in the careers and visibility of male and female faculty members during their years at Harvard. In fact, junior women reported attending a slightly higher number of professional meetings and conferences per year than did their male colleagues; likewise, while junior women on average reported applying for slightly fewer outside positions than did their male colleagues, they also reported a slightly higher number of outside offers. Moreover, while junior women appeared to be slightly less likely to look to their senior colleagues for advice on publishing or for academic collaboration, they reported a slightly higher level of collaboration with people outside of Harvard. Clearly, the junior women in the social sciences are gifted and productive scholars, deeply involved in their research and sought after within the profession. Whatever their

additional burdens, women junior faculty are clearly well able to hold their own both within Harvard and within the broader academic world.

We are concerned, however, that women may be confronting and surmounting some unnecessary difficulties in this process. We wish to summarize our findings and concerns in seven areas: workload, working conditions, career development, promotion and review, "department culture," the impact of the area studies centers, and parental responsibilities and childcare.

1. Workload

From material supplied by departments, we found little evidence of differential workloads based on gender. Formal teaching loads are, of course, equal within departments; likewise, some chairs clearly make considerable efforts to ensure that there is no inequity in committee assignments. The questionnaires completed by junior faculty men and women confirmed this finding: we were unable to discover gender differences in teaching loads, committee work, or time spent advising students. Some junior faculty women did feel, however, that they were teaching more than their share of introductory surveys or other particularly onerous courses. We would therefore underscore **the need for vigilance by department chairs on questions of teaching assignments and administration.**

First, from the material supplied by department chairs, it does appear that women faculty, both junior and senior, play a disproportionate role in FAS administration and on FAS committees. This may be because FAS has sought to ensure that women faculty are consulted on many issues--yet such consultation, given the small numbers of women faculty, results in a heavier-than-average administrative load for many women faculty. We would ask, then, **that the Dean be aware of this, and ensure that women are not asked to take on heavy administrative or committee responsibilities for FAS without some adjustment of their other burdens.**

Second, female faculty did perceive that their relations with both graduate and undergraduate students were strongly influenced by their gender. Junior women felt themselves to be less successful than their male colleagues in recruiting graduate students--although some explained that they had refrained from such recruiting out of a scrupulous concern to avoid making promises to students when their own futures were uncertain. Junior women were also far more likely than their male colleagues to say that graduate students took gender into account when choosing advisors. According to one female respondent, "male graduate students want to work with male faculty" regardless of their research agenda. Another female respondent, however, considered that graduate students were more likely to seek her out, since they found her "less intimidating." These responses were not atypical: women faculty reported that they considered their gender to be a definite factor in their relations with graduate students.

The same gender differences showed up even more sharply in relation to undergraduate teaching, and in this area had some implications for workload. Ten of fourteen junior women believed that faculty were particularly sought out or avoided because of gender, while only one disagreed and one was uncertain (two did not answer); by contrast, 26 of 29 men disagreed and the remaining three were uncertain. We feel this sharp divergence in perception to be very significant. While male faculty usually believe that gender is not particularly significant for students, women sharply disagree. We would interpret this finding as evidence, in essence, of the degree to which maleness is still a normative characteristic for professors: men, therefore, see

their gender as a non-issue, while women see it as significant. Many junior women felt that female undergraduates were especially likely to seek out women faculty as mentors and role models. One noted, rather unhappily, that she could not afford to be "as nice as men can be," or she would be besieged by students. In interviews, it became clear to us that while some junior women welcomed this "mentoring" role, others felt burdened by it. It is hard to know what to recommend in this case, except that departments recognize that undergraduate women do tend to seek out women faculty--itself an argument for further efforts to recruit and retain excellent women faculty.

2. Working conditions

Although we discussed issues of office space and staff support with junior faculty, our interviews revealed, yet again, the difficulty of generalizing across departmental lines. We were concerned to find, however, that--simply because of office location--some junior faculty felt isolated from other faculty with similar interests, and especially from their senior colleagues. After hearing these concerns, we felt that care should be taken to ensure that junior and senior faculty in a specific field are assigned offices in the same area or building; **field or area, rather than rank, should be the principal determinant of office location.** Junior faculty in small subfields should not, however, be assigned offices away from departmental colleagues. Quite simple things like office location may determine one's contacts and even friendships; chairs should ensure that junior faculty are not isolated from colleagues (junior or senior) in their field.

We did uncover clear difficulties in one area, however--that of staff support. We were distressed by the fact that a number of junior faculty women reported having quite difficult relations with department staff. Many reported that department staff were unwilling to assist junior faculty and junior faculty women in particular. In some cases, staffpersons with broad responsibilities appear to have been appropriated by male senior faculty. Some junior women reported having, in the end, to do without staff support. This is a problem that department chairs can easily remedy. **We recommend that department chairs make efforts to prevent such problems before they arise. They might, for example, have a meeting for new faculty and staff at the beginning of the year, at which staff responsibilities towards junior faculty--and the limits of those responsibilities--are made clear to all parties.**

3. Career development

There is no more difficult issue than that of "career development," because it is tied to the complex questions of research support, mentoring, collaboration, and review. We have no definitive answers to these difficult questions; we wish simply to note concerns raised by junior women, and to encourage further FAS and departmental attention to these concerns.

Opinions about research support did not vary across gender lines. Both male and female junior faculty stressed the need for more funded research leaves; in light of these views, we welcome Dean Knowles' decision to introduce a second semester of paid leave for all Associate Professors on the alpha salary scale.

Issues of "mentoring," however, aroused more complex responses. Our survey showed that junior faculty women were slightly less likely than their male colleagues to seek advice from senior faculty in their field, and we wished to discover whether they felt this to be a disadvantage. During interviews, however, we discovered that while there was strong and uniform opposition to

the introduction of any more formal reviews, junior faculty women held a range of views on the issue of "mentoring." Some junior women clearly felt relatively isolated from their senior colleagues, although only some regretted that isolation. Others had relatively close relations with senior colleagues, although a few felt that they were if anything "over-mentored": too many senior members were eager to offer advice and counsel, sometimes along diametrically opposite lines! Some junior women also commented astutely on the difficulties which both the tenure system and departmental cultures (on which more below) created for "mentoring." One junior woman remarked that while she welcomed opportunities to discuss matters of common intellectual interest with her colleagues, she would perceive any effort at "mentoring" by her senior colleagues to be patronizing. Another junior woman noted the real difficulty of seeking practical advice, particularly about the review process, from senior colleagues who would themselves make decisions on her tenure: she had received the most valuable advice, she stated, from a tenured woman in a different department but an allied field.

The Committee spent some time discussing questions of "mentoring," in light of these responses. However, given this range of views, and the fact that relations between the ranks vary greatly between departments, the committee is reluctant to recommend that FAS introduce any formal "mentoring" programs into the social science departments. We note that some junior faculty have relied largely for advice upon sympathetic faculty outside their departments, and feel that such contacts can often be invaluable; we also share the misgivings of junior faculty about the paternalism implicit in the idea of "mentoring." What junior faculty suffer from, we feel, is less a lack of "mentoring" than a lack of open intellectual exchange across the ranks. We were impressed by those departments, centers and programs who were attempting to foster such exchange through departmental or interdepartmental seminars and study groups. **We urge departments and area studies centers to develop further such arenas for exchange, and to ensure that junior faculty are fully and equally integrated into them.** If invited to participate fully and equally in departmental, field, or area studies seminars, junior faculty members' academic work will become better known, and mutually-beneficial intellectual relationships across the ranks may arise. Senior faculty have a responsibility to make efforts to foster such an atmosphere of equal intellectual exchange.

Our survey also raised questions about differential participation by men and women in collaborative teaching and research. While junior women were often involved in collaborative work, they were, according to our survey, slightly less likely to be collaborating with senior departmental colleagues. The committee was not convinced, however, that this difference was particularly significant or particularly to be deplored. Here as well, we felt that disciplinary practice and departmental culture were often decisive factors. In disciplines where collaborative work is common and both collaborators receive due credit for their work, cross-rank collaboration may be beneficial. Likewise, in departments where co-teaching is routinized and organized along purely field (and not hierarchical) lines, co-teaching may be very rewarding. By contrast, in fields where authorship is usually individual, or in departments without a strong culture of egalitarian co-teaching, such "collaboration" can result in the exploitation of junior by senior colleagues. In light of these concerns, we would suggest only that **if departments do rely on co-teaching that crosses ranks, they ensure that all instructional and administrative responsibilities are equally borne by junior and senior colleagues, and equally available to--or required of--women and men. Likewise, departments that encourage collaborative work should ensure both that junior colleagues receive proper recognition for their part in such work and that they feel free to decline such collaboration if it does not serve their interests.**

4. Promotion and review

Questions of career development lead naturally to the issue of promotion and review. Here, many issues arise. In our meetings with junior women, we were distressed to discover that most had not had either the FAS procedures governing the review for promotion to Associate Professor, or the process by which departments review internal candidates for tenure, clearly explained to them. Many rely for information on "departmental lore" passed on by other junior faculty. This problem is relatively easy to address in relation to the promotion to Associate Professor. This year, the FAS guidelines on promotion were mailed to all Assistant Professors; we would recommend that **the Office for Academic Affairs work with departments to ensure that these guidelines continue to be distributed annually to all Assistant Professors.**

Even more serious – and more difficult to address – are the frustrations faced by junior faculty seeking to understand the process by which they will be reviewed for tenure. From our own discussions, we concluded that junior faculty do not receive clear information in part because the latter process cannot be clearly explained: different departments conduct tenure reviews very differently, and a multitude of views often exists within a department about the existing practice within that department. The opacity of the tenure review process, and the mystery in which it is shrouded, cause great anxiety for junior faculty. To some extent, of course, that opacity is precisely the point, since it allows departments the utmost flexibility in making decisions. The cost to the junior faculty is too great, however. We must make the nature of the process clear so that junior faculty may make their own calculations about their careers, even if by doing so we risk further harming our own prospects for recruitment and retention. This is a matter both of courtesy and of procedural propriety. At a minimum, we would recommend **(1) that the Dean urge departments to develop procedural guidelines for tenure reviews, and regularly circulate and discuss them with all faculty, junior and senior; and (2) that department chairs explain to junior faculty their guidelines and their interpretation of those already in the Appointment Handbook.**

The opacity of the process is only one concern for junior women and men, however. Judging from the responses offered to our survey and in interviews, it is impossible to overstate the degree of dissatisfaction and disaffection caused by Harvard's lack of a "normal" tenure track system. Our survey asked respondents "whether there were any reasons... which might deter junior or senior women in your field from wanting to join Harvard." Although about a third of respondents believed that the benefits of a Harvard position outweighed the costs, more than half could think of several reasons that might deter junior women in particular from considering such a position. Lack of collegiality, low pay, a high cost of living, lack of child care, and heavy workloads were all cited, but the central issue mentioned was the real risk involved in accepting a position in a shrinking job market at an institution where tenure is (at best) uncertain. One woman respondent said frankly: "In retrospect as a woman I think it was a mistake to accept the offer from Harvard rather than from other major research universities at which tenure was a reasonable prospect." For women, these issues were further complicated by Harvard's "institutional reputation as being hard on women." Another (female) respondent stated that "my department will not be a great place to be a female in my lifetime. It will probably never be a great place to be junior faculty." If such feelings are widespread, and we have found that they are, they have grave implications for FAS's ability to recruit the best junior faculty in the future. Especially because the evidence has revealed the real importance of internal promotion as a source of supply for senior women in particular, it is imperative that we continue to seek ways to support the careers and, equally importantly, the morale, of our junior faculty.

5. "Departmental Culture"

Much of the work can be done, however, only on the departmental level. Over and over, faculty responding to our survey or participating in interviews stressed the importance of their own specific "departmental culture." Departments exercise great power at Harvard, especially over the junior faculty. They establish teaching loads, determine the level of staff support, and largely control the hiring and review processes. They also have distinctive styles and policies. Policies that work well in one department may be unsuited to others; inherited traditions may make some innovations unworkable. We feel that one must take the issue of "departmental culture" seriously, recognizing that it has profound effects on junior faculty lives and careers.

Relations across the ranks and across the sexes are good in some departments. In others, however, both men and women voiced concern about "lack of collegiality." Worse, some departments were felt to be particularly hostile to women: one man remarked that his department's "reputation regarding treatment of women is legendary." For the most part, however, those respondents who felt that Harvard was a difficult environment for women tended to feel that this resulted from "culture" rather than "policy": as one woman put it, "most male senior faculty simply feel more comfortable with males, so they end up being better mentors to male junior faculty." Some concern was also expressed by women in fields riven by methodological controversy that their own work might be considered "soft" if they used qualitative rather than quantitative methods.

How can one address this problem of "departmental culture"? First and foremost, one must recognize that **everyone, and not simply the chair, shares responsibility for the department's culture.** Senior faculty of both sexes, in particular, are responsible for creating and maintaining an environment of intellectual openness and mutual respect within departments. There are, however, clearly problematic practices in some departments that should be avoided. We mention a few.

Junior faculty men and women expressed concern about the process of decision-making within departments. Too often, decisions were thought to be made "behind closed doors" or in an ad hoc manner. Junior women were particularly concerned that any lack of openness in the process by which the department makes decisions could lead to inequities in the conditions of junior women, or their de facto exclusion from decision-making. Obvious as this point is, we wish to stress that **departments should make decisions about programs and goals in an open manner, with full discussion by all department members. We would urge those departments that currently only rarely have department meetings to meet more regularly; such meetings make the faculty known to one another and help to foster a sense of shared enterprise.**

We were also concerned to hear that departments do not always make a sustained effort even to introduce junior and senior colleagues. A few junior faculty women reported being mistaken by their senior colleagues for staff or graduate students well into their careers here. This is obviously demoralizing and must be fixed. **Chairs should introduce new junior members at department meetings; they should also inform all members by mail about the careers and work of new colleagues. We think the practice in some science departments of mounting a "face board" of all members in the department office is a good one.** When senior members are uncertain of the academic interests, even the names, of their junior colleagues some years after their hiring, a department is clearly in trouble.

All department members, and department chairs in particular, should also take care to ensure that junior members are fully integrated into the intellectual and academic life of the departments. **If departments have a departmental seminar, it is crucial that junior faculty feel entirely welcome.** We also wish to highlight the ways in which departmental organization (both intellectual and spatial) may make the task of creating a common culture more difficult. If the subdivisions are very strong, or if the department is formally organized into various sub-sections, junior faculty may find it difficult to interact with their colleagues in different areas of the department. True, such a divisional structure may foster close relations within sub-sections; likewise, area studies centers do a great deal to break down hierarchy and formality. Nevertheless, we are concerned that such divisions may result in quite personalist governance within areas; worse, junior faculty who are in small fields may find themselves excluded from much of their department's intellectual life. We are uncertain about possible recommendations to address this concern, except to reiterate that departments should be conscious of the ways in which their formal and informal organization or the area-studies centers may complicate or compromise efforts to improve the intellectual and communal life of the department. **At the very least, chairs should seek to foster departmental events and programs that bring all faculty together across such divides.**

6. The Research and Regional Studies Centers

Finally, we wish to draw attention to the real opportunities offered to social science junior faculty by Harvard's various research and area studies centers, and to stress that such opportunities should be made equally available to women and men. Although administered outside the departments and often funded through outside grants, the various area studies and research centers play an important role for faculty in the social sciences. Not only do many faculty members have their offices within the centers, but the centers also provide intellectual community, contacts with other scholars, and research support for faculty.

Given their importance for professional development, the Committee was dismayed to hear some women faculty express the view that some of the Centers are not as open to them as to their male counterparts. They gave many examples of the kind of treatment to which they were referring: new male faculty being automatically invited to be faculty associates of a Center while new female faculty were not invited; male colleagues being invited to conferences and seminars while female faculty in the same field were not; women faculty not being called upon in seminars; and so on. These faculty also described an "old boy" culture in some Centers which they found to be distinctly inhospitable to them.

While recognizing the difficulty of legislating "culture," the Committee takes these concerns seriously. Full participation in the life of a Center is one of the real opportunities Harvard can offer its junior faculty in the social sciences; at their best, the Centers do much to break down the formality and hierarchy of the departments, and to foster intellectual exchange across departmental and rank lines. **It is crucially important, then, that junior faculty in a given field be included in the governance and programs of the relevant Center, and that such inclusion operate across gender lines. Affiliations, office space, and staff support should be granted on the basis of field alone.** We urge the Directors of the Centers to take a proactive stance both in developing the careers of all junior faculty in their area, and in fostering an environment which is at once intellectually stimulating and inclusive. Although the Centers enjoy a good deal of autonomy, they should in all cases abide by the University's stated policies on sex discrimination.

7. Parental responsibilities and childcare

Questions of Harvard's institutional culture become particularly acute, we discovered, for faculty with young children, especially women faculty. If women faculty sometimes felt their departments to be somewhat unfriendly to women, many felt them to be indifferent (at best) to family considerations. Junior women with children are distinctly nervous about playing into gender stereotypes or prejudices that they feel to be just below the surface (and not always below the surface). Junior women routinely felt that they would not be taken seriously if they publicly expressed concerns about their children, much less pointed out the difficulties that some departmental practices cause for faculty with children. At the same time, they resented the fact that such dilemmas were, they believed, less severe for their male junior colleagues. One male respondent to our survey concurred with that view. Having children, he said, was more of a burden for academic women than for academic men, precisely because of the very different ways in which our culture evaluates parental responsibility and commitment. As he put it, "a man who spends large chunks of his working days or nights taking care of his children is considered a mensch at best and at worst a curiosity. A woman who does the same is considered a MOMMY, a person not serious about her work and career."

We believe that such attitudes are changing, but feel that we still have some distance to go. At present, even some sympathetically-inclined faculty seem to expect junior colleagues to adapt to outdated assumptions, rather than for those assumptions to change. Several women junior faculty reported that sympathetic senior men had advised them against taking advantage of the university's parental leave and contract extension policies, since those men felt that doing so would send a signal that the junior woman in question was "not serious." Such advice clearly undermines such policies, which are intended to ensure that women (unlike men) need no longer choose between children and a career. Parental leave and contract extension offer only partial recognition of the disruption caused to junior faculty careers by the birth or adoption of children. They should be understood and supported by faculty, who should understand **that a contract extension has been granted to take account of time lost to compelling family responsibilities: a "stopped clock" should be regarded as genuinely "stopped."** **When reviewing junior colleagues, account should be taken not of the year of the dissertation but of the number of "unstopped" years of full attention to scholarship.**

Junior faculty women and men also expressed grave concerns about the cost and availability of child care. These concerns have become the subject of another report (Report on the Child Care Experiences and Needs of Junior Faculty); we wish merely to reiterate our recommendations in favor of **available FAS-linked day care near the Yard, childcare subsidies for junior faculty, and a new program to provide help with the expenses of childcare during conference or research travel.** We wish to point out that FAS has a strong interest in assisting junior faculty in this area, as there is evidence that some junior faculty wish to secure more childcare but are unable to do so (and hence unable to spend more time on their work) because of cost. Policies that enable junior faculty with children, especially women, to advance in their careers and to remain on the same academic "track" as their male and/or childless colleagues are in the interest of those individuals, of departments concerned to locate talented faculty when making junior and senior appointments, and of the Faculty as a whole.

We were also alerted to the problems that evening meetings pose for faculty with young children. It is particularly important that crucial business meetings, such as full department meetings, not be held at a time which will be difficult or impossible for some members of the

faculty. We thus urge that **departments cease to have evening meetings. Such meetings are an intolerable burden on faculty with young children.**

Finally, we note that some junior women have serious concerns about the equity of the parental leave policy. They felt, understandably, that childbirth and the care of young children affected their productivity and careers more seriously than was the case for their male colleagues (especially male colleagues whose spouses may do a larger share of the childcare). They argued that formally gender-blind policies, equally available to men and women, did not recognize that differential impact. **The committee recognizes the seriousness of these concerns and welcomes the decision of the Dean to appoint a small committee to review the language and administration of the parental leave policy.**

V. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

For FAS:

1. We ask that the dean pay close attention to the views and record both of departments and of individual senior members on issues of gender equity when appointing department chairs.
2. We recommend that the Office for Academic Affairs continue to maintain records on junior faculty promotions, reviews, and resignations. We urge departments to maintain accurate information on all junior searches and post-Harvard appointments.
3. In light of evidence that women are overrepresented on FAS committees, we ask that the Dean ensure that women are not asked to take on heavy administrative or committee responsibilities for FAS without some adjustment of their other burdens.
4. The Office for Academic Affairs should ensure that the FAS guidelines for promotion to Associate Professor are distributed every fall to all Assistant Professors.
5. The Dean should encourage departments to develop, in consultation with the Office for Academic Affairs, procedural guidelines for promotion and tenure reviews. These should be circulated and discussed by all faculty, junior and senior. Department chairs should communicate the department's understanding of these guidelines to junior faculty.
6. The Standing Committee reiterates its recommendations in favor of available FAS-linked day care near the Yard, childcare subsidies for junior faculty, and a new program to provide help with the expenses of childcare during conference or research travel.

For Departments:

1. Department chairs should ensure that search committees understand and are committed to FAS's policy of searching widely and deeply; they should also arrange for committees to meet with the Associate Dean for Affirmative Action to devise a strategy to ensure appropriate consideration of minority and women candidates.
2. Both department chairs and search committee chairs should take care to ensure that job definitions are broad enough to allow consideration of candidates whose work may creatively challenge field definitions and established methodologies.
3. Departments should be urged to integrate junior members fully into the search process, both because their professional input and judgment will aid in decision-making, and because such appointments have implications for their own futures.
4. Department chairs should ensure that women do not bear a disproportionate share of administrative or basic instructional work. Departments should take note of the fact that, especially in departments with relatively few women, junior women may find themselves disproportionately sought out by students for "mentoring."
5. We alert department chairs and heads of area studies centers to the fact that office location may limit or shape junior faculty members' contacts and exchanges. Chairs, and directors of area studies centers, should ensure that all junior faculty are given offices in the same building and area as other faculty in the same field.
6. Department chairs should ensure that junior faculty receive appropriate staff support and should take steps to ensure professional and appropriate relations between junior faculty women and departmental staff, perhaps by holding a meeting for new faculty and staff at the beginning of the year, at which staff responsibilities towards junior faculty – and the limits of those responsibilities – are made clear to all parties.
7. Departments should seek to provide opportunities, such as departmental seminars, for open intellectual exchange across the ranks, and should ensure that junior faculty are fully and equally integrated into their programs. Departments should make efforts to overcome the fragmentation caused by organization or the dispersal of faculty throughout many buildings and in the area studies centers, and should provide opportunities for intellectual exchange across these divides.
8. Departments that rely on co-teaching across the ranks should ensure that instructional and administrative responsibilities are equally borne by junior and senior colleagues, and equally available to – or required of – women and men. Likewise, departments that encourage collaborative work should ensure both that junior colleagues receive proper recognition for their part in such work and that they feel free to decline such collaboration if it does not serve their interests.
9. Departments should develop, in consultation with the Office for Academic Affairs, procedural guidelines for promotion and tenure reviews. These should be circulated and discussed by all faculty, junior and senior. Department chairs should communicate the department's understanding of these guidelines to junior faculty.

10. Departments should make decisions about their programs and goals in an open manner, with full discussion by all department members. Departments that do not hold full department meetings should be urged to do so, and to conduct business in this forum.
11. Department chairs should ensure that new junior members are introduced to departmental colleagues through departmental meetings, by mail, and possibly through the introduction of department "face boards."
12. Department members should acquaint themselves with the purpose and operation of FAS's parental leave and contract extension policies, should take care not to inadvertently undermine these policies, and should ensure that their expectations and review practices are in line with these policies.
13. Departments should cease their practice of holding evening meetings.

For the directors of area studies centers, and faculty associated with those centers:

Directors of area studies centers should take a proactive stance in developing the careers of junior faculty and should make an effort to include all junior faculty in their area in the program and governance of the center. Affiliation, office space and staff support in the centers should be equally available to all within the relevant field.

APPENDIX

Junior Faculty Questionnaire

The Following questionnaire is anonymous, however, it would be useful to the committee if you would provide the following information about yourself:

Rank:

Gender:

Year hired by Harvard:

1. How much do you interact with both male and female senior faculty in ;your department (research collaboration? informal discussions?) Can you give us a numerical figure concerning collaborative projects you have engaged in since you have been at Harvard?

2. (a) Have you been as successful as you think you should be in recruiting graduate students and (if relevant in your field) postdoctoral fellow into your research program?

(b) Do you think your gender affects the decisions of graduate students or postdocs about working with you in research projects or at the Ph.D. level?

3. (a) Are you satisfied with the level of research funding you have been able to obtain?

(b) From whom do you get advice about strategies for obtaining funding and sources of funding?

4. If you need advice about where to publish, from whom do you get it?

5. How many conferences have you attended this year (or in a typical year as a junior faculty member)?

6. (a) What is your teaching load (number of courses and course size)?

(b) How are decisions made about which course you teach?

7. Could you tell us approximately how many hours a week or per term you spend on committee assignments?
8. (a) What percentage of your time do you estimate is spent counseling students (e.g. giving personal advice, handling crises, giving academic advice to students who are not your own)?
(b) Do you believe that students either seek you out or avoid you because of your gender?
9. Do you believe that your department has made an honest effort to identify and attract qualified women for faculty positions?
10. If you were offered tenure at Harvard, would you be likely to stay? Please be as specific as possible.
11. Do you see any reasons, like work-load, institutional reputation, research possibilities, etc. which might deter junior or senior women in your field from wanting to join Harvard?
12. If you have served on the faculty at any other institution before coming to Harvard, please comment on your perceptions of how women were accepted in your department there as compared to here.
13. If you believe there is any attitude of gender discrimination at Harvard, either overt or subtle, please describe some specific instances.
14. If you are a woman, was your experience as a graduate student or postdoctoral fellow different from that of your male colleagues (at the time)? Did you get as much encouragement as they did to pursue an academic career?
15. What (or who) has been of most help to you in pursuing an academic and scientific career?

16. How often have you applied for another position, and at which point in your current Harvard contract did you do so?

Questions Regarding Family Issues

Part I. For those who have children

1. Do you think that your colleagues approve of your having children?
2. How do you provide for care for your children when you are working?
3. Are you satisfied with the cost and quality of childcare available?
4. Do you think that having children is more of a burden for women versus men in an academic environment?
5. (a) If you have had a child while at Harvard, what arrangements did you make for parental leave?

(b) How difficult was it to make them?

(c) Were they satisfactory to you and to your department?

(d) Were your colleagues understanding of the extra demands on your time?
6. Current FAS policies provide new parents (birth or adoptive) with a) a term of full-time teaching relief or a year of half-time teaching relief; and b) a one-year extension of current appointment per new born or newly adopted child up to a limit of two. Would you suggest any modification or addition to these policies?

Comment on areas that the University can become involved in to improve the quality of life for parents and children.

7. Should departments give special consideration to the faculty parents of pre-school aged children? Please elaborate.

Part II. For those who do not have children:

Please comment on the factors that you think are important when considering family planning:

1. Have you made a decision not to have or adopt children based on career considerations?
Yes No
2. If yes, have you decided never to have children and/or are you deferring childbearing until a more opportune time. never deferring for ___ years.
3. Please outline the primary considerations in your decision.

4. Do you feel you are asked to do more administrative/advisory and other chores because you do not have children?

Part III: In Conclusion

Do you think that this questionnaire is adequate to generate information about these issues? What other recommendations do you have?

Women in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Part III. The Humanities

A Report by the Standing Committee on the Status of Women

March 1999

Committee Members for 1998-99: Julie Buckler, Elizabeth Doherty, Howard Georgi, Beatrice Hanssen, Susan Lewis, Christie McDonald, Katharine Park, David Pilbeam, Louise Richardson, Mary Steedly, William Mills Todd III, Laurel Ulrich, Irene Winter, Christoph Wolff, Marjorie Garber, Acting Chair

Committee Members for 1997-98: Julie Buckler, Elizabeth Doherty, Marjorie Garber, Howard Georgi, Beatrice Hanssen, Caroline Hoxby, Alice Jardine, Susan Lewis, Louise Richardson, Maryellen Ruvolo, Daniel Schachter, William Mills Todd III, Christoph Wolff, Susan Pedersen, Chair

Women in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Part III: The Humanities

This report, the third part in a series on “Women in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences,” takes up the question of women in the Humanities. It follows upon earlier reports on Women in the Natural Sciences (1991) and Women in the Social Sciences (1997) presented by previous Standing Committees on the Status of Women.

Many of the problems delineated in the first two reports seem to us also to obtain in the humanities. For brevity’s sake, and because we believe that the conditions and situations described in the first two reports have not been completely—or even substantially – alleviated in the natural and social sciences, we recapitulate them in the second section of this report, adding some further suggestions derived from our interviews and correspondence with junior women in the humanities and from our collective deliberations. The first section will focus on the specificity of issues in and for humanities departments and programs. Readers of this report are urged to give equal attention to both sections.

I

We begin with a general observation which may seem so self-evident as to not be worth stating, but which, we believe, is at the heart of any report on “the status of women” in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

- The key issues affecting women in the humanities—like those that affect women in other divisions—derive from their small numbers.

From overwork to the “role model” status some feel called upon to perform to the sense of isolation reported by some junior faculty these problems can be traced to the problem of numbers. Until and unless significantly more women are appointed to the departments and programs in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, the situation of women faculty, senior and junior, will remain difficult. Although we will propose at the end of this report a set of suggestions for improving the situation of women in the humanities departments, no solutions to the larger issues can be envisaged without a significant increase in numbers.

Since the humanities is a branch of knowledge in which women scholars have, for a long time, been especially prominent and distinguished, it would seem a logical place for something closer to equity in the proportion of female to male appointments. Yet despite the larger numbers of women scholars in these academic fields nation- and worldwide, Harvard is at present far from approaching or achieving this goal. The numbers and percentages of women remain low: fewer than one-third of all faculty in the humanities are women. There is some good news: the representation of women in the untenured ranks has improved steadily over time, to the point where women make up nearly half of all untenured faculty in this division. But not all the news is so good. The proportion of women in the senior ranks is much lower (22 percent, despite the greater availability of women in the humanities fields). And the low rate of promotion in the humanities, to be discussed below, means that the junior ranks are not functioning as a source of senior appointments of women. In other words, although FAS departments are hiring more women as assistant professors, only a very small percentage of them – smaller than in the other divisions – are promoted to tenure. The fundamental problem of the low number of women underlies many of the others discussed in this report. [See Tables 1a – 1c, which illustrate the

relatively low representation of women in both tenured and untenured ranks in the humanities. Table 1d shows the proportion of junior and senior women and men in all three divisions.]

The committee examined statistics for recent hires in the humanities departments, wrote to all junior faculty members, men and women, to ask their views on issues from workloads to departmental relations and quality of life, met in small groups with women junior faculty members in the humanities, sought information from department chairs about procedures and practices in their departments, and held a discussion of interdisciplinarity for interested junior women. We drew upon data collected and charted by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and also upon our own experiences as members of the faculty and as administrators. By the time we had concluded the initial fact-gathering phase of our report, we had consulted with most of the junior faculty women in the humanities (22 of the 27 who had appointments in 1997-98, including some of those who were on leave).

We heard concerns expressed about recruitment and hiring (both at the junior and senior levels); retention and promotion; the experience of junior faculty while at Harvard (whether or not they are promoted to tenure); the difficulties of finding another job if not promoted to tenure; and the sense of overwork experienced by many women, junior and senior, as a result of their small numbers and the fact that many are engaged in interdisciplinary work and have ties to more than one department or program.

Some of the issues the committee encountered—concerns about promotion, for example, and the absence of a tenure track system—affect all junior faculty, and not just women. And some issues affecting women are not specific to the humanities but rather echo and confirm questions that have arisen in reports on the other divisions. In what follows we will want to distinguish among these various constituencies: all women, junior women, junior faculty, humanities faculty. But we wish to emphasize, at the outset, that the relatively small numbers of women at all ranks exacerbate their situation in the departments and programs of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. To understand that a particular issue may be of concern to all junior faculty does not mean that it does not affect women differentially.

This report identifies and discusses two separate, but related, issues: the relatively low number of tenured women in the humanities, and the experiences and concerns of untenured women, including the low rate of promotion to tenure. With these issues in mind, we turn to the question of the distinctiveness of the humanities.

- One key difference between the humanities and the other divisions is in the size of departments and programs.

Where the division of the social sciences is comprised of seven departments, each of which is fairly large (five of the seven have more than 25 members) in the humanities there are 15 departments, four committees on degrees, and two interdisciplinary concentrations with strong participation from faculty in the humanities.⁴ The size of departments varies very widely (ranging from a low of 2 to a high of 34); most of these departments and programs are relatively small in their numbers of faculty. The average number of department faculty members, senior and junior, is 12.6.

⁴ The departments of Celtic, the Classics, Comparative Literature, East Asian Languages and Literatures, English, German, the History of Art and Architecture, Linguistics, Music, Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Philosophy, Romance Languages and Literatures, Sanskrit, Slavic, and Visual and Environmental Studies. Degree Committees in Folklore and Mythology, History and Literature, Literature, and The Study of Religion. There are also two interdisciplinary units with important links to the humanities: the department of Afro-American Studies and the committee on Women's Studies.

A number of issues of concern to women faculty in large departments have been addressed in the CSW reports on the social and natural sciences. We will therefore focus here on the particular issues that may arise in small departments.

While small size can increase collegiality it can also create problems. Female junior faculty members may find that they constitute a very small minority within a relatively small total group. (Indeed this may also be true of senior women faculty, and in some cases even of male junior faculty members.) [See Tables 2a and 2b for the representation of women in departments in the humanities.] Some junior women reported that they had only met other junior women, in other departments, through the lunches sponsored by the Associate Dean for Affirmative Action and the Committee on the Status of Women. It was often in non-departmental settings like those that they learned, sometimes from other junior faculty members, about professional opportunities, like research grants for humanists, or quality of life issues, like child care.

Where in a larger department junior faculty members may have a number of senior colleagues who share their intellectual interests and methodological approaches, in small departments this is less likely. In some cases junior faculty, and junior faculty women, are the only persons in their departments who represent a particular scholarly approach or point of view. This is in part, though not entirely or inevitably, a generational matter. Whatever the cause, such “isolation”—not psychological but intellectual—can inhibit rather than foster intellectual growth and professional exchange. For both senior and junior faculty members it can also result in an exponential increase in the amount of work they are called upon to do, as, for example, when the sole woman in a department has referred to her attention all scholarly questions (from students, colleagues, researchers and visitors) related to the category of “gender.”

Being in a small department or program also puts a premium on personal relations and issues of personality and sociability within these groups. Women with “strong personalities” reported that they have sometimes encountered what they regarded as social bias in departmental cultures that, they felt, were more tolerant of professional ambition and aggressiveness in men. Clearly this is difficult to document and impossible to quantify. Still, the committee heard from a number of women who believed that stereotypical “feminine” traits like nurturance, social “mixing,” congeniality and deference were expected of them. It should be pointed out that these “socially pleasing” qualities were often exhibited by junior men, as well. But junior women felt that brash and highly competitive men were more readily accepted than women who exhibited similar personal styles. Gender stereotyping of this sort was not exclusively attributed to male colleagues, nor was it always linked to generational difference.

The small size of departments and programs can be an asset, when relations are collegial and professionally welcoming. Some junior faculty members in small departments reported that, in part because of program needs, they were treated as full colleagues, not as junior members, in matters as diverse as administrative responsibility, curriculum planning, graduate instruction, and even hiring. Not surprisingly, the women in these departments were often satisfied with their situation, and optimistic about their prospects for incremental promotion and even tenure.

- Since in many humanities fields the reorganization of knowledge has led to intellectual structures that overlap from one academic department to another, scholarly growth and productivity often depends as much or more upon links between the traditional academic departments and fields as upon membership within them.

Crossover work that spans disciplines or fields, whether in time-honored clusters like medieval studies or cross-disciplinary formations like gender theory, is an important component of scholarship in the humanities. Many women faculty members in the humanities—again, both senior and junior—taught,

or wished to teach, in more than one department or program. We heard from many women who served on degree committees on Literature, History and Literature, and Women's Studies in addition to their home departments, or who had taught courses in those programs. Several served as advisers to students (undergraduate and graduate) in other departments or concentrations. Many women in national literature departments identified their intellectual interests as comparative, whether or not they were formally affiliated with, or asked to teach in, the Department of Comparative Literature. Of senior faculty women in the humanities more than half hold joint appointments or joint affiliations that involve them not only in teaching in more than one program but in attending two or more sets of department or program meetings and advising and grading senior essays in two or more programs. While these women, and their junior counterparts, are strongly committed to these affiliations, deriving intellectual strength and satisfaction from them, they also report a real sense of overload.

An important resource for cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary scholarship mentioned by a number of women junior faculty members is the Center for Literary and Cultural Studies. As the Area Centers do for some social scientists, CLCS provides opportunities for scholarly interaction and conversation among junior and senior faculty outside the sometimes constraining environment of their home departments. Junior faculty women and men have often chaired CLCS seminars and delivered papers at major CLCS conferences. Through such activities junior faculty members are able to make extra-departmental intellectual connections, share their work and ideas with other interested scholars, and develop professional contacts at the university level and beyond. Such opportunities for career development benefit both the junior faculty members and the institution.

- Because of shifting paradigms in their fields, humanities departments are quite often divided on questions of methodology and approach.

Contemporary debates about the role of the humanities have made some of the points at issue highly visible, even if they are not always accurately described. Many junior women we interviewed and surveyed reported that they were engaged in interdisciplinary scholarship, sometimes but not always involving questions of feminism and gender studies. Many, though by no means all, worked in relatively new or expanding areas like cultural studies, historicism, material culture, or literary or cultural theory. Their scholarly expertise and fields of specialization often differed markedly from that of their senior colleagues. Indeed, these women often perceived that they (and some of their junior male colleagues as well) had been hired precisely to bring these new approaches into more traditional departments.

More than a few junior faculty women expressed the worry that the very innovativeness that had made them attractive as junior appointments would render them suspect when it came time for promotion to tenure. Many wondered whether they had been hired to represent and teach approaches that their senior colleagues did not necessarily think were valid or deserving of a permanent presence within the department. Some felt that departmental definitions of field and need disclosed implicit patterns of gender bias that would effectively bar them from tenure consideration. Furthermore, because standards and conventions concerning valid forms of argumentation and convincing use of evidence vary dramatically from discipline to discipline, it is often difficult to agree on a set of standards for evaluating interdisciplinary work.

The committee heard these concerns expressed most often in connection with the language and literature programs, but many committee members, both senior and junior, testified to similar methodological tensions and paradigm shifts within fields ranging from history to anthropology, history of science, and history of art.

- The committee believes that the rather vague but still powerful and pervasive concept that tenured professors in the humanities should be "ripe" or "mature" scholars who have attained wisdom and

knowledge though the passage of time continues to play some part in tenure deliberations at the departmental and even the *ad hoc* levels, and that it has a gender component.

Where some other disciplines and divisions prize early brilliance and achievement, humanities scholars have traditionally been judged by a longer ripening process, and early brilliance may even be distrusted as somehow unproven or unsound. We do not presume to tell departments how to judge their present and future colleagues, but we do wish to register both the sense that words like “magisterial” and “major” are sometimes more readily used to describe male than female scholars, and that some fields and topics are more easily deemed “important” than others. By contrast, terms of praise for female scholars often include words like “imaginative,” “creative,” and “lively.” We urge departments to reflect on the degree to which such presumptions about “maturity,” *gravitas*, and “major,” “central” or “significant” scholarship may affect their balanced assessment of junior colleagues in general, and women (both at Harvard and elsewhere) in particular.

- Our most dismaying finding was that promotion to tenure is less likely within the humanities than in either of the other two divisions.

Indeed, as a division the humanities is characterized by a rate of internal promotion that is much lower than in the social or natural sciences. Taking the entire period from academic year 1986-87 through academic year 1997-98, internal promotions (of both women and men) represented only 16 percent of all senior offers in the humanities; the corresponding figures for the social and natural sciences were approximately 22 percent and 33 percent, respectively [see Table 3]. And this divisional disparity has widened in recent years: from academic year 1991-92 through academic year 1997-98, the proportion of all tenure offers resulting from internal promotions in the social and natural sciences had risen to 26 percent in the social sciences and 42 percent in the natural sciences, while the figure for the humanities remained unchanged, at 16 percent. Consequently, a lower proportion of all senior appointments in the humanities are the result of promotions to tenure from within than is the case in other divisions, or for the faculty as a whole. [Tables 4a – 4d]

Of eighteen senior offers resulting from internal promotions in the humanities during the twelve-year period cited above, only five were to women. While small numbers make it difficult to generalize meaningfully about gender patterns, the committee nevertheless wishes to point out that a majority of departments in the humanities have never promoted a woman to tenure.

A case in point: The largest department in the humanities division is the department of English and American Literature and Language, representing a field in which there are many prominent female scholars and a very large number of women at all ranks nationally and internationally. This department, which has six senior women on its faculty (to be seven in 1999-2000), has never promoted a woman to tenure from within. Promotions in English have been few overall in recent decades: Only two male faculty members in the last fifteen years were promoted to tenure, and none more recently than 1990. But we wish to stress here not only the general junior faculty situation but also the particular history of junior women.⁵

⁵ Of the 33 junior faculty members who entered the department of English (some of whom had joint appointments) over the period from 1984-85 to 1998-99, 14 were women. Eight of these women left Harvard before the seventh year of their contracts, the usual time when a tenure recommendation would be made. (This pattern is not atypical; the average length of appointment for junior faculty in the humanities is 5.5 years, in the social sciences 5.8 years, and in the natural sciences 5.9 years. These figures include, of course, both those who leave before their contracts are up and those--a relatively small number --who are not promoted to Associate Professor.)

In the natural and social sciences, then, internal promotions have been a major source of candidates for senior positions, but in the humanities the opposite is the case: appointments of senior women have come largely from external searches, not from promotions. Most of the growth (the numbers have in fact grown from 16 in 1987-88 to 28 in 1998-99) derives from appointments of outside candidates—a fact that may help to explain why the representation of women in the senior ranks is not much greater in the humanities than in the social sciences, despite a much larger pool. This is a sobering statistic, especially for any woman contemplating joining Harvard’s untenured faculty. The committee wishes to emphasize that both routes are necessary in order to achieve the necessary growth; only if both internal and external women candidates are seriously considered, recruited, and hired, can the gender-imbalance of the present departments be redressed. Here we want also to caution against a tendency some have reported: presumptions about a candidate’s availability and willingness to move based on gender. Departments should continue to consider and actively to recruit the strongest candidates regardless of whether or not they have spouses, partners, or family ties that may seem to link them to another geographical area. There appears to be no basis in fact for the belief that a female scholar is any more difficult to recruit than a male scholar. Preemptive disqualification of any candidate because of assumptions about personal ties is neither professionally acceptable nor ethically appropriate.

The worry about “revolving door” hiring, especially in newer or more contested fields, was exacerbated by yet another distinctive fact about the division of the humanities:

- The job market in the humanities is particularly weak, with many more talented Ph.D.’s than there are jobs.

As Robert Weisbuch, president of the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation in Princeton, NJ, reported, “there is a continuing crisis of underemployment in the humanities and the humanities-oriented social sciences.”⁶ By one estimate (of the Modern Languages Association) “fewer than half of the approximately 8,000 graduate students who have earned or are expected to earn doctorates in English and foreign languages between 1996 and 2000 have found or are expected to find tenure-track positions within a year of finishing their degrees.”⁷

The weak job market affects all untenured faculty and graduate students. More and more strong candidates find themselves competing for fewer and fewer positions. Where once most applicants for beginning jobs were new Ph.D.’s, many applications now come from scholars already several years out of graduate school, who are seeking to move to better situations or more elite institutions. Nationwide, humanities departments are getting smaller rather than bigger as students elect to major in areas that have a more immediate pre-professional use. In fields like many in the humanities where there is a high proportion of women (more than 50% of doctorates in many fields in the humanities, for example, are currently awarded to women) there is therefore “high availability” and strong competition for the best jobs. A non-tenure-track system like Harvard’s means that anxieties run particularly high, since tenured jobs at many other institutions may be filled by the time junior faculty members leave here. Indeed, Harvard’s non-tenure-track system has led to what may at first seem a paradox in light of the “buyer’s” job market: in some cases it is more difficult to recruit at the junior level than it once was. As a result of the uncertainty of promotion, junior appointments at Harvard have come to seem less attractive.

Some junior women (and men) have elected to reenter the job market early in order to avoid the end-of-contract crisis; in some departments, like English, a number of highly talented women have been hired as Assistant Professors, stayed for two or three years, and left for more secure jobs at excellent places. We wish to stress that the cost of such short stays to the institution (as well as to the individual

⁶ Karen W. Arenson, “Questions About Future of Those Many Ph.D.’s.” *New York Times* Nov.11, 1998, p. A28

⁷ Courtney Leatherman and Robin Wilson, “Embittered by a Bleak Job Market, Graduate Students Take on the MLA,” *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, December 18, 1998, p. A11.

and the department) is enormous, given the faculty energy that must be expended in repeated searches and the loss of service and university citizenship incurred when an experienced junior colleague leaves.

The outlook for those junior faculty members who stay the full 8 years is more complicated. A few have been promoted to tenure. Others enter a very difficult market. Harvard junior faculty members in the humanities who are not promoted to tenure face stiff competition. The transition from untenured Associate Professor at Harvard to tenured Associate or Full Professor at another, comparable institution is an especially difficult hurdle, and in recent years a number of well-published women scholars in humanities departments have found it difficult to relocate once their term appointments were up. They are deemed “overqualified” for untenured jobs and “not yet proven” as tenured colleagues, making it problematic to find a suitable post. Some have required, and been given, an additional year to find a job.

Under these circumstances, and in the context of a difficult and volatile job market in the humanities, the stakes for junior faculty are very high. Thus we believe that it is imperative that departments be straightforward with candidates about the odds against tenure at Harvard even as they emphasize their own interest in, and commitment to, an individual candidate’s prospects. Many junior women reported that they had been encouraged to think of promotion and even tenure as likely within their departments, both at the time of hiring and subsequently; others believed that there had never been an intention on the part of their departments of considering them for tenure.

We also believe that equal candor and prompt distribution of information about promotion and departmental expectations are vital. Junior women should not have to rely upon the lunches set up by the Associate Dean for Affirmative Action and the Standing Committee on the Status of Women for accurate descriptions of promotion and review processes. Although processes are fairly uniform from department to department, expectations and benchmarks are set by the departments and not by the Dean, and vary from department to department. In departments with few internal promotions departmental expectations are often not well known or discussed in advance of individual cases, making for untimely confusion on the part of both the candidate and senior colleagues.

We cannot emphasize too much the problems created by lack of accurate information about review and promotion. In the absence of clear channels of communication, rumor, third-hand “lore,” and out of date or mistaken “facts” are often taken for truth, with unhappy results for all concerned.

II

As we noted at the outset, the second section of this report incorporates ideas proposed in earlier reports and adds some further suggestions. The reports on the Status of Women in the Natural Sciences (Part I) and the Status of Women in the Social Sciences (Part II) identified a wide range of issues confronting untenured women faculty explored a number of problems and made suggestions for changes, both in departmental policy and practice and in FAS oversight and action. With regret, the present committee must report that although the first of these reports was issued and distributed to the faculty eight years ago, many of these problems still obtain in all divisions of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

The committee wishes to stress once more our concern that the “status of women” in all three divisions needs amelioration, and that this list of suggestions, while necessary for improvement, will

not be sufficient until and unless the absolute number of women at all ladder ranks is significantly increased, both by internal promotion and by external recruitment.

We urge members of the departments of the humanities to take full cognizance of these suggestions and to discuss them and the foregoing analysis with their colleagues, senior and junior, with their departments, and with the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

Actions to be taken by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences:

The Dean and his designates should take full cognizance of the items enumerated below, and ensure that efforts are made in these areas. We also recommend that he take every opportunity (including meetings with department chairs) to communicate expectations and priorities in the area of affirmative action, and to inquire after progress toward meeting goals in hiring, retaining, and promoting women.

- The Dean should support a large-scale effort to educate departments, administrators, faculty, and students regarding gender discrimination, not just sexual harassment. This must be directed both at those who may be engaged in discriminatory behavior and those who may be discriminated against--the former, so that they may understand the legalities and ramifications of their behavior, and the latter, so that they know where to look for recourse. Moreover, it is equally important to seek to reach and educate a third group, often the largest: a silent majority that may not recognize the issue of gender discrimination or its importance. In selection of department chairs, the views and records of departments and individual senior members on gender equity should be considered.
- Efforts should be continued to familiarize all faculty, junior and senior, with guidelines for promotion to Associate Professor and to tenure. The Dean of FAS should not only encourage departments to develop clear procedural guidelines for promotion and tenure reviews, and to communicate these guidelines to all members of the department, but should establish some method of oversight to make sure that they do so.
- The Dean should recognize and find ways of ameliorating the administrative burdens placed on women faculty in FAS, until the numbers of women approach a critical mass.
- The Faculty of Arts and Sciences should make efforts to help untenured faculty whose contracts are expiring. In a slow and competitive job market, FAS should consider measures like contract extension (paid or unpaid), support services (e.g., library access, stationery, funding to attend professional meetings), and career advice and counseling.
- FAS should initiate a program to help with childcare expenses during conference or research travel. Convenient FAS-linked day care should be provided, and regular childcare for junior faculty should be subsidized.

Actions to be taken by Departments

A. Appointment and orientation of new faculty

- Chairs should ensure the department's understanding of and commitment to principles of affirmative action in conducting searches, and arrange for search committees to consult with the Associate Dean for Affirmative Action to secure appropriate consideration of minority and women candidates.

- Both in junior searches and in promotion reviews, care should be taken to formulate job descriptions broad enough to accommodate candidates whose scholarship may challenge field definitions and established methodologies.
- Departments should organize better department-specific orientation sessions for new faculty, senior and junior.
- Junior faculty members should be included in every phase of the search process for new junior appointments.
- New untenured faculty should be given course reductions in the first year, as appropriate to the department and discipline.

B. Promotion and review

- Procedural guidelines for promotion and tenure reviews should be developed by departments, in consultation with the Office for Academic Affairs; these should be circulated and discussed by all faculty, junior and senior.
- Departments should actively seek to keep their junior members informed and advised about their prospects, both through the distribution of written guidelines and in annual face to face meetings between the junior faculty member and the chair. In some cases it may be helpful for the chair to meet, as well, with the entire junior faculty as a group, to address common questions. But such a group meeting should not substitute for an annual one-on-one conversation.
- As we urged of the FAS, we urge that departments and tenured faculty take a more active role in assisting untenured faculty members who are leaving Harvard to find appropriate positions in other colleges or universities. Senior faculty need to be conscious of the highly competitive job market, especially for junior faculty well advanced in their careers who must move to Associate or Full Professor status elsewhere.

C. Junior faculty

- Junior faculty are colleagues. We were troubled by concerns we heard expressed by junior faculty, in both small and large departments, about faculty meetings. Some departments do not include junior faculty in department meetings, and others segregate their departmental business, dividing matters into those deemed appropriate for general departmental discussion (often pro forma and perfunctory issues) and those reserved for discussion by the tenured faculty. These latter questions often went beyond specific issues of senior hiring that might be considered the special province of tenured members. Meetings of tenured faculty sometimes resulted in policy or pedagogical decisions that affected junior faculty members. At the very least, these closed meetings contributed to a sense that the junior colleague was not really a valued and trusted part of the department. To the greatest extent possible, they should be included in departmental meetings and decision making, should be advised of decisions that are made about new senior appointments, and should be kept informed of and consulted regarding decisions in which they may not participate.
- Departments should actively create opportunities for junior faculty to participate at all levels of instruction and advising, from graduate courses and dissertation supervision to service courses and field exams.

- Curriculum committees that include junior as well as senior faculty members should consider all course proposals and teaching assignments.
- Junior faculty should receive full acknowledgment for the undergraduate theses they advise. If junior faculty members have been the primary advisors for theses, they should be credited as such.
- In co-teaching situations, departments should ensure that instructional and administrative responsibilities are borne equally by junior and senior colleagues, and equally available to—or required of—women and men. Where collaborative work is encouraged, the contribution of junior colleagues should be properly recognized. Departments should also ensure that junior faculty feel free to decline such collaboration if it does not serve their interests.
- Demanding departmental administrative jobs, such as Director of Graduate Studies and Head Tutor, should ordinarily be carried by senior faculty, and not by junior colleagues at the expense of their productive time. Junior faculty who do take on these jobs should be compensated appropriately with, for example, course reduction and other professional incentives.
- No junior faculty member should be urged to defer or postpone a leave because of departmental teaching needs. Untenured faculty who have earned leave time should be permitted to use it as they see fit to pursue research and writing.
- Junior faculty should be fully and equally integrated into departmental seminars and other occasions of open intellectual exchange. Departments should strive to improve such intellectual exchange across senior and untenured ranks. (One innovation which has been successful for some departments in recent years is a department-wide faculty colloquium with all colleagues encouraged to take turns presenting their work.)
- Senior faculty members, especially department chairs, should familiarize themselves with the fields and methodologies of their junior colleagues. Many junior faculty would welcome an informed interest on the part of their senior colleagues toward their work, viewing it as important for their career development and prospects at Harvard and in the profession generally.
- Chairs of departments should not only permit, but also actively encourage, junior faculty members to offer courses in other departments, degree programs, and centers that coincide with their research interests and professional goals. Departments should promote opportunities for junior faculty to serve on committees outside of their departments that coincide with their interests and career goals.
- All senior colleagues, male and female, should consider it their responsibility to support the junior members of their departments and to inquire about their welfare and progress. Mentoring of women should not necessarily be the obligation of women, any more than mentoring of men should be done predominantly by men.

D. Equity

- While recognizing the importance of women faculty's participation in departmental activities, chairs should ensure that women are not expected to bear a disproportionate share of administrative tasks, formal or informal student advising, committee assignments, or basic instructional work. Furthermore, in assigning committee and other departmental non-teaching responsibilities, untenured faculty should be asked to do less, not more, for the department and the University. Junior faculty should not be asked to chair burdensome committees, although it should be recognized that it is in their interest to serve on certain, particularly important

committees. Care should be taken to avoid tracking untenured women automatically into administrative, teaching, and committee work with a gender-specific focus.

- FAS parental leave and contract extension policies should be understood by all department members.
- Departments should recognize the extra burden placed on some colleagues by the practice of holding regular department meetings in the evening.
- Departments should provide equitable and appropriate resource allocation, including space, office location, and staff support.

Some Final Reflections

There are important institutional as well as departmental and individual benefits to the more active and aggressive recruitment and tenuring of women--both those promoted from within and those hired from other colleges and universities. It is in the interest of the entire faculty, and of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and its dean, for departments to try harder to identify, recruit and retain distinguished women scholars, in all fields and at all ranks. Not only will the university culture improve; so also will the intellectual climate and the pedagogical enterprise for faculty and students, both women and men. It is not sufficient for departments to acknowledge the relative paucity of women on the faculty, or to look to the future (and the "pipeline") for solutions. Existing institutional practices and prevailing intellectual habits of mind deserve searching scrutiny. There must be a real commitment to change.

The first report issued by the Standing Committee on the Status of Women, the 1991 Grosz Report on Women in the Sciences, noted that

Achieving critical mass by hiring more women faculty in the sciences should be a high priority for the university. We explicitly emphasize the need for the university to set critical mass, not the hiring of a few "role models," as its goal. This goal will only be satisfied when the number of women in a department is sufficient for students to perceive it as quite normal for women to be in the field and when the idiosyncrasies of individual women faculty matter no more than those of individual male faculty. In many cases to achieve this goal the climate in some departments will need to change to overcome problems discussed elsewhere in this report. Women students and faculty will not have equal opportunities for participation in the sciences until such a critical mass is achieved. (p. 17)

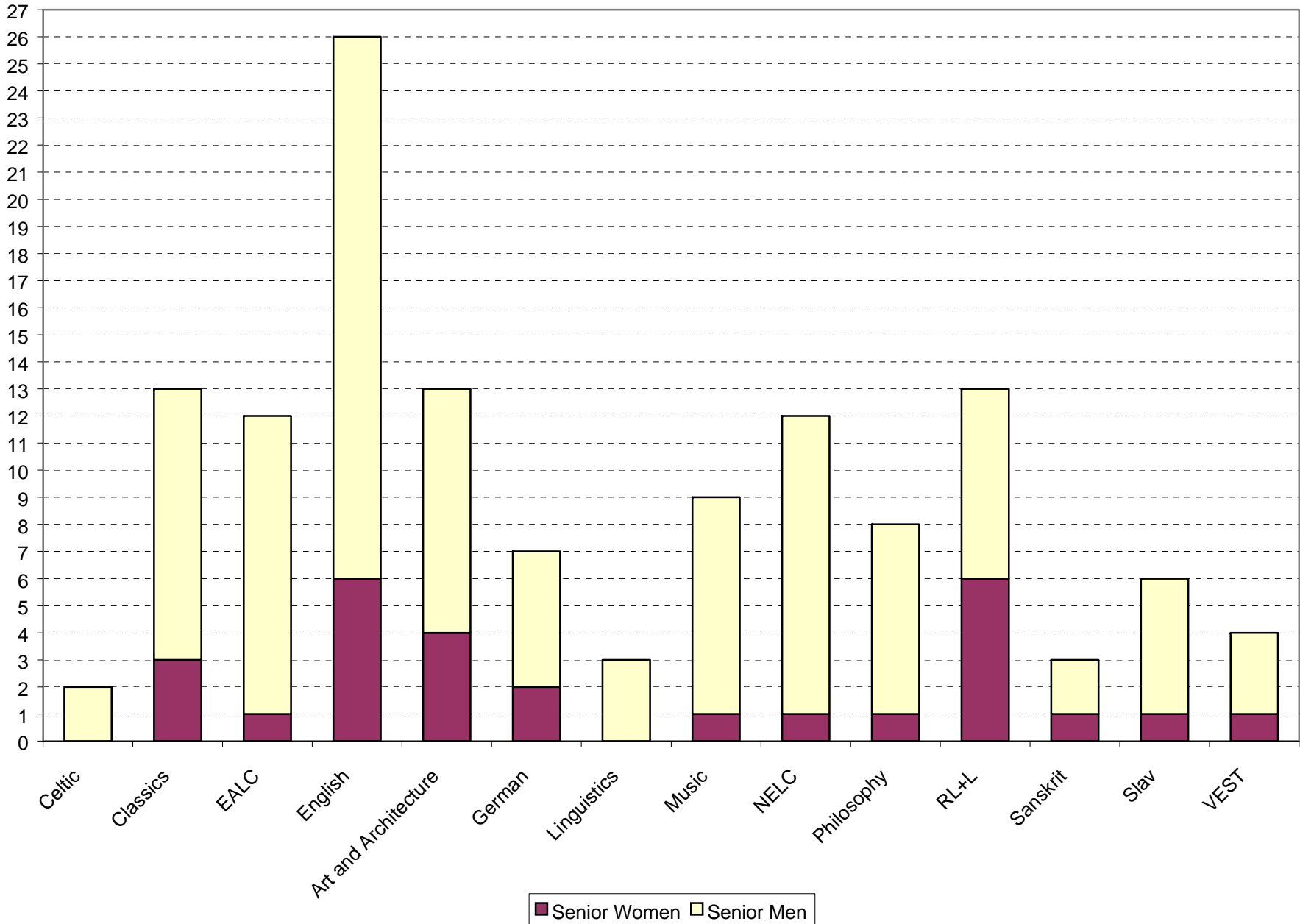
With the exception of the limiting phrase "in the sciences," this passage still describes the current situation.

In 1999, despite the efforts of many individuals and the careful crafting of reports, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences has not made nearly enough progress in establishing a critical mass of women faculty, nor in improving "the status of women." Although there have been some new appointments, there have also been some departures, and the total number of women remains disturbingly small. Business as usual will not bring about significant alterations in the present situation. Women faculty, senior and junior, are often overburdened with advising and committee work, and under stress to fulfill important collegial tasks while also continuing with their research and teaching.

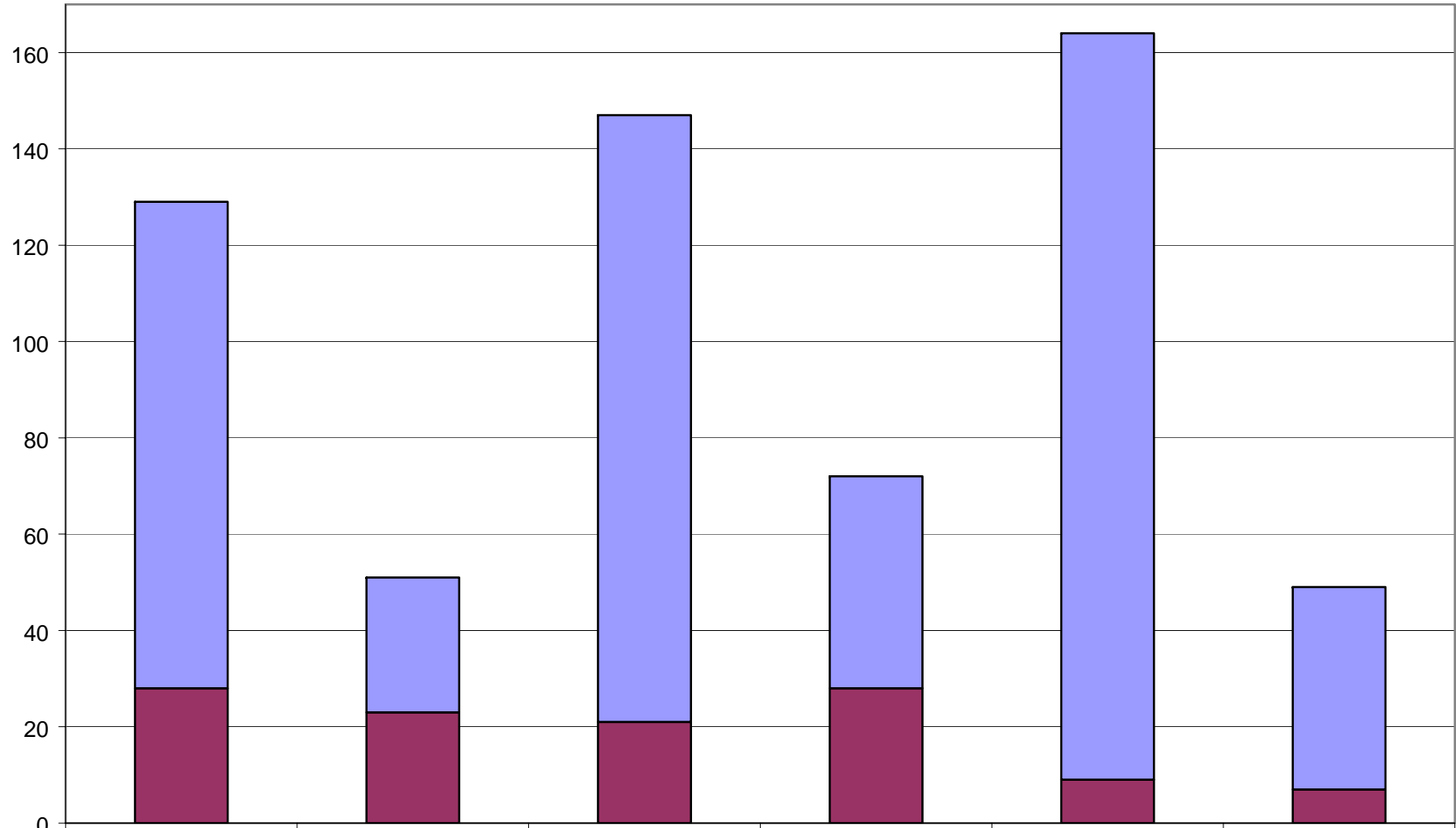
One final observation: Authority at the top is one of the signs of an improvement in "the status of women." Although it is beyond the scope of this report, we note that all the major administrative

officers of the FAS (Dean of FAS, Dean of the Graduate School, Dean of Undergraduate Education, Dean of Harvard College) are men, as are the President and Provost of the University. In the history of FAS only one of these posts, that of Dean of the Graduate School, has ever been held by a woman.

Humanities-Senior Faculty



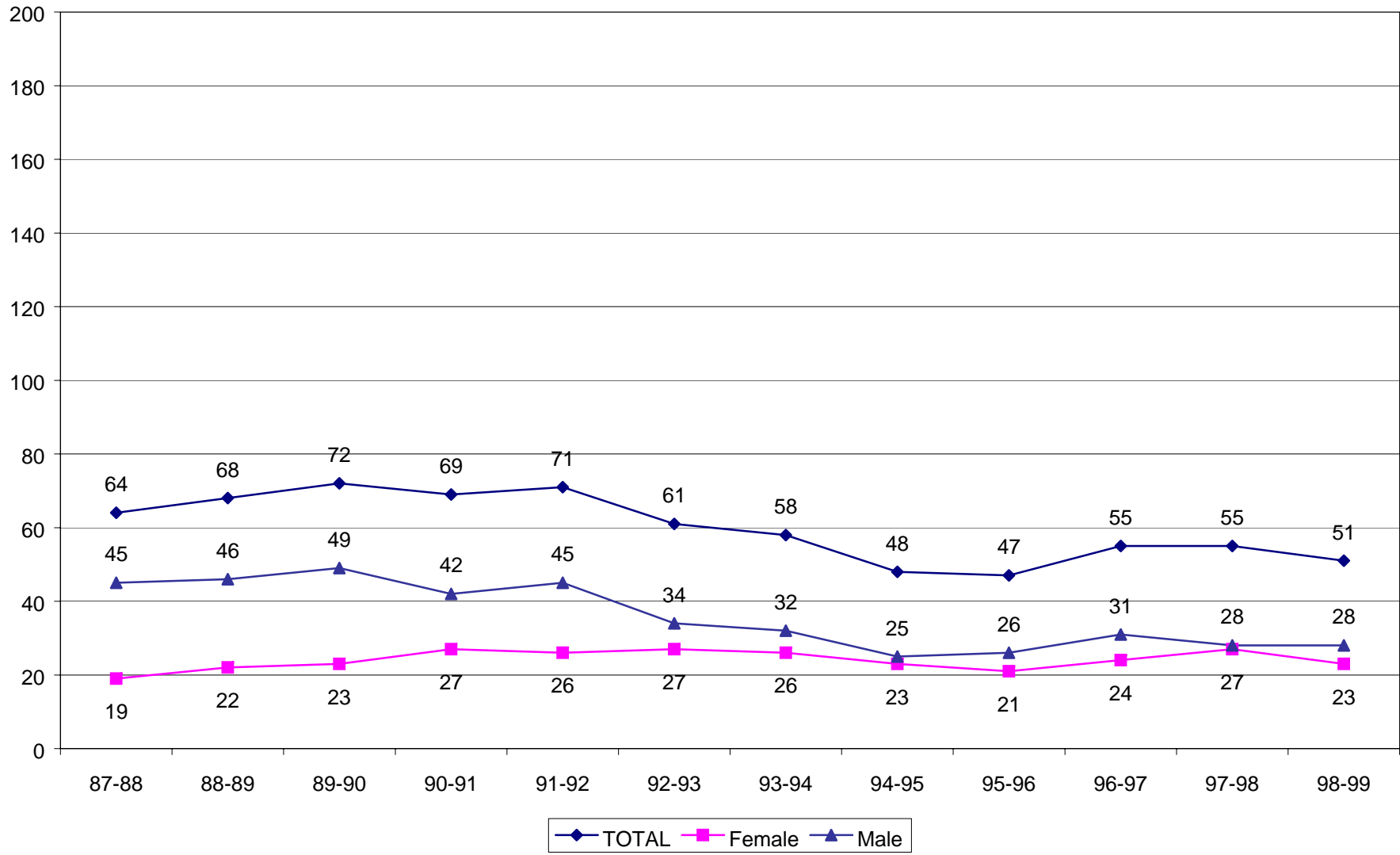
Faculty Census by Division (AY 1998-99)



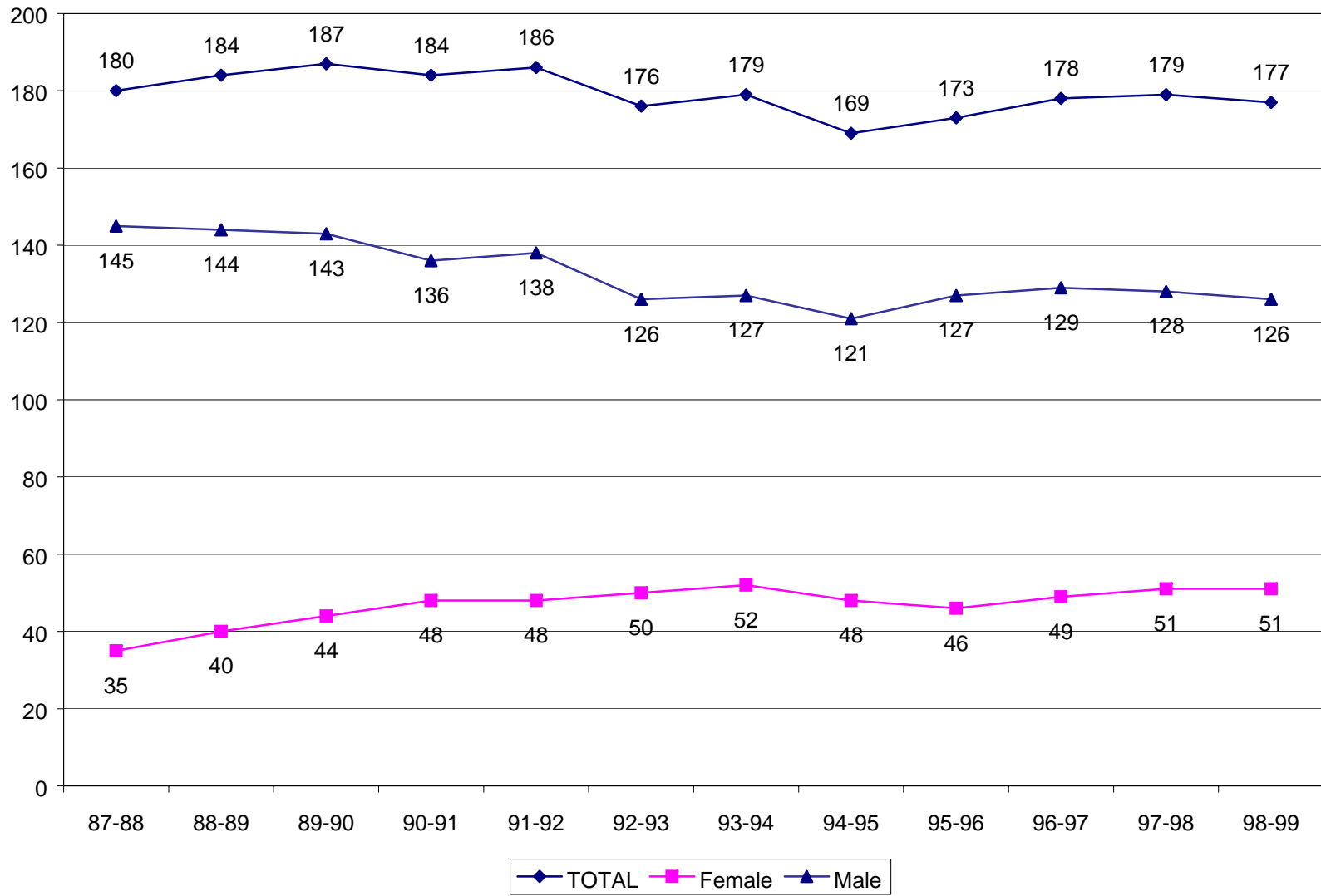
Male	101	28	126	44	155	42
Female	28	23	21	28	9	7

■ Female
 ■ Male

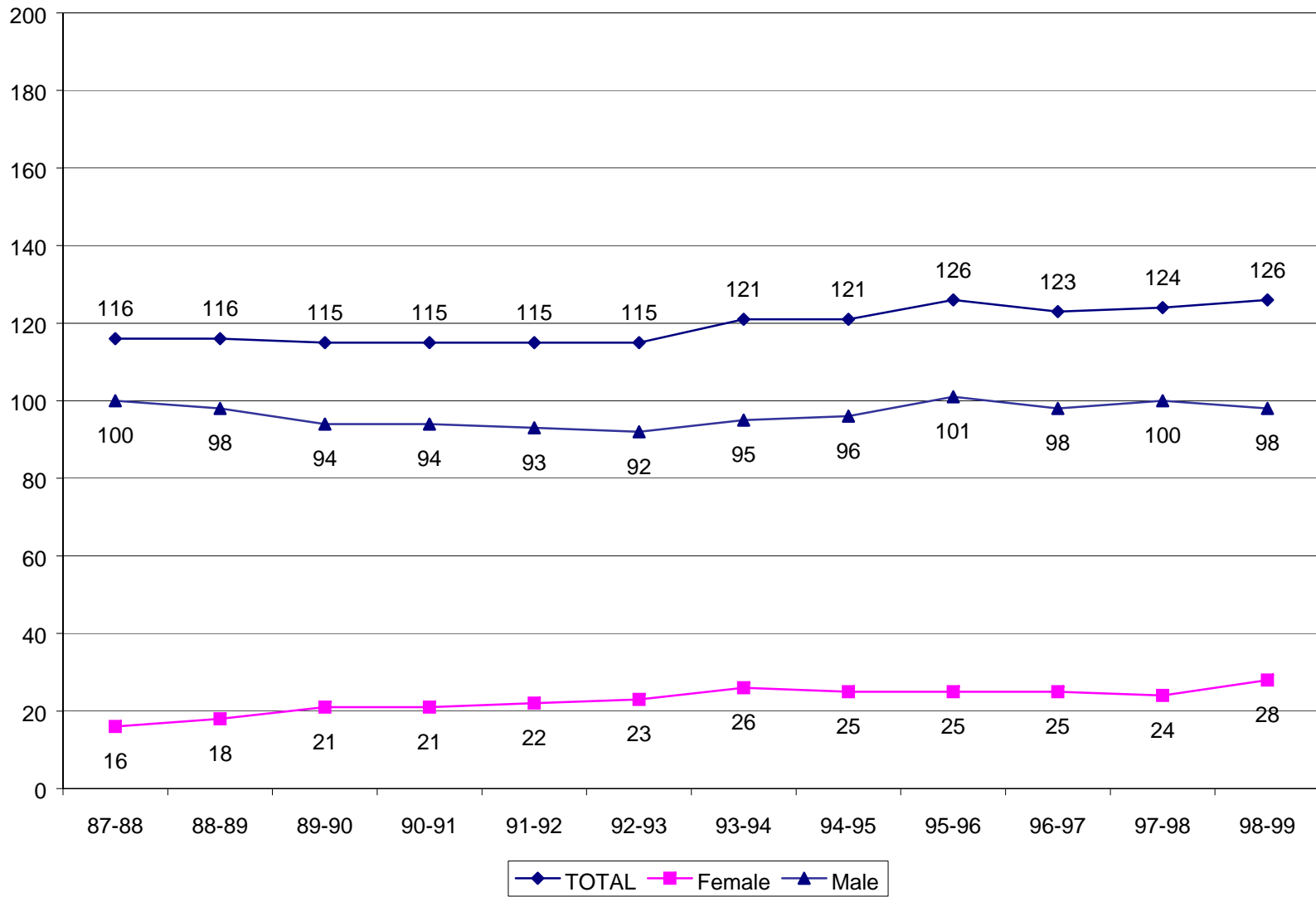
Humanities Jr Faculty



Humanities Sr & Jr Faculty



Humanities Sr Faculty



Humanities-Junior Faculty

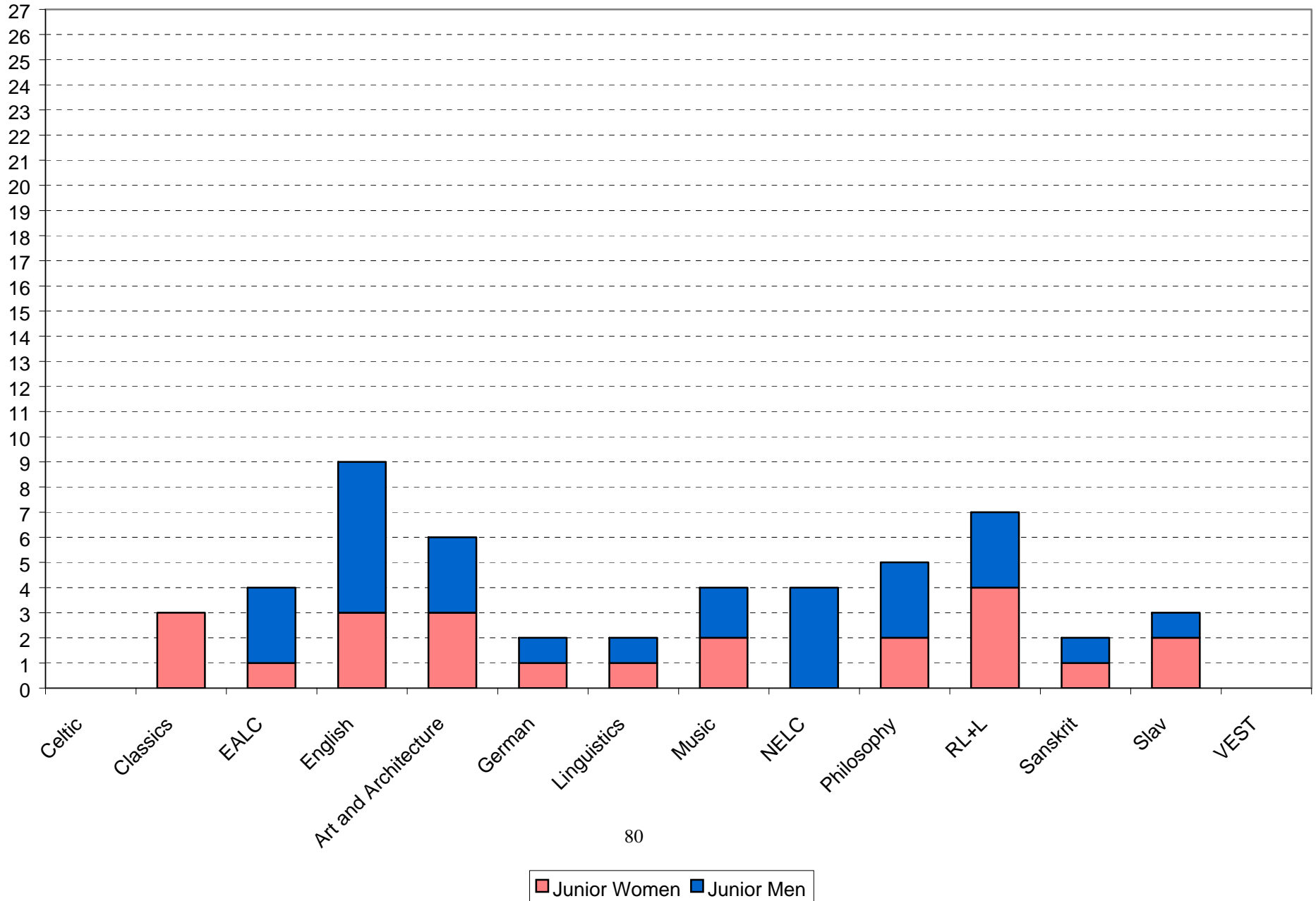


TABLE 3

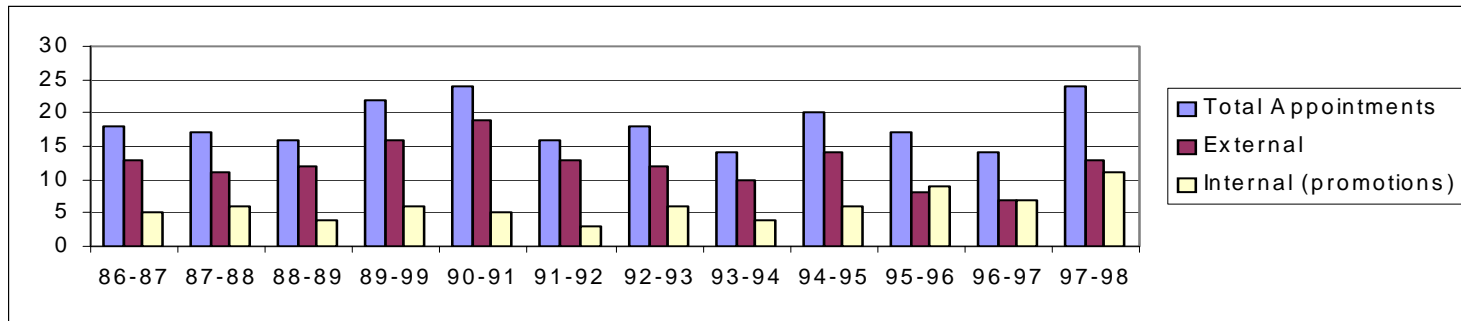
SENIOR OFFERS BY DIVISION, AY 1986-87 TO AY 1997-98

	TOTAL 86-87 – 90-91				TOTAL 91-92 – 97-98				GRAND TOTAL			
	Hum	Soc Sci	Nat Sci	Total	Hum	Soc Sci	Nat Sci	Total	Hum	Soc Sci	Nat Sci	Total
Total offers	58	63	33	154	55	62	55	172	113	125	88	326
Promotions	9	11	6	26	9	16	23	48	18	27	29	74
(percent)	16%	17%	18%	17%	16%	26%	42%	28%	16%	22%	33%	23%
Total appointments	43	38	16	97	38	42	43	123	81	80	59	220
Promotions	9	11	6	26	8	16	22	46	17	27	28	72
(percent)	21%	29%	38%	27%	21%	38%	51%	37%	21%	34%	47%	33%

- 1997-98 figures do not include offers pending.
- With two exceptions (1 in 1992-93 in Humanities; 1 in 1996-97 in Natural Sciences) all offers of internal promotion to tenure have been accepted.

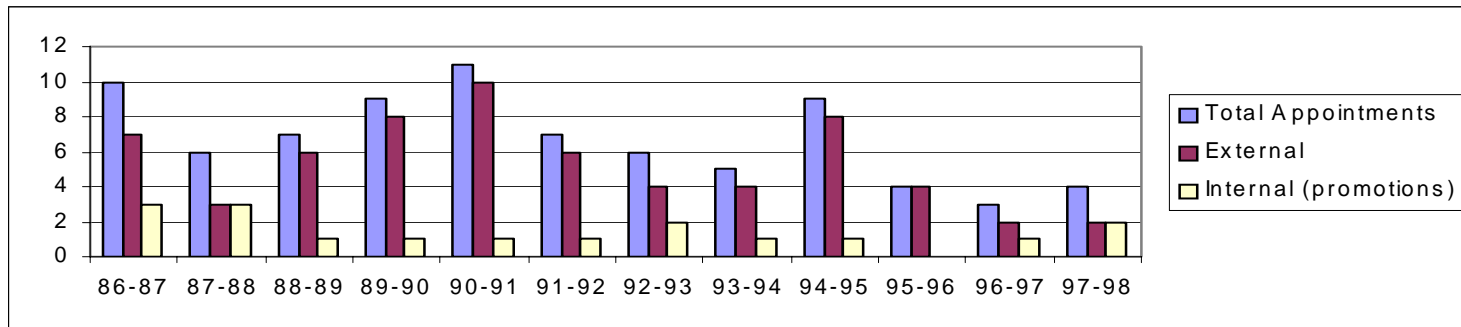
a TOTAL SENIOR APPOINTMENTS

	86-87	87-88	88-89	89-99	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	96-97	97-98	Total
Total Appointments	18	17	16	22	24	16	18	14	20	17	14	24	220
External	13	11	12	16	19	13	12	10	14	8	7	13	148
Internal (promotions)	5	6	4	6	5	3	6	4	6	9	7	11	72



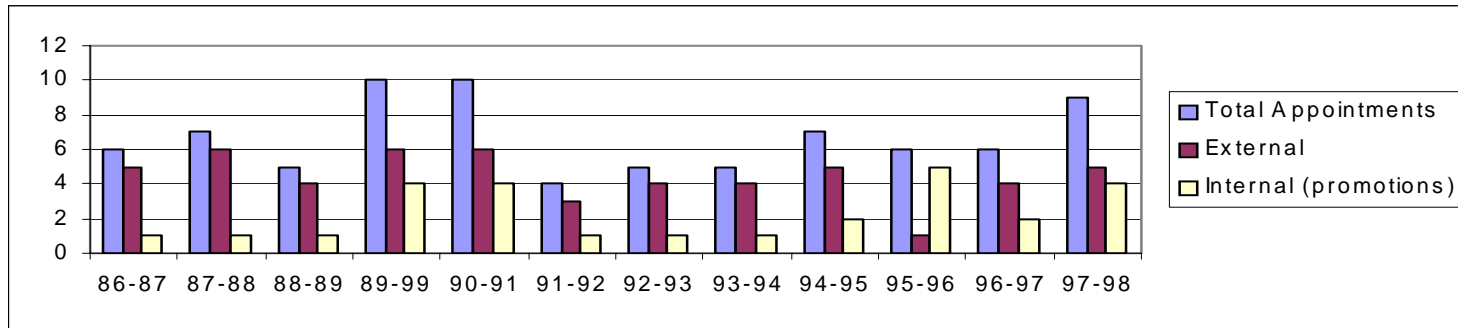
b HUMANITIES

	86-87	87-88	88-89	89-90	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	96-97	97-98	Total
Total Appointments	10	6	7	9	11	7	6	5	9	4	3	4	81
External	7	3	6	8	10	6	4	4	8	4	2	2	64
Internal (promotions)	3	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	0	1	2	17



c SOCIALSCIENCES

	86-87	87-88	88-89	89-99	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	96-97	97-98	Total
Total Appointments	6	7	5	10	10	4	5	5	7	6	6	9	80
External	5	6	4	6	6	3	4	4	5	1	4	5	53
Internal (promotions)	1	1	1	4	4	1	1	1	2	5	2	4	27



d NATURAL SCIENCES

	86-87	87-88	88-89	89-99	90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	96-97	97-98	Total
Total Appointments	2	4	4	3	3	5	7	4	4	7	5	11	59
External	1	2	2	2	3	4	4	2	1	3	1	6	31
Internal (promotions)	1	2	2	1	0	1	3	2	3	4	4	5	28

