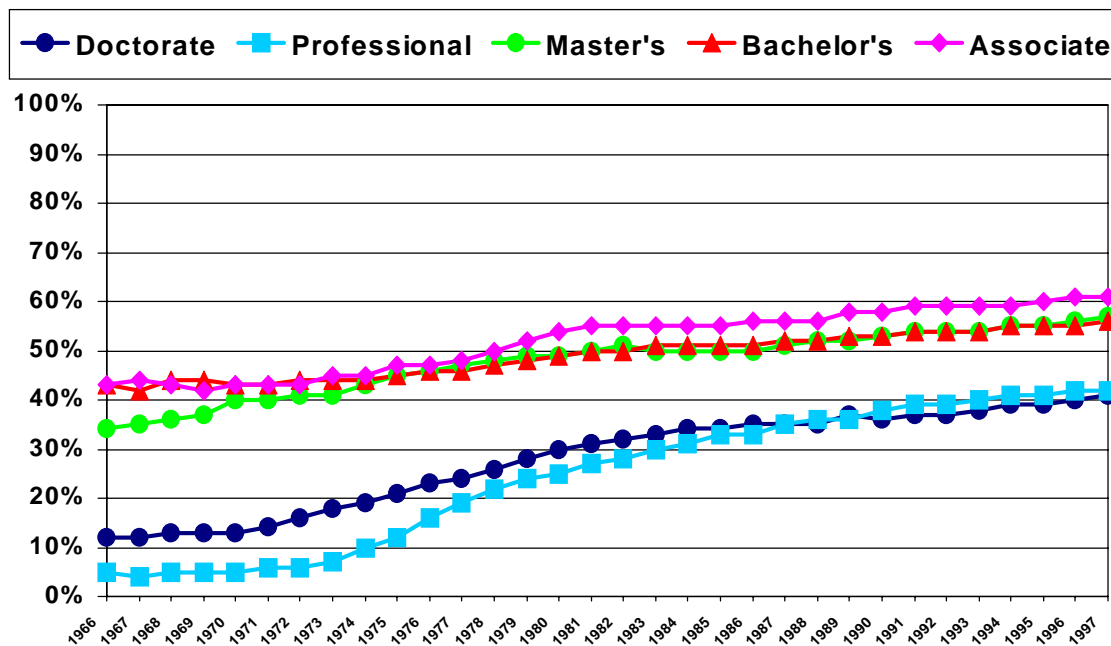


THE FEMINIZATION OF GRADUATE EDUCATION: DOES THIS MEAN EQUALITY?

Mary Ann Mason, Dean of the Graduate Division

When I first became the Dean of the Graduate Division at Berkeley last fall, I had an extraordinary experience. Fifty-one percent of the 2,500 new graduate students whom I welcomed were women; an incredible breakthrough. Thirty years ago that number would have been closer to 10%. The students I welcomed included not only doctoral students, but also graduate students seeking professional degrees in law, public health, social welfare, optometry etc. On our campus there is no medical school but if there were women would be close to the majority in that profession as well.

Women As a Percentage of All Degree Recipients in the US, by Degree Level, 1966-1997

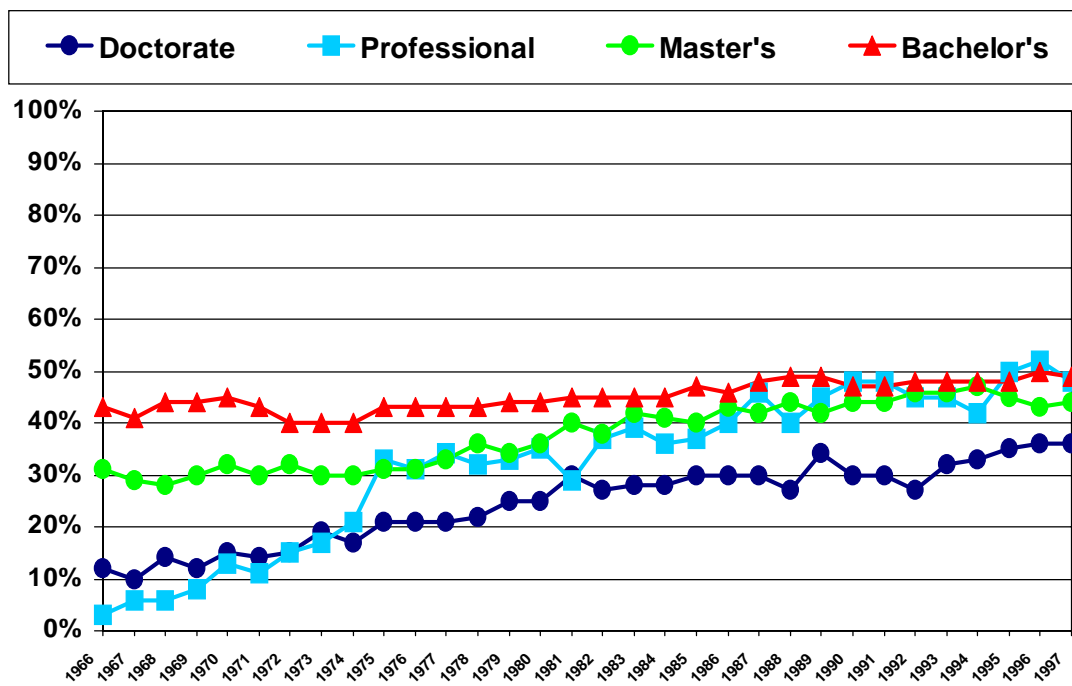


Source: National Center for Education Statistics, "IPEDS Completions Survey," taken from WebCaspar (IPEDS includes Doctorate Records File Data).

This is a national trend. In this first figure you can see that the percentage of women who received degrees in all of higher education has risen dramatically since 1966, particularly with regard to doctoral and professional degrees. The number of women receiving doctoral degrees has

risen from 10% to 41%, and even more dramatically in the professional schools. This data ends in 1997, and I just read, in the *Survey of Earned Degrees* that women now account for 44% of all earned doctorates. There are, of course, significant differences by discipline, engineering will look very different from English literature—but overall the rise has been dramatic and consistent over the past thirty years.

Women As a Percentage of All Degree Recipients at UC Berkeley, by Degree Level, 1966-1997

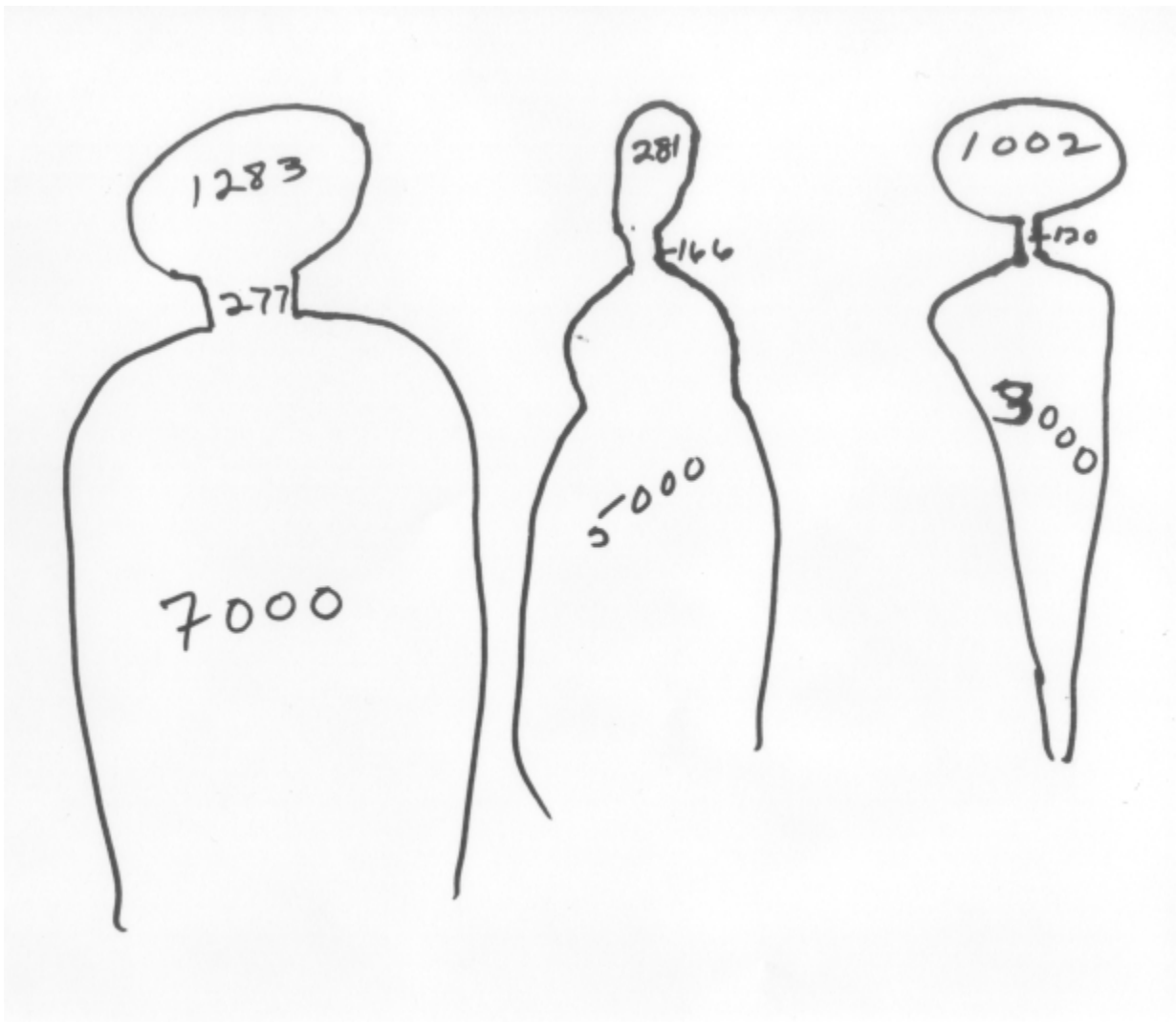


This second graph represents only Berkeley. Berkeley being Berkeley, this graph does not exactly follow the national trend. Basically, however, Berkeley has also experienced the same kind of persistent climb over the last 30 years or so in growth of doctoral degrees granted to women, and an even more dramatic increase in professional education. And again, this terminates in 1997, so the last three years, which probably produced an additional increase, are not represented.

The picture is clear. There are obviously differences between English literature and engineering, and some of the professional schools have

experienced even more dramatic jumps, particularly law. When I attended law school in the 1970's about 15% of my classmates were women, now women make up more than 50% of the class. But there has been a persistent steady climb in all disciplines, over the last 30 years. And it doesn't look like it's changing. So women are really on a winning streak in terms of their rate of increase in graduate education.

What do these figures mean? Are we finally achieving equality in the Academy?



Note: In the second body profile, 5000 should read 4000.

Take a close look at this mysterious diagram. You see the profile of three bodies, each with a head, a neck and a loosely defined torso. This is a test.

Whoever guesses the correct answer wins a Starbucks latte or the brew of your choice. What is it? The first figure on the left, the largest profile, displays the number 1,283 at its head. The number at the head of the middle, much thinner figure has a very small head with the figure 281. And the third figure on the left has a larger head with the number 1,002. Are these endomorph, ectomorph and mesomorph body types—the assessment tests which are used by psychologists to determine temperament?

No, this is in fact a diagram of all employees, excluding student employees, at the University of California at Berkeley. The figure on the left is a profile of all employees, both men and women. The head, with the number 1,283 represents the total faculty count on campus. The middle, smaller figure with the very small head represents women employees. There are only 281 women faculty on campus; therefore the small head. The third figure on the right with the much larger head represents men employees. This big headed profile indicates that there are 1002 male faculty.

Moving down the bodies: The neck of the general campus profile on the left, with the number 277, represents all the lecturers on the campus. I'll return to the neck in a moment. The neck is particularly important. The women's profile has a substantial neck, compared with the head: 166 lecturers compared to 281 faculty, while the man's neck is very slender compared to his head; at 120 lecturers compared to 1002 faculty.

And finally to the torso which represents the staff. In the general profile you can see that there are 7,000 staff. Women, as you can see, have a body problem. They're small of head at 281 faculty, fairly large in lecturer neck compared to the head; and they exhibit a substantial bottom, 4,000 at the bottom. Men have a large head, and a very small neck. Their torso bottom is slimmer than that of women at 3000 staff. They actually have large shoulders because the top end of the staff represents the directors and professional staff who are the managers, etc. And then men taper down to the usual buildings and grounds, who are at the bottom. Women, on the other hand spread out at the hips, since the great majority of clerical employees are women.

This is what a gendered profile of the University of California at Berkeley looks like. And, in fact, it looks like most higher education institutions, particularly research one universities.

The profile of women, however, would look different if it were a CSU, a California State University campus. What do you think would be the difference? The neck would be huge. At a CSU campus, you would have more lecturers and part-time instructors at the neck level, than you would have faculty at the head level, since most of their courses are taught by lecturers and other part-time faculty. And in the portrait of the female silhouette, the neck would be much larger than the head since at most CSU universities the majority of lecturers and part-time faculty are women.

I fear that many of the women who are coming into our new doctoral class here at Berkeley are going to end up as both head and neck problems. They will not be fairly represented in head, the faculty, but they will be over represented in the neck, the lecturer/part-time faculty category. The trend in the academy is toward increasing the numbers of part-time faculty, who are not on the tenure track, and are often underpaid and under-benefited. And we can predict that the largest component of this part-time, or non-tenure track will be women, as it is now. A two-tiered professoriate is rapidly developing, and we believe it is developing on the backs of women. Today, at this conference, we're focusing on women professors, and mainly women professors in the Research I universities (Carnegie Classification). Research I universities are the leaders; they're important. But in terms of where our graduate students are going, particularly the women, I think we really also need to think about the non-Research I universities and colleges since most of our women will not become professors at Research I universities. They will be instructors at the CSUs and their equivalents in others states and small colleges that are not considered major research players.

Another important issue evoked by my crude drawing of big-necked women is that it not only represents most colleges and universities, it represents most of American institutions. A law firm would look very much like this. Women who are going into the legal profession would find that there would be mainly male partners at the top, the head; more women would be represented at the lower status and associate levels, the big neck; and women would certainly be over-represented in the staff levels.

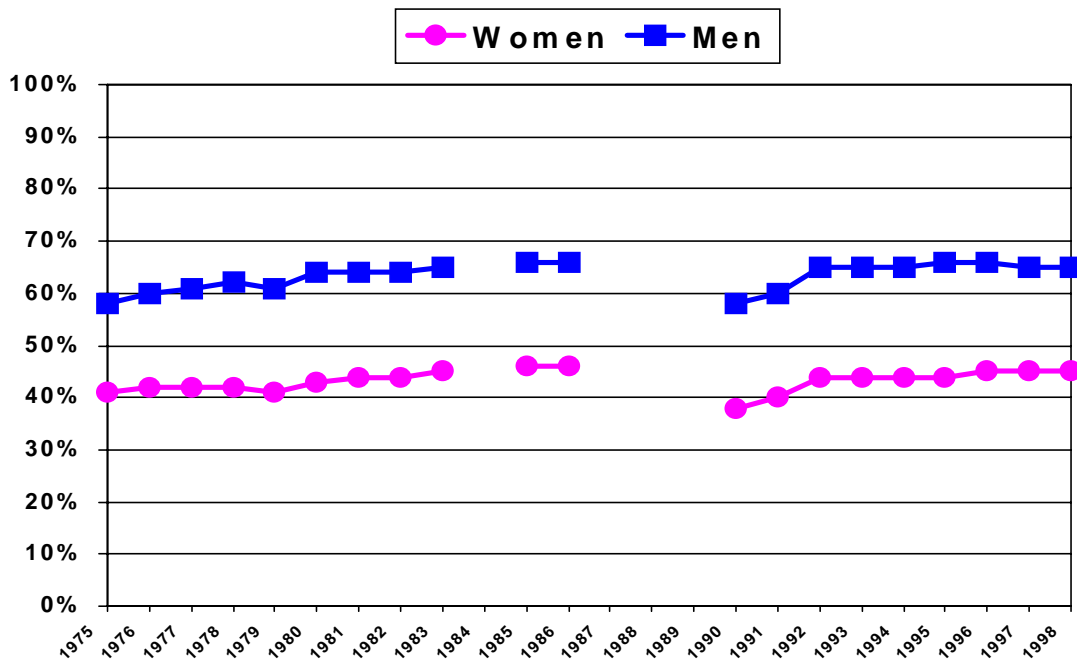
Similarly, the hierarchy of a hospital would fit this profile. The FBI would probably look like this as well. This small-headed, big-necked woman is a portrait of what's happening to women in work in the American economy. Over the past 30 years women have poured into the wage-earning economy.

We in the academy concentrate on the women who are entering male-dominated professions, but there are far more many women who are entering for the first time at the bottom. And we all know that they're not necessarily working full time, as we are, because of love of scholarship or desire for an interesting career; they're working because, for the most part, no one can afford not to work anymore in America. The days of the husband bringing home a family wage are over. There's no choice but to work. This is the new profile of the American labor force.

In 1920, the profile would have been very different. Women workers would have presented a slimmer figure with some women at the top, but not so many at the bottom. That was the time of the family wage, when married women did not work. But that is sort of a different story.

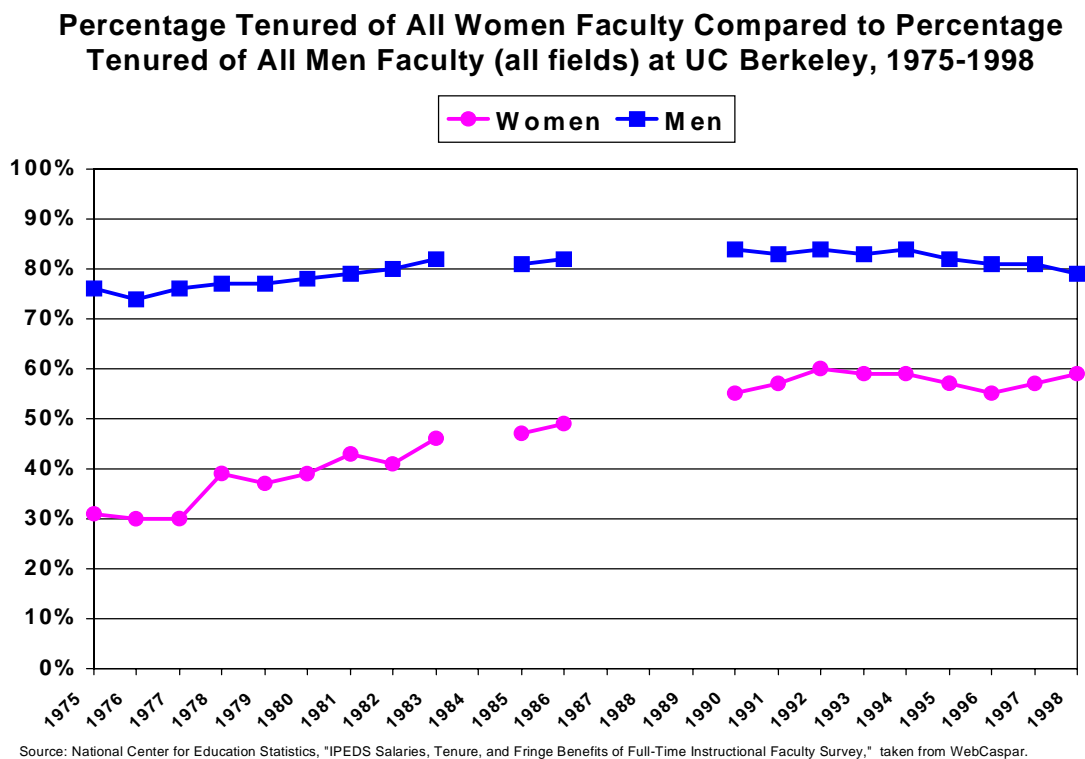
Meanwhile, back to the academy. Some analysts say that women in the professoriate do not look as good as men because they have only recently gained degrees in large numbers. Time will take care of the problem, they predict, as more young women professors are hired and the older cohort, mainly male retires.

Percentage Tenured of All Women Faculty Compared to Percentage Tenured of All Men Faculty (all fields and institution types) in the US, 1975-1998



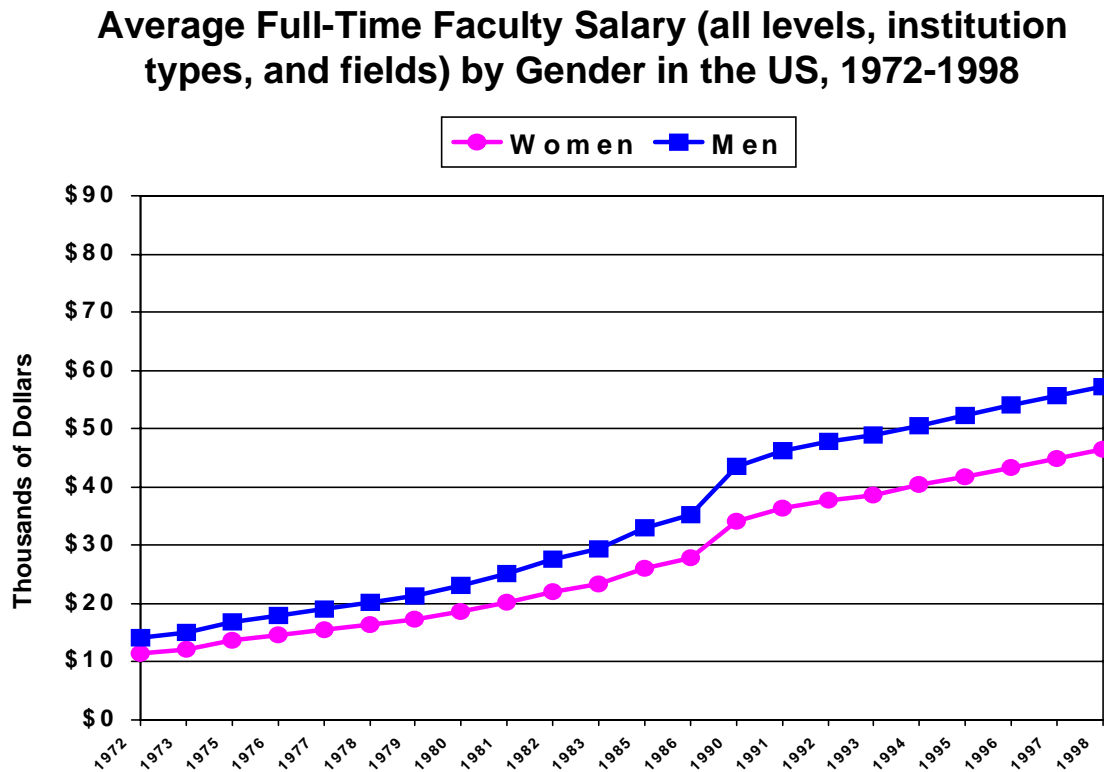
Source: National Center for Education Statistics, "IPEDS Salaries, Tenure, and Fringe Benefits of Full-Time Instructional Faculty Survey," taken from WebCaspar.

In response to this argument we can see by this graph that the gap between the percentage of all men faculty who are tenured and the percentage of all women faculty who are tenured has been fairly consistent over time, even though the relative numbers of women faculty have grown. I think the most remarkable part about this slide, is that we still have this gap. Although the numbers of women have actually changed, the percentage who are tenured nationally looks very much the same as it did in 1975. I suspect that this is because in 1975, as today, a larger percentage of women were in adjunct, lecturer, or other non-tenure track jobs.



The Berkeley graph of the percentage tenured of all men and women faculty looks different than the national graph, as always. It looks as if the gap is narrowing. But there is a story behind this. Women represented only about 3% of all faculty in 1975, now they represent about 21%. These small numbers have skewed the data. Berkeley tenure rates for women started much lower than anyone else's since there were very few women and they

obviously were not too successful. Current Berkeley data looks like the national data, with a similar gap between men and women.



Source: National Center for Education Statistics, "IPEDS Salaries, Tenure, and Fringe Benefits of Full-Time Instructional Faculty Survey," taken from WebCaspar.

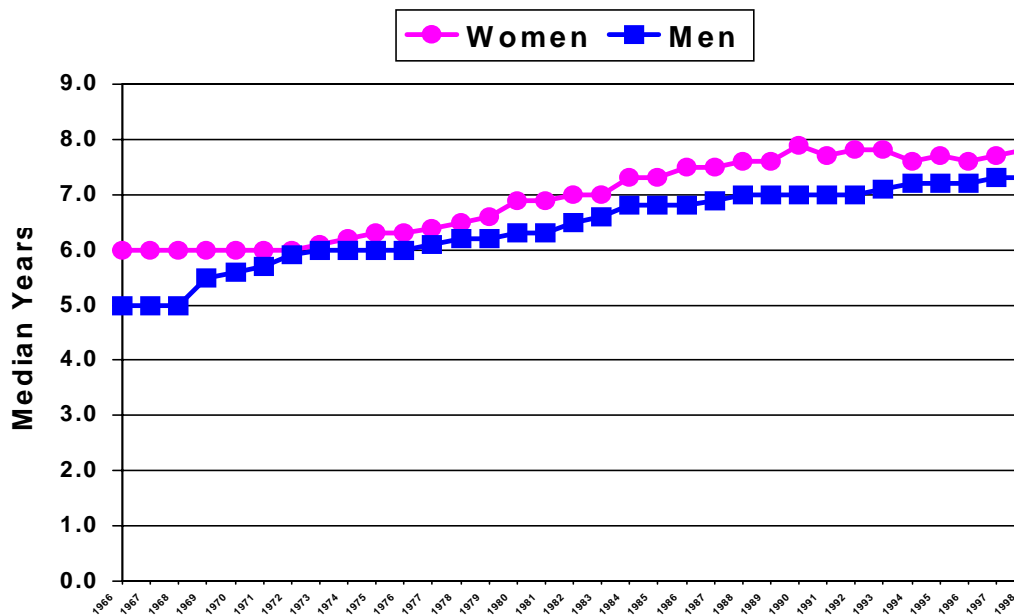
This graph represents full-time faculty salaries at all institutions between 1972 and 1998. As with tenure there is a gap between men and women; but it is a gap that is growing larger over time. The gap between men and women has actually grown wider in the last 30 years. My guess is that this growing disparity has a lot to do with the two-tier university that we're developing. The salaries of part-time women faculty are probably widening this gap further; but because this chart does not include the salaries of the part-time professoriate, the gap is perhaps worse than it looks in this particular graph.

What does all this data mean? Why are women kept out of top jobs? What accounts for the consistent gaps? Why are they not getting tenure and why are they paid increasingly less than men? Is this, as we talked about this morning, a persistent pattern of discrimination? Is there an implicit, if not explicit, conspiracy among men, those in an establishment to keep women

out—or if a few are let in to keep those few marginalized? Well, that's certainly an issue that was very wonderfully expressed, with its many nuances, in Dr. Hopkins' talk.

The story I think is far more complicated than that. And the truth is, there's actually been very little research on women in the academy. Women scientists and engineers have gotten a fair amount of attention because NSF and others have been concerned. They've been concerned about their small numbers, and there's been a lot of money put into it. But the vast majority of our graduate students are not engineers or scientists, they're social scientists and they're in the humanities. And they are actually in much larger numbers, healthy numbers you would say, looking at it demographically, and they've gotten very little attention. One thing we do know about women in the academy.

Median Total Years Enrolled between Baccalaureate and Doctorate Degree (all fields) by Gender, 1966-1998



Source: National Science Foundation, "Survey of Earned Doctorates," includes data from the Doctorate Records File, taken from WebCaspar.

Women take longer. As you can see the length of time-to-degree has increased significantly since 1966 for all students, but women take longer, no matter what the general number is.

Well, why do women take longer? We suspect, but we don't for sure, because it hasn't been researched, is that women have babies while in graduate school. Why are there so many part-time workers, lecturers, adjunct, etc.? Again, we can suspect family obligations, but we don't know for sure, because we really don't have data about this. We do know, in general, however, that women would prefer to work part-time when their children are small, if they can afford to do so. And we all know anecdotally that many of our students and colleagues have taken part-time jobs, have become gypsy scholars, because of their family obligations. We don't have a good profile on this. These are really some of the questions that Marc Goulden, who is my research associate, and I, are beginning to investigate. And I'm hoping to get some good observations and questions from you as well. We have a lot of data sets, but they haven't been looked at in terms of family issues, in the way they really needed to be investigated.

Precisely what role do family obligations play in the careers of academic women who choose to seek jobs in research universities? Does the difference in timing of babies count? A conference participant mentioned this morning that in psychology, they found that if they have babies at a certain time in their career, they were more likely to continue. If they had it at a different time, they were most likely to drop out. Does the decision to not have babies at all make a difference? Are those women who have no children on a different trajectory than women who do have? Are there differences in terms of whether women are tenured, not tenured; are there family issues there?

I am concerned about the progress of women in the professoriate in research universities. But I am also concerned that the feminization of graduate education is leading to a two-tiered profession, composed of a minority of privileged, well-paid, tenured professors; and a majority of part-time, poorly paid instructors, lecturers, and adjuncts, who I fear may be in the large part, women with family obligations. This is also a concern of the American Association of University Professors. They haven't really identified it as a woman's issue, but they've identified the trajectory of the professoriate, in general. The trajectory is not toward eliminating tenure for everyone, but moving largely to a part-time model, which effectively does eliminate of tenure. And again, we're not seeing it at our Research I

universities yet, but we are seeing it at the Research II and the state colleges and smaller colleges. And, that is where most of our graduate students will go.

To sum up, we are interested in several questions that follow the life trajectory of our women graduate students. First, what is their experience like as students? What role do mentors play; what role does family obligation play; and how do they decide whether to play the game of continuing with top-level research, or do others make those decisions for them?

Second, how do women who do enter Research I universities fare with their careers? Do family obligations affect their advance to tenure and afterwards when they are mature professors? Are they mentored the same as men, do they mentor other women?

And finally, what happens to our women graduates who remain in academia, but not at major research universities. What role does family obligations play in their career? Are they given the same opportunities as men to achieve tenure or are they more likely to be in a second-class track? Do they achieve benefits and security? Are they likely to drop out of the academic world?

Researching large databases, there are some questions that we can ask better than others. We can ask about the effect of family obligations, but we can't easily get to the schema of discrimination that Nancy Hopkins spoke about. I suspect that family obligations and institutional discrimination are tied together in complex ways. For instance, men (or other women) may believe women in general will be less productive because of family obligations, while we may find that a very large portion of women academics do not have children or other family obligations which would in fact impede their productivity. And in fact, most women with family obligations may be just as productive as men.

In addition to asking the questions, we want to look for solutions. And we want to be able to assess some of the solutions that have already been tried. Does childcare make a difference? Does stopping the tenure clock make a difference? In terms of making a difference for graduate students, stopping

the normative time clock is the thing I'm most proud of at this university. Two years ago I was Associate Dean, and I had the opportunity to implement a rule to stop the normative time clock for graduate students who were having children, or who had sickness or illness in their families, a family sick leave and maternity policy. And that's the one thing that I get the most e-mails from as well; at least I did in the first couple of years. There were a lot of students, both men and women, who found this very heartening; not just because it made it possible for them to keep with the normative time and finish in a timely fashion, which affected their financial support and other issues; but because it gave public support to what was previously a private and sometimes embarrassing solution. When I was a female graduate student, and there were far fewer of them, they were not supposed to get pregnant. If a woman became pregnant there was no public recognition at all. It was as if we didn't notice. The student, if she were brave, had the baby and returned quickly, with little or no recognition of the events. If she was not brave and resourceful, she did not return. And this was in history, a social science; it wasn't engineering or science. It was an embarrassment, really your own personal, dirty little secret, to be pregnant. So I think that is very important, at least psychologically to offer public recognition and support. Whether or not it makes much difference in terms of the career path, though, I think we don't know, and it's important. The timing of babies, again, as Christina mentioned, is enormously important. We don't know what makes the difference, in terms of the trajectory.

And then there's the Mommy Track. In the 1970s, when this wave of the women's movement gained steam, there was a lot of controversy about mommy tracks, a part-time track for women with children. It was controversial, and was largely unsuccessful, because most feminists at the time believed—and someone mentioned this earlier, I think Charles Henry—that if you ask for special consideration, then you were less good—feminists at that time wanted to be treated strictly. They thought it was dangerous to recognize difference. In fact, I wrote a book in 1988 called *The Equality Trap*, focusing on this issue. My belief then, as it is now, is that opening the doors to previously male-dominated professions does not solve all the problems, it simply raises new issues. My experience in those years was the legal world, but the issue is the same in the academy. And these issues sometimes require a fundamental restructuring of the

workplace and of work rules. There are, as far as I know, two women on the Berkeley faculty, one of them is Arlie Hochschild, who has written about these issues as well, who have full-time, tenured, part-time positions. But there are only two of them that I know of, and I've not heard of this being a possibility in the recent past.

Another possibility, which again I don't think has been thought of or tried in the academy, is the possibility of reentry. We only take people on a career clock that's set up for men without family obligations. It's very hard for women to drop out of the race for a year or two or three or four or five and come back to it. I feel very fortunate. I actually came to Berkeley in 1989, and as you heard from Debbie, had done a number of things before that, including having two children. And part of the reason I could come as an assistant professor in 1989 was that my children were more than half-grown. They were already able to look after themselves, more than they had been a few years earlier. So it made it possible for me. I really was a reentry woman, but I was a real anomaly. I don't see other women coming to Berkeley as professors in that way. I don't see women dropping out of the academic world and doing something entirely different or doing a part-time something, and coming back to a research university. It just doesn't happen. And as women we're not good about helping other women. Earlier today, Beth Burnside mentioned that the women in biology had never gotten together. Are we supporting each other in this? No. We're not supporting reentry, either. When people take a break in their career, and we're on the search committee, we're probably going to look at them just like the men do, as well. We don't have it in our minds or hearts to think of different patterns for women. Why we don't, I'm not entirely clear, but a lot of you expressed the same concern this morning, that women think of themselves as having to work harder, feeling a little insecure, and they sure don't want to ask for special favors. And anything that deals with family is a special favor.

Right now, I have a lot more questions than answers. I've really just started this line of investigation in the academy, although it is a continuation of work and family issues that I pursued many years ago. Marc and I have been talking about it, forming a research agenda, and we're really going to try to ask some of the important questions about what I call the feminization of graduate education; what the implications are for

the academy; what they are for the women who we're admitting every year; and what we can do about it, what kinds of solutions.

Since this is the beginning of a research journey I am very eager to hear from you, in terms of solutions or research issues that you think are unattended to. From your experience and observations, what are the questions, and what could be the answers?

QUESTION: I've heard from many of the speakers, actually, this morning, and in my conversations with other women faculty, the hypothesis that our female graduates are applying to faculty positions in lower percentages than their male colleagues. And so I think collecting the data on that from the search committees, and then maybe interviewing our own graduates to see what their patterns are, in terms of attitudes towards academic positions.

DEAN MASON: That's a really good suggestion, Alice, because part of this... I mean, the data shows you the numbers and the bullets, and it does something. But we have to really get to the qualitative part of asking the students themselves why it is that they're choosing this career over that, what their reservations are. I think that's a very good suggestion, and that's one of the research directions we had talked about pursuing down the road.

QUESTION: One of the implications of what you said is that somehow, it's a falling away from grace, if women graduate students don't go on to be faculty members. And the tradition in my field—I'm in a professional school and college—is quite the opposite. It's very rare for men or women to go on and be academics, even the ones who get Ph.D.'s in our college. And it would be interesting to find out what happens to the people who never intended to become academic. So I wouldn't want to set that as the norm, you know.

DEAN MASON: Yes. That's a very good point. In fact, among the people who get Ph.D.'s in the more traditional, non-professional field, like humanities and social sciences, only about 50% of them end up in higher education at any level. That includes part-time gypsy scholars, and junior

colleges, and state colleges. So you have another 50% who choose not to, or can't find a job, or we really don't know why. I think that Alice's point, as well, asking them themselves why they're making these choices, is critical here. And we must look at it discipline by discipline. We can't generalize.

QUESTION: As a graduate student about to end up in a faculty position, hopefully, I would suggest that graduate students, in particular, the women, are not aware of a lot of these issues that are going on at various institutions. They don't know, a lot of them, maybe born in the late '70s, even, didn't sort of grow up with feminist mothers and the revolution and everything like that, so they don't even know what discrimination is. So you ask a lot of them, 'Have you ever been discriminated against?' And the grad students say, 'Oh, no, never.' Because they're not aware. And I think maybe providing, whether it's a panel like this for graduate students, or activities, or various things like that to educate the graduate women about what discrimination is, or what problems they might be having that they're not talking to other grad students about would be really important. And helping grad students then want to go on and not feel so intimidated by the faculty and these Research I institutions, and what sort of you hear about them.

DEAN MASON: Right. That's a very good suggestion and one that as the Graduate Dean I could probably do something about. So let's further that discussion.

QUESTION: I've been dealing with a lot of graduate harassment situations over the past, I guess, about seven or eight years. And one of the focuses about graduate students, as actually making these decisions I've been doing, and I don't want to exclude the other end of it that happens, which is that I have come across many graduate women students, who, in their department, are getting chilly receptions, 'Oh, you're pregnant? You must not be a serious scholar.' So it isn't a proactive decision all the time, it's also what comes to you.

DEAN MASON: Yes. I think that's a very good question. I mentioned the issue of being pregnant. And it's still, although it's more open and it's more protected, and perhaps there's a little more public recognition of it's

okay to be pregnant, in many instances, their professors do not feel that way. You're absolutely right. And that's a cultural issue that, again, probably like the issues you were talking about in terms of faculty, it has to be handled department by department. But the institution can take a strong position on that as well. And that's something that I, again as Graduate Dean, could do something about, so thanks.

QUESTION: I have a question about the things like maternity and all that. That, if it's sort of defined only as a maternity thing, as opposed to parental, then sort of women are the problem. And, on the one hand, you know, obviously, there are special things involved in pregnancy, but I'm wondering, also, about encouraging men to take parental leave.

DEAN MASON: Right. That's the age old one. And in fact, I've misspoken. I'm speaking the old-speak. It's no longer maternity leave, it's parental leave. But, nationally, as you know, it's much more likely that women will be the primary caretaker. On this campus, someone mentioned that, I think you did, Christina, that sometimes the men are very eager to take the parental leave because it gives them a chance to write their book or to do whatever they're doing. It doesn't necessarily mean that that is always the case with men. I'd like to think it means that they really are full-time caretakers; but sometimes it doesn't. Unfortunately, again, as we all know, we wanted, in the early days of feminism, not to make motherhood an issue, not to make children not an issue, because very soon parenting was going to be divided equally between parents. All the studies show that this hasn't happened and that women still give a lot more care. Personally, I believe we have to think of it as a social issue, as opposed to a parental issue, that society has an obligation to raise families. And increasingly, since we need and demand women in the work force, it must be a social solution. European countries do a lot better with this, in all the basics, in terms of parental leave and childcare; all the things that we know would work well. But we only do it on a piecemeal basis, we don't offer these kind of family benefits as a social scheme, a social welfare scheme, so to speak, that we give to all of our citizens, not just the very poor, or the ones who are singled out for whatever problem they have.

QUESTION: I know I'm asking something hard, but what I'm wondering is, if it's possible to have departments to actually write down a set of policies and expectations that graduate students might have when they enter the program? So, for example, a lot of inequities that women graduate students might not even know about—men might be going to be conference, they don't even know that they should ask for this, they're getting more time with advisors, they don't... And so there's a whole list of sort of expectations that you might have as a graduate student that aren't written down anywhere.

DEAN MASON: Right. And similarly for faculty. I mean, graduate students are faculty in the making, and they have a lot of the same problems, and a lot of the same issues, with regard to resources and the culture, and how they're treated. Very good suggestion. And I think that's something that the Graduate Student Association, who likes to get involved with projects like this, could take on. So I will suggest it to them.

QUESTION: Just as a follow up to that. At UC Santa Barbara, there is a Graduate Student Handbook, and it's being just updated this year. And it's written by women graduate students. So I would suggest, once that is being revised, I will, you know, send a copy to each of the campuses.

DEAN MASON: Oh, great. And this is at UC Santa Barbara?

WOMAN: That's right.

DEAN MASON: Good. Wonderful. Wonderful suggestion.

QUESTION: Perhaps just a radical idea would be in your advertising of the graduate programs, that you could actually show a pregnant woman with her graduation gown on, getting her diploma...

DEAN MASON: I like that, I like that a lot.

WOMAN: ... as a way to communicate that we do support it.

DEAN MASON: Bring it out in the open, I think that's a very good suggestion. On the front page of our graduate brochure, and on the Web

QUESTION: When Nancy Hopkins spoke this morning, she said that the problems women face, at least at MIT, and also the people she had heard from elsewhere, had very little to do with family, that it's all this sort of allocation of space, and money, and so on and so forth. From you, I hear an entirely different story.

DEAN MASON: Well, Nancy, would you like to respond to that?

PROFESSOR HOPKINS: I'm sorry, I think I might have been misleading, then. No, I mean, there really are two issues. And I think the reason I emphasized the one issue is because people, including myself, always thought the other one was the only one. So when I was young, I thought the reason there were no women on the faculty at Harvard was because these men worked 70 hours a week and their wives were home having children, so how could you do both things? And this other one, this discrimination thing, I think is a much less recognized issue. I think people think the reason there are no women is because they can't have family. And it's true, okay. So that's what young women told us the big problem is, balancing family and work. And it's the inequality of that. In fact, the profession is so gendered, that it prevents many women from entering the profession. I think the MIT study, what was striking about it, more than half these women didn't have children. They still ran into problems. But there's two separate issues, and they both have to be addressed.

DEAN MASON: Thank you. It is two sides of the problem, and it's a complicated problem. And both sides need, as you are doing, more research, just basic data on what it is that's going on.

QUESTION: I just wanted to comment, the data that does exist is the Ph.D. recipient survey every year. And it shows, since 1978, and even before, that more women actually go into academe and have post grad commitments in academe, than men. The last data in '98 showed that 56% of women Ph.D. recipients went into academe, and only 44% of men. So I think it's a myth. I think that women are steered into non-Research 1

universities, they're steered into the lower status universities, and into the lower status jobs because they simply don't get hired as regular faculty in the Research 1 universities. It's not that women are dropping out to have babies. All the data has always shown women Ph.D. recipients going into academe at higher rates than men. But the question is, what kind of jobs are they getting?

DEAN MASON: Right. That was my point exactly. The second tier is what they're getting.

QUESTION: And it's not that they don't want the highest paid, highest prestige job. So if you take a Research I UC, we only hire the top 2% of women and the top 10% of men. So then that next 8% of women go to the CSU system, or go to the community college system, or end up being lecturers on our campus. The problem is the applicant pool. The availability for all faculty is over 40%--it's not 30%, it's over 40%. But our applicant pools at Research I universities for faculty positions, at least at Davis, only were around 15%. The person in our small group said that when his colleagues called other campuses to find top graduate students, never once did they mention a woman. So we are invisible. But when they said, 'Oh, but aren't there some women?' 'Oh, yes.' Then they start thinking of women. So the major problem is getting women into the applicant pool. And the other comment I wanted to make, actually in response to Charles Henry, is that, unfortunately, full professor hires does not begin with the... but the data in the UC system shows that from 1984 to '91, 40% of all our hires are with tenure. So that's from a pool of people already in teaching at other research universities. And the most important recommendation on hiring that came out of our task force at Davis, if we could limit the hires to only 20% at the tenured level, and 80% at the assistant professor level, that would change the hiring numbers without doing anything else.

DEAN MASON: Thank you. I see an important sign here. It says time for lunch. Thank you very much for all your suggestions.