By means of graphs and charts, this booklet examines the numbers of women of color at the University of Connecticut-Storrs campus, including employees, graduate students, and undergraduates. Data are presented for total employees, percentage of total employees who are women of color, and women's position category (executive/managerial, faculty, non-teaching professionals, technical/paraprofessional, secretarial/clerical, maintainer/service, quality craft workers, and students). To augment the numerical information, excerpts from interviews with 15 women of color who are employed at the University have been added. Issues which emerged in the interviews include visibility, ambiguous discrimination, university and personal support, perceptions of affirmative action, reaction of supervisors, perception of upward mobility, and direct experiences of racism or tokenism. Includes seven references. (JDD)
THE PRECARIOUS STATUS
OF WOMEN OF COLOR:
Issues of Race/Ethnicity and Gender
at the Storrs Campus

The Status of Women at
The University of Connecticut

21

ED 319315

The Women's Center
The University of Connecticut
Box U-118, 417 Whitney Road
Storrs, Connecticut 06268
DOUBLE JEOPARDY

THE PRECARIOUS STATUS OF WOMEN OF COLOR:
Issues of Race/Ethnicity and Gender
at the Storrs Campus

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Box U-118, 417 Whitney Road
April, 1989
Acknowledgments

We are very grateful to those women of color who agreed to talk with us about their experiences at the University of Connecticut. Their voices have added a richness to the otherwise stark nature of numbers and graphs.

We would like to thank the following who supplied us with the statistics on employees, graduate students, and undergraduates, and who were kind enough to answer all of our questions as to what they meant:

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"Racism and sexism are not "problems" or "topics". They are ways of defining reality and living our lives that most of us have learned along with learning how to tie our shoes and how to drink from a cup."
Paula Rothenberg, 1989

"If the women’s movement has discovered "difference" to be a liberating rather than oppressive principle, through which new visions, new understandings, and new orders of society can be generated, the experience of being an “Asian American Woman” is the exemplar of living in difference."
Shirley Geok-Lin Lim, 1989

"Difference is that raw and powerful connection from which our personal power is forged."
Audre Lorde, 1981

INTRODUCTION

Women of color stand at a pivotal point in the University of Connecticut. This point exists at the intersection of our political, social and educational consciousness where two powerful forces collide. This point is also pivotal in a temporal sense; we, as a University community, are poised to either move ahead or abandon past gains in the face of fiscal constraint. "The Status of Women of Color at the University of Connecticut" begins at that point, at the nexus of gender and race/ethnicity. It is a powerful point - a place where women at this university either flourish or fail in the interstices. The status of these women reveals much about the university, its culture, goals and achievements.

There is no excellence in education without equity. And there is no justice for women if all women are not included. This report extends the first report on the Status of Women (Inching Toward Equity Since Title IX: A Quantitative Analysis 1972-1986). Together, they give a sense of the areas where the university has made strides toward creating equity, and clarify areas where continued efforts are needed.

Equity is a principle based in ideals of justice and fairness. For the purposes of this report, equity is defined as a state where neither gender nor race/ethnicity predicts employment status, advancement, academic standing, aspirations, or quality of life. The data presented in this report indicate that this goal still eludes the University of Connecticut.

* We use the term women of color to denote American Indian, Asian and Pacific Island, Black, and Hispanic women. It is used instead of terms like "minority" (because women of color are not a numerical minority in the world) or "Third World Women" (because of the hierarchical "First World" connotation). Additionally, it is a word that implies the commonness of response shared by women of color from a world that is organized within institutions of racism, as well as the range of distinctive cultures and heritage that women of color possess.
"Cold, very cold...and hostile at times. You walk around and you can tell by the way people look at you -- the assumption is that you are not a professional. A university helper, even a student -- anything but a professional."

Hispanic Female

"Hispanic women have just started to get together because for the first time you have seven or eight Hispanic women on campus, which is a "huge" number, so we have to take advantage of it. We support each other. The problem is you never know how long these women are going to stay. Minorities on this campus come and go."

Hispanic Female

In addition to justice, the richness and academic potential embodied in difference forms another powerful impetus that should pervade our insistence on the creation of equity. The diversity inherent in the inclusion of women of color provides unprecedented possibilities. These possibilities include being global, complex, innovative and interactive in our research and scholarship as well as creating a diverse and rich social milieu in which to teach and study. Creating equity for women of color is not so much about generating numbers in specific categories as it is about the creation of a positive climate.

Numbers tell one story, and people sometimes tell another. To augment the stark characteristic of the numerical information, we have interviewed some of the women of color who are employed at the University in order to add the vividness of their current experience to the quantitative information.

The most incontrovertible finding in this report is the numerical under-representation of women of color at this campus. Roughly 25% of Connecticut's high school population could be considered people of color, and roughly half of those persons are women. Thus, we would expect, in an equal world, approximately 12.5% of our students to be women of color. Nowhere do the percentages of students approach even half that figure. The most comprehensive data for Connecticut comes from the 1980 census figures, acknowledged to be insufficient to draw current comparisons. National data indicate that anywhere from 12% to 20% of the United States population could be considered people of color. Again, compared against this standard, employment of women of color still falls below what could be expected statistically in an equal world.

What does it mean to be one of a few? We can acknowledge the historical, social, political and institutional reasons for the under-representation of women of color as employees of the university. However, it is possible for the university to create systems of support that simultaneously recognize the university's coming of age in acknowledgment of past problems at the same time as it comes to terms with current needs. As an institution, we could develop an atmosphere where women of color are prized, viewed as leaders, and given specific help to attract other women of color. Conversely, women of color can be made to feel that they are strange, that they don't belong, or that the university is inhospitable and uncaring. Among those interviewed, it was rare that a woman of color employed at the institution felt especially nurtured and championed. All too often a picture emerged of these women feeling different, alone, and isolated.

Without sufficient numbers of women of color at the Storrs campus, students and employees alike lack the models of courage and wholeness that motivate a persistent attention to race and gender bias. Without sufficient numbers, it is difficult to craft models of inclusiveness in our policies, practices and curriculum. The difficulties emerge because there are too few women of color in decision-making positions. Therefore, issues are not brought to our

*These data refer to the Storrs campus only. (See methodological note, p. 6) Students were not interviewed. For student perception of the atmosphere at the University, readers are referred to "A Report on the Quality of Life at the University of Connecticut for Black and Puerto Rican/Latin American Undergraduates" compiled by the University's Division of Student Affairs and Services Special Population Committee, chaired by Dr. Angela O. Perry in 1987.
attention and new initiatives are not effectively evaluated. There is a need for a critical mass of women of color at any institution. Bylye Avery's comments in reference to the need for a scholarly journal for Black women (paraphrased here) directly address this need: “[W]e need a forum to work out themes, analyze and develop strategies, create dialogue and relevant programs for and by" women of color in all phases of life and lifestyles to achieve the fusion of heart and intelligence emblematic of the work of women of color. 

Failing to notice a person's race or gender is not an example of "not being sexist or racist." Where vast differences in wealth, power, opportunity and chances of survival separate the races and sexes, failure to acknowledge those differences means that we will never do anything to abolish them. A color-blind social policy in a racist society, and gender-neutral social policy in a sexist society, simply guarantee that both racism and sexism will be strengthened and perpetuated instead of eradicated.

Paula Rothenberg, 1987

All universities exist in a cloud of ambiguity - what is good teaching? What is an adequate curriculum? What is good research? Adequate funding or public recognition of research, curriculum or teaching does not necessarily indicate excellence. Many cutting edge ideas and procedures exist for years before public recognition of their value. And it is within this culture of ambiguity that being a woman of color at a university takes on its distinctive form and structure. Within our amorphous line of work, the intersection of gender and race leaves many women of color at the university with a nagging doubt “would it be different if I weren't Black or Hispanic or Asian or Native American? Would it be different if I weren't a woman?" There is no real way to answer these questions, but the doubt can be insidious and debilitating.

The issue of visibility continues to be a part of the tensions and priorities that frame the lives of women of color. What does it mean to be seen only for one's race? Imagine an Asian American anthropologist. She is asked to introduce speakers, or conduct research with colleagues only when those individuals are Asian. Never is she approached as “just” an anthropologist. This faculty member feels as if her ethnicity is the only thing noticed about her.

Other women of color feel invisible - there is no mention made of their race/ethnicity, no suggestion that they have a special contribution to make to the university. For some of the women interviewed for this report, the feels like equality for them. For others, the pressure to blend in silently is unbearable.

This report intersperses information about the numerical representation of different levels of employment and educational status, with quotes from some of the women of color employed at UConn. We asked these women about several different aspects of their lives at the University of Connecticut. Although the issue of visibility and the problem of ambiguous discrimination emerged spontaneously in these interviews, this report also covers answers to questions about university and personal support, perceptions of affirmative action, reaction of supervisors, perception of upward mobility, and direct experiences of racism or tokenism.

It is in the qualitative responses, as much as the quantitative information, that we can see what some writers have termed the “double jeopardy”, women of color face as employees and students. These women face bias created
"I felt like I had to be wary of everything I did and I feel like I had to work three times as hard to be thought of as good."
Female Professional Staff

"If you speak English with an accent then you have to prove you have some intellectual substance. To the average person, I'm a Chink."
Asian Female

"The feeling like a token hadn't clicked for me, but there is a feeling when I first came into my office that I was going to be a spokesperson for Hispanics. There was some shock to my superior that I wasn't necessarily interested in doing that."
Hispanic Female

by both their gender and their race/ethnicity. But other writers have suggested that "multiple jeopardy" is a more appropriate term. Multiple jeopardy refers to the experience wherein each discriminatory system multiplies the effect of the other. As such, it is a useful concept in identifying the range of barriers with which women of color must contend. This multiplier effect is why separating the concepts of gender and race (as implied in the phrase "we need to increase the participation of women and minorities") is analytically ineffective in understanding the status of women of color. As we look at under-representation by race/ethnicity, the implications of gender cannot be overlooked.* A Black woman cannot separate the effects of race and gender in her life. To create a truly pluralistic university, these interactive effects must be considered as we collect data, create programs, and develop curricula.

The presence of multiple jeopardy does not imply that women of color haven't or won't thrive at the University of Connecticut - some have and will. Nor is it to say that the attitudes of faculty, administrators and students, or the intent of policies and practices of the University, are pointedly or intentionally racist and sexist.

Unconscious and unintentional racism and sexism are possible from well-meaning men and women from all backgrounds. But the fact that these attitudes may be neither overt nor blatant does not lessen their impact. Deborah Kings states "[T]he prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory actions may be overt, subtle or covert ... the invisibility may be due to actual exclusion or benign neglect." 6 The multiple systems of oppression faced by women of color are apparent from their consequences. Namely, there are still too few women of color at the university, and those who were interviewed do not unilaterally feel the kinds of support needed to transform the university.

An examination of the experience of the women of color we interviewed reveals gaps between intention and action. What does it mean to get the double message, the gap between rhetoric and action? It can mean that the university will state its need for diversity and highlight its priority in public statements. But when it comes to one's specific need -- for continued education, employment for a spouse, a larger salary, day care, or a "pc (i.e., for continued employment) -- suddenly there is a budget crunch, an inflexibility in the system, or the well-intentioned phrase that one's supervisor couldn't interfere with one's growth potential at another place of employment. Women of color at this university have been in the position of standing up and publicly proclaiming the university's need for diversity. At the same time, their individual position has been eliminated, or requisite assistance in skill development was denied.

The pipeline crisis is more appalling than we can imagine. As educators of the professionals of the future, we already have too few women of color in undergraduate preparation -- of those, too few are training in non-traditional fields, too few to be the teachers, doctors, mathematicians and engineers of the future to serve as role models and mentors for those coming up.

* Our exclusive focus on women in no way implies that equity for men of color at the University of Connecticut has been achieved, or that women and men should be pitted against each other. A comprehensive plan for diversity must consider race and gender, not either one or the other.
The term women of color connotes diversity. The university needs to explore this diversity for two reasons: what it provides those in the minority and what it provides for those in the majority. This exploration of diversity would allow women of color to thrive. It would also allow those in the majority to better understand our responsibilities. Ultimately, this exploration will lead to a better understanding of truth. Sharon Parker, Executive Director of the Institute of Women of Color, defines diversity in this way: “Diversity is a healthy, positive social condition. It fosters creativity and productivity, broadens perspectives, and enriches our lives.” 7 This publication is premised on the ideal that achieving diversity is the only way to excellence in education at the University of Connecticut.

“I’m not sure how I’m seen on campus. I’m not sure that I’m seen on campus.”
Female Professional Staff
TERMINOLOGY AND FORMAT

In this document, we use the race/ethnicity categories designated by the Office of Affirmative Action Programs: Asian American, Black, Hispanic, and Native American. The reader is cautioned, however, to remember that these categories provide sweeping generalizations of diverse backgrounds. This is true for the category of Asian Americans, whose ethnic heritage might be traced to Japan, China, Korea, Thailand, India, Vietnam, Philippines, Pakistan or any of several other countries, each with its own rich tradition and heritage. In the case of the term Hispanic, heritage and class are often intertwined. The largest, and poorest, group of individuals in Connecticut come from Puerto Rico, but the term Hispanic includes all individuals from Central and Latin America, Cuba, as well as those from Spain.

Our use of these categories must be seen as a short hand - a way to represent groups of individuals for easy analysis. These categories are not intended to minimize the differences inherent within them.

Direct quotes from the women interviewed for this report are identified by either race/ethnicity or employment categories. All women were women of color employed at the Storrs campus. The variable technique of identification was used to protect the confidentiality of each respondent. There are so few women of color in many of the employment categories that to consistently identify an individual with both race/ethnicity and employment category would compromise anonymity.

The qualitative data alternates with the quantitative information. The qualitative information was derived from employees, but the quotes are not arranged to refer to any specific employment category. For example, although the topic “Issues of Support” precedes data on executive/managerial employment, it is information derived from interviews with women in all employment categories (maintenance, clerical, faculty, professional staff, executive/managerial).

METHODOLOGY

The numerical information presented in this report refers exclusively to those students and employees at the Storrs campus. In every instance, years represent academic years (for ex., 1988 refers to 1987-88).

The qualitative data is derived from structured interviews with a total of 15 women of color employed at the Storrs campus. At least one person was selected from each employment category (Executive/Managerial; Faculty; Non-Teaching Professional; Maintainer/Service; Quality Craft Worker; Technical/Paraprofessional; Secretarial/Clerical) where a minimum of five or more women of color were represented. Of those individuals approached, one woman refused to be interviewed and two did not return phone calls. No Native American women were interviewed. Participants were not randomly selected, and therefore answers are not meant to be representative of all women within employment or race/ethnicity categories.
ENDNOTES


5 Rothenberg, p. 18


A VERY SMALL PIECE OF THE PIE

The following graphs and charts examine the numbers of women of color on the Storrs campus as employees, graduate students, and undergraduates. Out of the approximately 21,200 people who work and/or study at the Storrs campus approximately 750, or 3.5%, are women of color. 1.4% are Black women; 1% are Hispanic women; 1% are Asian women; and .1% are American Indian women.

Without a strong commitment to recruiting, retaining, and mentoring women of color as undergraduates and then as graduate students, there will be no pool of women of color from which to recruit faculty. In 1987 only 3.6% of the undergraduates, and a tiny 1.5% of the graduate students were women of color. On the other hand, without a critical mass of women of color as faculty, administrators, and professional staff as role models, it is difficult to recruit and retain women of color as students. It is revealing that of the over 1,000 members of the faculty at the Storrs campus, only 16 are women of color. Therefore, we were torn between presenting the statistics on employees or students first. Because the greater proportion of our data describe the experiences of employees at UConn, these data are presented first.

The largest number and percentage of women of color employed at the Storrs campus is in the maintainer/service category. It is interesting to note that the next largest percentage, 6%, is in the executive/managerial category, although this represents only 5 women, all of whom are Black. Perhaps most distressing of all is the very small number and percentage of faculty.

The following graphs and charts depict only the Storrs campus. In all the pie charts, men are indicated by the striped section; women are indicated by the white section. Women of color are indicated by the section which is exploded out from the chart.
TOTAL EMPLOYEES

The statistics for full time permanent employees at the Storrs campus of the University of Connecticut come from the Affirmative Action Office. They are current as of December 29, 1988.

Of the 3,782 employees on the Storrs campus, 153 are women of color. This is 4.1% of the total employees. 1.2% of the employes are Black; 1.6% are Hispanic; 1.2% are Asian; .1% are Native American.
TOTAL EMPLOYEES
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS CAMPUS 1988

Women of Color (153)

(4.0%)

Men (1897)
(50.2%)

White Women (1732)
(45.8%)

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<tr>
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<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
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Issues of Support

"I would like there to be more of a sense of belonging here. I miss talking about issues. There is no sense of ‘what are you working on?’ Then some time later they come back and say ‘you know I thought about what you said what about this angle.’ There is no support system for new faculty. No help in the transition."

Black Female

"One of the professors was supportive of me. Told me I should try and do something else. Sometimes that helps, just to have someone think you can do better."

Female Maintainer

"It is never easy to make close friends and this atmosphere doesn’t make it easier. People are less willing to extend themselves. People see it as a job."

Hispanic Female

"I’m very much alone here. I don’t have a whole supporting group behind me."

Asian Female

"I feel that I have quite a few friends on this campus who I can trust and who have saved my behind in many instances where I could have gotten into some serious trouble. I’ve had people come in and give me advice and so far they haven’t been wrong."

Female Professional Staff
"I do feel that the campus minority groups are more conscious about this than the mainstream people. After I was hired, among my colleagues, a minority person will be more like "welcome--join us" ... the mainstream people were, maybe, more cautious."
Asian Female

"I think, primarily because there is the Coalition of 100 Black Women, because that group exists, and so there is a lot of support in that group."
Female Executive Managerial

"Most of the people with whom I am friendly are black, and I think that's really strange. That's new for me. One part of it is being single, and there are just not many opportunities actually to meet people...who are outside my division...If there was some informal way to meet people - the faculty alumni center is so intimidating - I'd never go there alone."
Black Female

"Support is important, [as is] my tie with my culture. My American friends have told me ... I never saw you laugh so hard before until I saw you with a group of Chinese friends. Someone was telling a Chinese joke, and I would really go crazy laughing. American jokes don't work as well with me. There's never a way to get an equivalent understanding as with your home culture."
Female Professional Staff
The executive/managerial category consists of employees in management positions who are excluded from the American Association of University Professors or University of Connecticut Professional Association bargaining units. This includes the president, vice-president, provost, and some members of their staffs, deans, and directors of departments who are considered to be at a managerial level.

The Executive/Managerial category of employment at the Storrs campus has the second largest percentage (6%) of women of color of all employment categories. All five of these women are Black. There are no Hispanic, Asian American, or Native American women executives or managers on the Storrs campus.
EXECUTIVE/MANAGERIAL
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS CAMPUS 1988

Women of Color (5)

(6.0%)

White Women (21)
(25.0%)

Men (58)
(69.0%)

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"You have to bow down to people to keep your job. You have to constantly watch every word. You have to constantly almost play the dumb blond act. You try not to cross people, not to step on any toes to make sure that everything stays nice."
Black Female

"Being raised where I was, in the predominately white towns' society, I have adopted the white person's ways of thinking, dressing, talking. So, I know what I am, but I feel like I'm telling you from a white point of view."
Female Secretarial/Clerical

"Students will come in and see me and get that vaguely surprised look on their face. I get that sense of "oh oh, I didn't know I was seeing someone who is...", and they don't know what I am."
Hispanic Female

"[W]hen things happen, I really try to think about why I wasn't treated fairly, but the fact is always very mixed for me. Was it because I'm an Asian person, or because I'm seen as a student?"
Asian Female
"I think co-workers are less likely to tell me when they are dissatisfied with my work for fear of insulting me. I hope that isn't true, but there was an incident which could be explained in other ways, but they went directly to my superior. I said to him, "Why didn't they come directly to me?" That disturbed me enormously."

Female Professional Staff

"There isn't any way around gender. It's why I always dress up for class and absolutely insist that my students call me Ms. "X," because I know that I'm the absolute antithesis of an authority figure - that they've grown accustomed to only seeing white men as authorities."

Black Female

"I have two lives here. One that is very supportive, but then I have another group that just opposes anything I do. And sometimes I see the behavior of the second group as racism, may be sexism, not geared to me personally, but to the work I do. But I don't know. It's hard to tease out."

Hispanic Female

"Faculty will question decisions that I will make ... But I can't separate that from discrimination based on age, because I am younger. and gender...and how do you separate them?"

Female Executive Managerial
FACULTY

This employment category includes all full time faculty teaching positions.

1.5% of the faculty are women of color. Of the 1,050 faculty at the Storrs campus, 5 are Black women, 4 are Hispanic Women, 7 are Asian Women, and none are Native American.
FACULTY
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS CAMPUS 1988

Women of Color (16)
(1.5%)

White Women (209)
(19.9%)

Men (825)
(78.6%)

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<td>1.5%</td>
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23
“This is a campus where, if you’re an invisible Black woman, you really can survive -- but if you’re conspicuous, you probably won’t survive at all.”
Female Professional Staff

“They don’t appear to treat me any differently. When I attend meetings, heads turn, and even more so if it is a faculty meeting. At times it grates on my nerves. Why do they readily assume I’m a graduate student? Even when they see my ID, they assume I’m not real faculty.”
Female Faculty

“I’ve never felt Spanish, myself. People always forget that I am, which is what I want. I’m just treated like a regular person.”
Hispanic Female

“Its not being Black, its being a female especially at [her work site]. They are so used to having a man run things. They see you in a couple of ways: a mother figure, a mutha figure, or the bitch figure.”
Black Female

“If you agree to be invisible, and I really mean invisible, like the people who think it’s a good thing and a wonderful thing to completely blend in, to not stand out...to have people forget that you’re Black, then you can have one kind of experience here. But if you’re opposed to that, as I am, and want to be as visible as possible, it has a different affect on you.”
Female Faculty
Upward Mobility

“I would like to go for my Ph.D. but the tuition reimbursement is only half. Where’s the other half coming from? I already work a second job now.”
Female Hispanic

“The classes offered only relate to what you’re already doing, not a chance to learn something new.”
Female Secretarial/Clerical

“One of the things that they don’t do here that they say they do is pror /ˈdrəʊr/ e from within. They offer tr/ˈtrɪkoʊ/ y for classes but the classes relate to what you’re already doing - not an opportunity to learn something else that might help you stop doing this.”
Female Hispanic

“We come in at entry level positions but acceleration rate is at a snails pace. And a lot of times we get placed in a position where we have men over us and those men are going to be here until they retire. If we can’t move up we move out.”
Black Female

“I don’t see a clear picture of where to go. I feel that my unit is very separate from my department, that we’re very different, so I don’t feel linked enough to know where I might go.”
Asian Female

“There is no sense of a mutual investment, that we’ve made an investment in each other... the sense that, these are the things that you need to move up the ladder here, and we’re going to help you get them.”
Black Female
NON-TEACHING PROFESSIONALS

Non-teaching professionals include professional staff who are part of the UCPEA bargaining unit as well as some researchers and other professionals who do not teach.

4.7% of the non-teaching professional staff at the Storrs campus are women of color. Of the 997 professional staff, 21 are Black women, 11 are Hispanic women, 15 are Asian women, and none are Native American.
NON-TEACHING PROFESSIONAL  
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT  
STORRS CAMPUS 1988  

Women of Color (47)  
(4.7%)  

White Women (544)  
(54.6%)  

Men (406)  
(40.7%)  

Women of Color

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Racism/Tokenism

“I told my supervisor one thing I’ve learned since I’ve been at UConn is that when people tell you “Don’t be offended, but...”, you’re going to be offended. I have such a chip on my shoulder because people are more racist here than where I worked before.”
Hispanic Female

“I don’t think UConn has anything particularly distinctive about it in terms of its racism. I think UConn is provincial, the students come from small towns and have not really talked to anyone else ... Let me put it this way, my expectations are very low.”
Asian Female

“People are much more aware of me as a Puerto Rican than I’m used to. ... ‘What do you think about the Hispanic Issue of the day?’”
Hispanic Female

“It tells me so much about a university when simply walking into a room makes people change the way they’re sitting, change the way they’re talking, because of your actual presence. It means that they aren’t accustomed to being around Blacks in a professional working environment, and it also means that they think that that’s the norm -- and it’s completely ok for someone who is not so unlike them to feel alien, and that’s a scary comment.”
Female Faculty

“Maybe because I’m older I haven’t been a victim of blatant racism recently. My son told me he sat down at a table in the cafeteria here and all the white people got up and left.”
Female Maintainer

“People consider me “one of those”, as an Asian, but I still have the chance to explain. Yes, I’m one of those, but I’m also very me.”
Asian Female
“People have a certain expectation about how an Asian woman should be: never say anything directly, always submissive, always polite. I try hard to correct that perception immediately, if I sense any expectation like that.”
Asian Fen

“I know most of the white students come here from small towns and have no experience with people of color, and so when I talk to them I have to use a certain vocabulary because they assume that I can’t speak English. I have to assert myself in a certain way.”
Female professional staff

“Many, many times I feel torn between the two cultures ... no matter which side I take I feel in the middle. The conflict itself bothers me more than being different.”
Asian Female

“I felt that one faculty member really went out of her way to make me feel like a token, .. to say “you’re only here because of this, this and this”, because we have very few black faculty members in the department. It’s been intentional ... The worst part of it is that it makes you pull out your resume and say, is this true, am I really qualified? That’s just a waste of time, and it takes too much time to recover from that.”
Black Female

“I guess I don’t think about it too much, just because ..in so many situations I’ve been the only Black or only one of two, and so, I almost just think of it as being normal.”
Female Executive Managerial
QUALITY CRAFT WORKERS

Quality craft workers include skilled workers in fields such as carpentry, plumbing, electrical, and painting.

Only 2 women are employed as quality craft workers at the Storrs Campus. Both of them are white.
QUALITY CRAFT WORKERS
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS CAMPUS 1988

White Men (106)
(98.1%)

White Women (2)
(1.9%)

Men (106)
(98.1%)

Women of Color

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Atmosphere

"The atmosphere? I think the first word that comes to my mind is dangerous...you can never relax...you have to think about what you say, who you say it to, if people understand you."
Female Professional Staff

"Well, there's not that many Asian women, so I do feel like a "minority of minorities"."
Asian Female

"There is no atmosphere here for us."
Female Secretarial/Clerical

"It was terrible for them [white men] when I was appointed Assistant professor because I was the only woman and the only * in that department, and that meant that I was going to be competition. It was so bad that a group of white men got together to discredit my qualifications. Fortunately, I got word of it and others helped me fight it."
Female Faculty (* race/ethnicity deleted for anonymity)

"It's a sad comment that its a surprise to come across people that treat you as an equal, that treat you as a colleague, who don't look down at you or don't at some point, in the first twenty-minute conversation say something that makes you feel like a complete alien."
Black Female
Interaction with Supervisor

"It is almost like, as a female, you're not expected to have covered all the bases. I don't think that that is a Black female's problem, I think it is a female's problem. They expect you to be satisfied with what you have."
Black Female

"I'm always told my supervisor is scared of me. She hates to ask me to do anything. But she does anyway. It seems like I get asked to do everything. Sometimes it's like: What's wrong with you - you've never been around Black people before?"
Black Female

"Very naturally, even without consciously knowing, all of us are affected by stereotyped thinking. ... I don't have a problem working with my supervisor, but I feel that ... I have to be more conscious, more clearly informed, and to make myself very clear."
Asian Female

["Interaction with supervisor] has been very positive, my immediate supervisor reminds me, constantly, of my potential and what I can really be getting out of what I'm doing."
Black Female

"Racism is definitely an issue I've seen in the workplace. For example, when a supervisor tells you that you have been chosen to do work on a national level not because of your abilities, but because you are an Hispanic and you are a woman."
Female Hispanic

"When I ask questions they say, "Well you don't need to know that right now." I've begun to say "But I do need to know it and are you going to take the time to tell me or do I go get it from someone else?" This is what I have to deal with, and I really resent that. It makes me second best. Keeps you in place, in line."
Black Female
This small employment category of under 75 people includes some positions in jobs such as lower level accounting groups, some laboratory titles, some workers in the co-op extension service, and some computer operators.

Only 1 woman of color is employed in the technical/paraprofessional category at the Storrs campus. She is Hispanic.
TECHNICAL/PARAPROFESSIONAL
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS CAMPUS 1988

Women of Color (1)
(1.4%)

White Women (24)
(33.8%)

Men (46)
(64.8%)

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Needed University Support

"If the university administration were more in tune with what the needs of faculty are, maybe not only minorities but everybody, then the morale of the people will be higher."

Hispanic Female

"To take me seriously. I don’t know how you ask for that in a contract, in order for people to make you feel you’re as valuable as you know you are. It’s strange when looking through the Chronicle of Higher Education makes you feel more valuable than the actual position that you have."

Black Female

"A day care, lots of them, like in every building, or one in each area of campus....day care, that’s my main concern."

Hispanic Female

"It’s like I am at the border, where I cannot even file a complaint, but I’m just at the border in terms of merit and things like that - which they have given me, but just enough so that I won’t make any noise."

Female Faculty
“Maybe I’ll stay another year.... When I first took the job, I was actually thinking longer, but just because I’ll never be able to afford a house, and I get tired of the driving... at this point I’ve given up.”
Female Executive Managerial

“We’re considered a “minority program.” Our work has not been taken seriously by the University.”
Female Professional Staff

“I don’t sense a strong commitment for professional development. You have to come out of your own pocket for classes. To go on trips you have to justify the hell out of it. I would like to see the University adopt a strong professional development package in order that faculty and staff would want to stay. When the University pays for 90% or more of the professional development package, then people want to stay. There is an allegiance to the school, a trust, a loyalty. When you have to pay for your education, you could be anywhere.”
Black Female

“I certainly won’t stay here because of the large, impersonal, difficult atmosphere.”
Hispanic Female
SECRETARY/CLERICAL

Women make up the overwhelming majority of secretary/clerical positions at the Storrs campus; men make up only 1.9% of those positions. Women of color represent 4.6% of the secretarial/clerical positions. 4 of the 632 secretary/clerks are Black women; 18 are Hispanic women; 5 are Asian women; and 2 are Native American women.
SECRETARIAL/CLERICAL
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS CAMPUS 1988

Women of Color (29)

Men (12)

White Women (591)

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"If it weren't for Affirmative Action, we wouldn't be here. I guess some of the white women resent us. They figure, well, someone else could have had this job but now they have to give it to minorities. It's not the greatest job in the world. I just tell them if the government had been hiring the way they should have been hiring - before - they wouldn't have to do this. I tell them it was your turn before, now it's my turn."
Female Maintainer

"A lot of people think that Affirmative Action just brings a lot of people who are not qualified, just because we need to meet certain guidelines. I think that's negative because people who are qualified and have the right to be here are being treated are as if they are not."
Female Secretarial/Clerical

"I was led to think I was needed here to be “counted”. I know that there was more effort taken in my hiring. First, I know that I do good work. I also bring a level of diversity to the campus. I know that I was looked at much more seriously because I'm a Black woman."
Black Female

"If I felt the university was really committed to affirmative action, it would be so much better. I wouldn't feel like it was all falling on me. I would feel that, across campus, white people were doing the same kind of explaining, and that all plays a role in educating people."
Black Female
"I'm not sure I agree with affirmative action totally. I don't want someone to come up to me and say 'oh you were hired because of affirmative action.' I want to be treated matter of factly -- first as a professional who can do the job and second perhaps as a minority."
Female Professional Staff

"I think I was considered attractive because of the level of diversity I was bringing. It really had to do with what I wanted to do with that diversity -- not just the fact that I would be a Black professional employee, but the fact that I had interests that someone recognized really needed to be here. I felt that I was being interviewed by people who really valued diversity."
Black Female

"There are times when I feel it is important for the administration to count me. I know it's important that I am here because I'm Black. They are making an effort to keep [her husband] because he's doing a good job and because he's Black."
Black Female

"If only Affirmative Action was seen as not just an office... that there really is a philosophy that's about striving for equality and not just like the Affirmative Action Police that blows the whistle on you."
Female Faculty
MAINTAINER/SERVICE

This employment category includes all the maintenance titles including supervisors, as well as employees who work in transportation services, protective services, building and grounds, telephone workers, agricultural workers, and food service.

The maintainer/service category has the largest percentage, and the largest number, of women of color at the Storrs campus. 6.5% of the maintainers and service workers are women of color. 10 of the 840 people in this category are Black women; 26 are Hispanic women; 17 are Asian women; and 2 are Native American.
MAINTAINER/SERVICE
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STCRRS CAMPUS 1988

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- Men (444) (52.9%)
- White Women (341) (40.6%)
- Women of Color (55)
  - Black 10 (1.2%)
  - Hispanic 26 (3.1%)
  - Asian 17 (2.0%)
  - Native American 2 (0.2%)
  - Total 55 (6.5%)

<p>|  | Black | Hispanic | Asian | Native American | Total |</p>
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Contributions

“We want to bring our culture, our experiences, to enrich this university.”
Hispanic Female

“The good part of my job is that I feel that many Asian students identify with me and come to me with particular problems, and I am happy to help them. It's a rewarding kind of feeling that I can help.”
Asian Female

“Just having certain discussions in class, that I really force them to have, has had a positive effect on them, because you can see the change in the dynamics of the class throughout the semester. Initially, there is always some sort of racial tension because we talk about racial things, but by mid-semester people are much more at ease about making mistakes, and much more at ease with each other -- because they've gone through the hard things with each other.”
Black Female

“I know that I do good work. I also bring a level of diversity to the campus.”
Female Faculty
"This job is my priority. I try to live up to that. I feel like I have to be here. I think, 'what will happen to the students who come in for...? If I'm not here.'"
Female Secretary

"I know I've been helpful to students. I can tell by the looks on their faces when they come to see me."
Female Professional Staff

"I'm glad I've been here for the Asian American students since we're the new target for racism."
Asian Female

"I never saw many Puerto Rican role models when I was growing up. Sometimes I feel bad that I haven't been able to be a role model for the next generation."
Hispanic Female
GRADUATE STUDENTS

All data on graduate students came from the graduate school.

The pie chart indicates that women of color make up only 1.5% of the graduate students at the Storrs Campus. As the charts at the bottom indicate, this percentage has remained approximately the same since 1985. During that time the percentages of Black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian have only varied by .1%; the frequencies have remained relatively constant. There are over three times as many women who are international graduate students as there are women of color who are United States citizens.

A Note on the Statistics:

The chart for 1987-1988 indicates that the 85 women of color make up 1.6% of graduate students, while the graph shows 1.5%. This .1% difference is due to rounding off. The correct percentage is 1.5%.
GRADUATE STUDENTS
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS CAMPUS

Women of Color (85)

No Response (35)

Men (2677)
(49.9%)

Non-Resident Aliens (279)
(5.2%)

White Women (2291)
(42.7%)

1987-1988

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The statistics on undergraduates come from the registrar's office. The percentage of women of color undergraduates at the Storrs campus has remained essentially the same from 1984 when there were 3.6% to 1987 when there were 3.9%. The actual number of women of color has risen from 419 to 508 reflecting the increase in the number of undergraduates overall.

Note re: Retention

Retention is a serious consideration at the University of Connecticut. How many women of color enter the university and stay to complete their degree? Statistics from the registrar’s office indicate by race/ethnicity and gender how many students are in their first year, second year etc. By following a progression from first year enrollment in 1984, to fourth year enrollment in 1987, increases or decreases in the number of students can be seen. However, this data does not provide a mechanism for tracking individual students. It is not possible to determine if the student decreases could be attributed to students transferring to Yale, or dropping out of school all together. Stable numbers could reflect dozens of students dropping out, but being replaced by others. However, the data raises some very important questions especially about Black women undergraduates.

From the data, it is clear that number of women and men of all ethnicities and races drop between their first and second years. However Black women, show the greatest decrease of any group of students. From 1984 to 1985 the number of black women decreased from 70 in their first year to 29 in their second year. This sharp decrease in the numbers of Black women between the first and second years is also apparent, although not quite as severe, between 1985 and 1986, and 1986 and 1987. The question of whether a greater percentage of Black women drop out, leave for academic reasons, or transfer between their first and second years than any other group, and if so why, are essential questions about student attrition which should be given serious consideration.
UNDERGRADUATES
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT STORRS CAMPUS

1984

Men (5632) (47.9%)
White Women (5713) (49.6%)
Women of Color (419) (3.6%)

1985

Men (5508) (47.7%)
White Women (5620) (48.7%)
Women of Color (420) (3.6%)

1986

Men (5640) (48.0%)
White Women (5679) (48.3%)
Women of Color (423) (3.7%)

1987

Men (6326) (48.1%)
White Women (6316) (48.0%)
Women of Color (508) (3.9%)
UNDERGRADUATES

The following four graphs show the actual percentages of Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American undergraduate women. These percentages have remained essentially the same from 1984 to 1987. The percentage of Asian women has increased very slightly from 0.8% to 1.1% over the past four years. The percentage of Hispanic women has remained constant at 1%. Native American women have remained at 0.1%. Black Women made up 1.7% of the undergraduate population in 1984, this to 1.6% in 1985, 1.5% in 1986, and back to 1.6% in 1987.

Because the total enrollment of the university increased over this time period, the actual number of students in any category tended to increase. For example, there were 115 Hispanic undergraduate women in 1983-4, and 130 in 1986-7. Only among Black women was there a numerical decrease from 1983-4, when there were 201 Black undergraduate women, to 1985-86 when there were 179. It wasn’t until 1986-87 that the numbers increased to 212.
UNDERGRADUATES
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS CAMPUS
1984

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>93</td>
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<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
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Men (5632)
(47.9%)

White Women (5713)
(48.6%)
UNDERGRADUATES
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS CAMPUS
1985

Women of Color (420)

Men (5508)
(47.7%)

White Women (5620)
(48.7%)

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UNDERGRADUATES
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS CAMPUS
1986

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<td>Women of Color</td>
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<tr>
<td>White Women (5679)</td>
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<td>Black Women</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Women</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Women</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
UNDERGRADUATES
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS CAMPUS
1987

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Black</td>
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<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Women of Color (508)

(3.9%)
CONCLUSION

"Of course I'd like to see more women of color on this campus. I'm very isolated here. When I saw you coming down the path, I just felt so proud."
Female maintainer

We are indeed facing a pivotal point, a crucial time in terms of our under-representation at this university. When we look behind us, we know that we have been 'one of the few who chose careers in higher education. As we look ahead, we see even fewer women of color coming down the path. Critical times call for critical decisions that will have positive, far reaching, long term effects on our future.

This report is permeated with cycles, the education, hiring and retention of women of color are in -related. Cycles of short-term, crash-effort recruiting for women of color led to more of the same. Since these cycles are not rooted in a pervasive committment to Affirmative Action, they don't contribute to making an environment more conducive to our success. Breaking through this insidious chain requires immediate active changes both in policy and practice. If we wait until "more money" is available, or "other priorities" are taken care of, we will continue to lose some of our best students, faculty and staff to other schools. A responsible institution continually moves forward, adapting to changes and progress. At a time when one out of four Americans are people of color, the percentages in this study don't indicate the type of progress that make a university successful.

Students will continue raising their eyebrows when they enter a classroom or a dean's office where a woman of color is in authority, as long as institutions assure them that it is unusual. Women of color will continue walking into meetings with the sinking feeling that they might have been chosen -at the last minute- to integrate, not contribute to, a decision making process. The good news is, we can change that. This can become a university educating students to be leaders prepared for a future where equity is a reality, not a special project. This can be a university that doesn't allow the same crisis to regenerate, year after year, stunting our ability to provide quality education and a positive, productive work place. An educational setting that doesn't reflect the realities of a pluralistic culture is not only deficient, it perpetuates discrimination based on gender and race/ethnicity.

A "very small piece of the pie" is simply not enough to sustain any of us. A community, we are starving from the lack of enrichment a strong, vibrant, multicultural presence can offer. Hiring one more woman of color is not enough. Recruiting two more within the next five years, is not enough. Race and gender specific balance is achieved when you don't need a magnifying glass to count the women of color on campus. And when "Double Jeopardy" describes a difficult game you play, not a way of life.