A 50 Year History of Social Diversity
At the University of Michigan

James J. Duderstadt
The Millennium Project
The University of Michigan
NOTE: The quilt on the cover was constructed from T-shirts reflecting the highly diverse student organizations of the University and presented to the Duderstadtts in 1996 to celebrate their presidency.
The University of Michigan was established in 1817 in the village of Detroit by an act of the Northwest Territorial government and financed through the sale of Indian lands granted by the United States Congress. Since it benefited from this territorial land grant, the new university was subject to the Enlightenment themes of the Northwest Ordinance guaranteeing civil rights and religious freedom. Envisioned by the people of the Michigan Territory as truly public, Michigan became the first university in America to successfully resist sectarian control. Buoyed by committed students, faculty, staff, and the citizens of our state, the University of Michigan has consistently been at the forefront of education, grappling with the difficult issues of plurality and promoting equality.

In many ways, it was at the University of Michigan that Thomas Jefferson’s statement of the principles of the Enlightenment in his proposition for the nation, “We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal”, was most fully embraced and realized. Whether characterized by gender, race, religion, socioeconomic background, ethnicity, or nationality—not to mention academic interests or political persuasion—the university has always taken great pride in the diversity of its students, faculty, and programs.

Particularly notable here was the role of Michigan President James Angell in articulating the importance of Michigan’s commitment to provide “an uncommon education for the common man” while challenging the aristocratic notion of leaders of the colonial colleges such as Charles Eliot of Harvard. Angell argued that Americans should be given opportunities to develop talent and character to the fullest. He portrayed the state university as the bulwark against the aristocracy of wealth. However the journey to achieve Angell’s vision of the University’s public purpose did not come easily.

As with most of higher education, the history of diversity at Michigan has been complex and often contradictory. There have been many times when the institution seemed to take a step forward, only to be followed by two steps backward. Michigan was one of the earliest universities to admit African-Americans and women in the late 19th century. At our founding, we attracted students from a broad range of European ethnic backgrounds. In the early 1800s, the population of the state swelled with new immigrants from the rest of the country and across the European continent. It took pride in its large enrollments of international students at a time when the state itself was decidedly insular. By 1860, the Regents referred “with partiality,” to the “list of foreign students drawn thither from every section of our country.” Forty-six percent of our students then came from other states and foreign countries. Today more than one hundred nations are represented at Michigan.

In contrast, our record regarding Native Americans has been disappointing. In 1817, in the treaty of Fort Meigs, local tribes became the first major donors when they ceded 1,920 acres of land for “a college at Detroit.” A month later the Territorial Legislature formed the “university of Michigania,” and accepted the land gift in the college’s name. Today, although the number of Native American students enrolled is very low, they continue to make vital cultural and intellectual contributions to the University.
The first African American students arrived on campus in 1868, without official notice. In the years following Reconstruction, however, discrimination increased. Black students joined together to support each other early in the century and staged restaurant sit-ins in the 1920s. It was not until the 1960s that racial unrest finally exploded into campus-wide concerted action.

Michigan’s history with respect to gender is also very mixed. Michigan was the first large university in America to admit women. At the time, the rest of the nation looked on with a critical eye. Many were certain that the “experiment” would fail. The first women who arrived in 1870 were true pioneers, the objects of intense scrutiny and resentment. For many years, women had separate and unequal access to facilities and organizations. Yet, in the remaining decades of the 19th Century, the University of Michigan provided strong leadership for the nation. Indeed, by 1898, the enrollment of women had increased to the point where they received 53 percent of Michigan’s undergraduate degrees. However, during the early part of the 20th Century, and even more with the returning veterans after World War I, the representation of women in the student body declined significantly. It only began to climb again during the 1970s and 1980s and, for the first time in almost a century, once again exceeded that of men in 1996. During the past several decades, the University took a number of steps to recruit, promote, and support women staff and faculty, modifying University policies to better address their needs. True equality has come slowly, driven by the efforts of many courageous and energetic women.

1960-1970s

The University of Michigan faltered badly in its public purpose of achieving a campus characterized by the diversity of the society it served in the post-WWII years. As minority enrollments languished and racial tensions flared in the 1960s and 1970s, it was student activism that finally stimulated action. Although the University had made efforts to become a more diverse institution, both black and white students, frustrated by the slow movement, organized into the first Black Action Movement (BAM) in 1970, which demanded that the University commit to achieving 10% black enrollments. The administration building was occupied and students boycotted classes. Yet many positive advances came from this outpouring of student solidarity. The number of African American faculty and students on campus increased during the 1970s, new programs were initiated and old programs were funded.

Yet after only a few years, minority enrollments began to fall once again and funding waned by the late 1970s. Two more student movements (BAM II and III) formed in an effort to stimulate the University to once again take a systematic look at the difficult problems of race on campus. While the University renewed its efforts to achieve diversity and the enrollment of underrepresented minorities began to increase, this soon evolved into a largely bureaucratic effort based on affirmative action and equal opportunity policies, and minority enrollments continued to decline. Although there were occasional expressions of concern about the lack of University progress on these fronts, these were not sufficient to reorder University priorities until the late 1980s.

1980s

Throughout the 1980s there were increasing signs of a reoccurrence of racial tensions on several of the more politically active campuses across the country. Both UC Berkeley and Columbia had experienced the first signs of a new generation of student activism along racial lines. By the late 1980s concern about minority affairs had also appeared at Michigan through a movement known as the Free South Africa Coordinating Committee, or FSACC, led by a small group of graduate students in the social sciences. Although the group initially built most of their activism around the case for divestment of University holdings in firms doing business in apartheid South Africa, there were a series of other issues including demands that the University establish Martin Luther King Day as an official University holiday, that it re-evaluate the manner in which tenure was provided to minority faculty, and that it discard the normal admissions requirements such as the use of standardized test scores. Although such activism continued at a fairly vocal level, it was stable and did not escalate until a series of racist events occurred in early 1987. This activism was generally manifested in occasional rallies on the Diag, angry testimony to the
Regents at public comments sessions, or letters to the editor of the Michigan Daily.

Nevertheless, there were other signs that all was not well within the University. The University was subject to occasional attacks from both of the Detroit newspapers about its lack of success in achieving racial diversity. It was clear that the effort to recruit minority students was not a top University priority in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and minority student enrollment declined throughout this period. Furthermore, the number of minority faculty had leveled off and began to decline; indeed, there were losses of key minority faculty throughout the 1980s. This led to a growing sense of frustration on the part of a number of minority faculty and staff.

Early in 1987, student activism shifted from divestment to focus instead on racism as its rallying cry. FSACC was renamed the United Coalition Against Racism, or UCAR, and the rallies on the Diag began to address incidents of racism on campus. Coincidentally, the number of charges of racist incidents began to increase, including the appearance of racist flyers in dormitories and complaints about racist slurs directed against minority students. Needless to say, these charges attracted great attention from the Detroit papers, which had become almost fixated on the subject of racism because of the increasing racial polarization of that city.

1990s

By the late 1980s, it had become apparent that the university had made inadequate progress in its goal to reflect the rich diversity of our nation and our world among its faculty, students and staff. In assessing this situation, the new administration concluded that although the University had approached the challenge of serving an increasingly diverse population with the best of intentions, it simply had not developed and executed a plan capable of achieving sustainable results. More significantly, we believed that achieving our goals for a diverse campus would require a very major change in the institution itself.

It was the long-term strategic focus of our planning that proved to be critical, because universities do not change quickly and easily any more than do the societies of which they are a part. Michigan would have to leave behind many reactive and uncoordinated efforts that had characterized its past and move toward a more strategic approach designed to achieve long-term systemic change. Sacrifices would be necessary as traditional roles and privileges were challenged. In particular, we understood the limitations of focusing only on affirmative action; that is, on access, retention, and representation. The key would be to focus instead on the success of underrepresented minorities on our campus, as students, as faculty, and as leaders. We believed that without deeper, more fundamental institutional change these efforts by themselves would inevitably fail—as they had throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

The challenge was to persuade the university community that there was a real stake for everyone in seizing the moment to chart a more diverse future. People needed to believe that the gains to be achieved through diversity would more than compensate for the necessary sacrifices. The first and most important step was to link diversity and excellence as the two most compel-
Some Actions and Results of the Michigan Mandate by 1996

Student Access and Success
Undergraduate Student Access
   Wade McCree Incentive Scholarship
   King/Chavez/Parks Program
   Summer programs (e.g., DAPCEP)
   College Day visitation for families
   Tuition grants to all Native American students from Michigan.
Special Undergraduate Programs
   Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program
   21st Century Program
   CRLT Programs
   Leadership 2017
   Office of Academic Multicultural Initiatives
Graduate Student Support
   Fully funding minority graduate support
   Rackham Graduate Merit Fellowship Program
Special Programs
   Tapped grass-roots creativity and energy using $1 M/y Presidential Initiatives Funds for competitive proposals from faculty and student groups.

Results
Enrollments:
   83% increase in students of color (to 28%)
   90% increase in underrep min (to 15%)
   57% increase in AA (to 2,715 or 9.1%)
   126% increase of Latinos (to 4.3%)
   100% increase in Native Americans (to 1.1%)
Graduation rates for African Americans highest among public universities.
   UM ranked 27th in nation in minority BA/BS
   8th for M.S. degrees, 7th for PhD degrees
   1st in African American PhDs (non HBCU’s)
Graduate education
   Increased minority fellowships by 118%
   Of 734 Rackham Fellows in 1994, 51% were African American, 29% were Latino
Professional Schools:
   Business: 12% AA, 28% color
   Medicine: 11% AA, 39% color
   Law: 10% AA, 21% color

Faculty
Target of Opportunity Program
Faculty Development (Faculty Awards Program for minority faculty)
Cluster hiring
Creating a welcoming and supportive culture (networks, centers, surveys)
Enlarging candidate pool by increasing PhD enrollments

Results
   +62% for African Americans (128)
   +117% for Latinos (52)
   +75% for Native Americans (7)
   Senior academic leadership (URM): from 14 to 25

Staff
   Demanded accountability in hiring and promotion
   Human Resources and Affirmative Action programs
   Consultation and Conciliation Services

Results
   Top managers: +100% (to 10% of management)
   P&A: +80 (from 449 to 816)

More Generally
   Building University-wide commitments
   Office of Minority Affairs, Vice-Provost for Minority Affairs
   Demanding accountability
   Included in compensation review
   Included in budget review
   Included in appointment review

Leadership
Half of Executiver Officers were African American
   Executive VP Medical Center (Rita Dumas)
   Secretary of University (Harold Johnson)
   VP Research (Homer Neal)
   UM Flint Chancellor Charlie Nelms
   UM Dearborn Chancellor James Renick
   JJD’s Successor was African American (Homer Neal)
Graduation rates of African-American student cohorts six years after initial entry

Number of minority tenured and tenure-track faculty

Number of university minority graduate fellowships

Number of African-American faculty
ling goals before the institution, recognizing that these goals were not only complementary but would be tightly linked in the multicultural society characterizing our nation and the world in the future. As we moved ahead, we began to refer to the plan as The Michigan Mandate: A Strategic Linking of Academic Excellence and Social Diversity.

Over the first two years, hundreds of discussions with groups both on and off campus were held. We reached out to alumni, donors, and civic and political leaders and groups, while meeting with countless student faculty and staff groups. Great care was taken to convey the same message to everyone as a means of establishing credibility and building trust among all constituencies. Meetings were sometimes contentious, often enlightening, but rarely acrimonious. Gradually understanding increased and support grew. Although the plan itself came from the administration, it would be individuals and units that would devise most of the detailed plans for carrying it forward. University publications, administrators’ speeches and meetings, Faculty Senate deliberations, all carried the message: Diversity would become the cornerstone in the University’s efforts to achieve excellence in teaching, research, and service in the multicultural nation and world in which it would exist.

The mission and goals of the Michigan Mandate were stated quite simply: 1) To recognize that diversity and excellence are complementary and compelling goals for the university and to make a firm commitment to their achievement. 2) To commit to the recruitment, support, and success of members of historically under-
represented groups among our students, faculty, staff, and leadership. 3) To build on our campus an environment that sought, nourished, and sustained diversity and pluralism and that valued and respected the dignity and worth of every individual.

Associated with these general goals were more specific objectives:

1) Faculty recruitment and development: To substantially increase the number of tenure-track faculty in each underrepresented minority group; to increase the success of minority faculty in the achievement of professional fulfillment, promotion, and tenure; to increase the number of underrepresented minority faculty in leadership positions.

2) Student recruitment, achievement, and outreach: To achieve increases in the number of entering underrepresented minority students as well as in total underrepresented minority enrollment; to establish and achieve specific minority enrollment targets in all schools and colleges; to increase minority graduation rates; to develop new programs to attract back to campus minority students who have withdrawn from our academic programs; to design new and strengthen existing outreach programs that have demonstrable impact on the pool of minority applicants to undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs.

3) Staff recruitment and development: To focus on the achievement of affirmative action goals in all job categories; to increase the number of underrepresented minorities in key University leadership positions; to strengthen support systems and services for minority staff.

4) Improving the environment for diversity: To foster a culturally diverse environment; to significantly reduce the number of incidents of racism and prejudice on campus; to increase community-wide commitment to diversity and involvement in diversity initiatives among students, faculty, and staff; to broaden the base of diversity initiatives; to assure the compatibility of University policies, procedures, and practice with the goal of a multicultural community; to improve communications and interactions with and among all groups; and to provide more opportunities for minorities to communicate their needs and experiences and to contribute directly to the change process.

A series of carefully focused strategic actions was developed to move the University toward these objectives. These actions were framed by the values and traditions of the University, an understanding of our unique culture characterized by a high degree of faculty and unit freedom and autonomy, and animated by a highly competitive and entrepreneurial spirit. The strategy was both complex and pervasive, involving not only a considerable commitment of resources (e.g., fully funding all financial aid for minority graduate students) but also some highly innovative programs.

To cite just one highly successful example, the University established what was called the Target of Opportunity Program aimed at increasing the number of minority faculty at all ranks. Traditionally, university faculties have been driven by a concern for academic specialization within their respective disciplines. Too often in recent years the University had seen faculty searches that were literally “replacement” searches rather than “enhancement” searches. To achieve the goals of the Michigan Mandate, the University had to free itself from the constraints of this traditional perspective. Therefore, the administration sent out the following message to the academic units: be vigorous and creative in identifying minority teachers/scholars who can enrich the activities of your unit. Do not be limited by concerns relating to narrow specialization; do not be concerned about the availability of a faculty slot within the unit. The principal criterion for the recruitment of a minority faculty member is whether the individual can enhance the department. If so, resources will be made available to recruit that person to the University of Michigan.

By the mid 1990s Michigan could point to significant progress in achieving diversity. The representation of underrepresented minority students, faculty, and staff more than doubled over the decade-long effort. But, perhaps even more significantly, the success of underrepresented minorities at the University improved even more remarkably, with graduation rates rising to the highest level among public universities, promotion and tenure success of minority faculty members becoming comparable to their majority colleagues, and a growing number of appointments of minorities to leadership positions in the University. The campus climate not only became more accepting and supportive of diversi-
ty, but students and faculty began to come to Michigan because of its growing reputation for a diverse campus.

Perhaps most significantly, as the campus became more racially and ethnically diverse, the quality of the students, faculty, and academic programs of the University increased to the highest level in the institution’s history. This latter fact reinforced our contention that the aspirations of diversity and excellence were not only compatible but, in fact, highly correlated. By every measure, the Michigan Mandate was a remarkable success, moving the University beyond the original goals of a more diverse campus.

Even while pursuing the racial diversity goals of the Michigan Mandate, we realized we could not ignore another glaring inequity in campus life. If we meant to embrace diversity in its full meaning, we had to attend to the long-standing concerns of women faculty, students, and staff. Here, once again, it took time—and considerable effort by many women colleagues to educate the administration to the point where we began to understand that the university simply had not succeeded in including and empowering women as full and equal partners in all aspects of its life and leadership.

In faculty hiring and retention, despite the increasing pools of women in many fields, the number of new hires of women had changed only slowly during the late twentieth century in most research universities. In some disciplines such as the physical sciences and engineering, the shortages were particularly acute. We continued to suffer from the “glass ceiling” phenomenon: that is, because of hidden prejudice women were unable to break through to the ranks of senior faculty and administrators, though no formal constraints prohibited their advancement. The proportion of women decreased steadily as one moved up the academic ladder. Additionally, there appeared to be an increasing
tendency to hire women off the tenure track as post-doctoral scholars, lecturers, clinicians, or research scientists. The rigid division among various faculty appointments offered little or no opportunity for these women to move into tenured faculty positions.

Many of our concerns derived from the extreme concentration of women in positions of lower status and power—as students, lower-pay staff, and junior faculty. The most effective lever for change might well be a rapid increase in the number of women holding positions of high status, visibility, and power. This would not only change the balance of power in decision-making, but it would also change the perception of who and what matters in the university. Finally, we needed to bring university policies and practices into better alignment with the needs and concerns of women students in a number of areas including campus safety, student housing, student life, financial aid, and childcare.

To address these challenges, the university developed and executed a second strategic effort known as the Michigan Agenda for Women. While the actions proposed were intended to address the concerns of women students, faculty, and staff, many of them benefited men as well. In developing the Michigan Agenda, we knew that different strategies were necessary for different parts of the university. Academic units varied enormously in the degree to which women participated as faculty, staff, and students. What might work in one area could fail miserably in another. Some fields, such as the physical sciences, had very few women represented among their students and faculty. For them, it was necessary to design and implement a strategy which spanned the entire pipeline, from K-12 outreach to undergraduate and graduate education, to faculty recruiting and development. For others such as the social sciences or law, there already was a strong pool of women students, and the challenge became one of attracting women from this pool into graduate and professional studies and eventually into academe. Still other units such as education and many departments in humanities and sciences had strong participation of women among students and junior faculty, but suffered from low participation in the senior ranks and in leadership roles.

Like the Michigan Mandate, the vision was again both simple yet compelling: that by the year 2000 the university would become the leader among American universities in promoting and achieving the success of women as faculty, students, and staff. Again the president took on a highly personal role in this effort, meeting with hundreds of groups on and off campus, to listen to their concerns and invite their participation in the initiative. Rapidly there was again significant progress on many fronts for women students, faculty, and staff, including the appointment of a number of senior women faculty and administrators as deans and executive officers, improvement in campus safety, and improvement of family care policies and child care resources. In 1988 Michigan appointed its first woman Dean of LS&A, Edie Goldenberg, in 1993 our first Vice Provost for Health Affairs, Rhetaugh Dumas, and in 1997 our first woman provost, Nancy Cantor. Finally, in 2002, the University of Michigan named its first woman president, Mary Sue Coleman.

The University also took steps to eliminate those factors that prevented other groups from participating fully in its activities. For example, we extended our anti-discrimination policies to encompass sexual orientation and extended staff benefits and housing opportunities to same-sex couples. This was a particularly controversial action because it was strongly opposed not only by the religious right but also by several of the University’s Regents. Yet, this was also an issue of equity, deeply frustrating to many faculty, staff, and students, which required attention.

Harold Shapiro had tried on several occasions to persuade the regents to extend its anti-discrimination policies to include the gay community, without success. Finally, with a supportive, albeit short-lived, Demo-
cratic majority among the Regents, we decided to move ahead rapidly to put in the policy while there was still political support, no matter how slim. The anticipated negative reaction was rapid and angry—an attempt by the Legislature to deduct from our appropriation the estimated cost of the same-sex couple benefits (effectively blocked by our constitutional autonomy), a personal phone call to the president from our Republican governor (although it was a call he did not want to make, and he did not insist upon any particular action), and a concerted and successful effort to place two conservative Republican candidates on our Board of Regents in the next election (resulting in the horror of a 4-4 divided board during my last two years as president).

We were determined to defend this action, however, as part of a broader strategy. We had become convinced that the university had both a compelling interest in and responsibility to create a welcoming community, encouraging respect for diversity in all of the characteristics that can be used to describe humankind: age, race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, religious belief, sexual orientation, political beliefs, economic background, geographical background.

2000s

But, of course, this story does not end with the successful achievements of the Michigan Mandate in 1996 when a new president arrived. Beginning first with litigation in Texas (the Hopwood decision) and then successful referendum efforts in California and Washington, conservative groups such as the Center for Individual Rights began to attack policies such as the use of race in college admissions. Perhaps because of Michigan’s success with the Michigan Mandate, the University soon became a target for those groups seeking to reverse affirmative action with two cases filed against the University in 1997, one challenging the admissions policies of undergraduates, and the second challenging those in our Law School.

Even as the Bollinger administration launched the expensive legal battle to defend the use of race in college admissions, it discontinued most of the effective policies and programs created by the Michigan Mandate, in part out of concern these might complicate the litigation battle, but also because such action was no longer a priority of the new administration. Indeed, even the mention of the Michigan Mandate became a forbidden phrase in its effort to erase the past.

As a consequence, the enrollment of underrepresented minorities began almost immediately to drop at Michigan, eventually declining from 1997 to 2010 by over 50% for African American students overall and by as much as 80% in some of UM’s professional schools. In 1996 half (5) of the Executive Officers were minority, but by the early 2000s, only one out of 11 executive officers and one out of 18 deans in the new administration were underrepresented minorities.

Although the 2003 Supreme Court decisions were split, supporting the use of race in the admissions policies of our Law School and opposing the formula-based approach used for undergraduate admissions, the most important ruling in both cases stated, in the words of the court: “Student body diversity is a compelling state interest that can justify the use of race in university admission. When race-based action is necessary to further a compelling governmental interest, such action does not violate the constitutional guarantee of equal protection so long as the narrow-tailoring requirement is also
The decline and fall of UM’s racial diversity with a new administration in the late 1990s.

Changes in minority enrollments over past four decades
A comparison of Michigan with other peer institutions demonstrates the catastrophic decline in minority enrollments that began at UM in the late 1990s and continued for the next 15 years. (Atlantic, 2014)

satisfied.” Hence, the Supreme Court decisions on the Michigan cases reaffirmed those policies and practices long used by most selective colleges and universities throughout the United States. But more significantly, it reaffirmed both the importance of diversity in higher education and established the principle that, appropriately designed, race could be used as a factor in programs aimed at achieving diverse campuses. Hence the battle was won, the principle was firmly established by the highest court of the land. We had won. Or so we thought…

While an important battle had been won with the Supreme Court ruling, we soon learned that the war for diversity in higher education was far from over. As university lawyers across the nation began to ponder over the court ruling, they persuaded their institutions to accept a very narrow interpretation of the Supreme Court decisions as the safest course. Actually, this pattern began to appear at the University of Michigan during the early stages of the litigation process. Although the Supreme Court decision supported the use of affirmative action (if “narrowly tailored”), many universities began to back away from programs aimed at recruitment, financial aid, and academic enrichment for minority undergraduate students, either eliminating entirely such programs or opening them up to non-minority students from low-income households. Threats of further litigation by conservative groups have intensified this retraction.

After the years of effort in building successful programs such as the Michigan Mandate and defending the importance of diversity in higher education all the way to the Supreme Court, the tentative nature of the decision (“narrowly tailored race considerations”) probably caused more harm than good by unleashing the lawyers on our campuses to block successful efforts to broaden educational opportunity and advance the cause of social justice. Ironically, the uses of affirmative action (and programs that involved racial preference) actually were not high on the agenda of the Michigan Mandate. Rather our success involved commitment, engagement, and accountability for results.

Minority enrollments continued to decline at Michigan throughout the 2010s as the new priority became attracting large numbers of wealthy out-of-state students capable of paying high tuition and generating the revenue to compensate for the loss of state support. No effort was made to resume those programs that had been so successful in the 1990s under the Michigan Mandate. As the charts above indicate, Michigan’s decline in diversity ranked among the most precipitous among its peers during this period.

In 2006, Michigan voters approved a constitutional referendum similar to that of California’s Proposition 209 to ban the use of affirmative action in public institutions. Although most of the decline in minority enrollments had occurred by this time, this referendum prevented Michigan colleges and universities from us-
ing even the narrowly tailored prescriptions of the 2003 Supreme Court decision, and the decline in the enrollments of underrepresented minority students, erasing most of the gains with the Michigan Mandate strategy in the 1990s and returning this measure of diversity to the levels of the 1960s. More specifically (as shown in several charts depicting the enrollments of underrepresented minorities over the past 40 years, total African American enrollments have dropped from a peak of 9.3% in 1996 to 4.8% in 2015, and the enrollments in key professional schools such as Medicine, Law, and Business dropped from 10%-12% to less than 3%.

While the constitutional ban on the use of affirmative action resulting from a public referendum in 2006 certainly hindered the recruiting of minority students, the most precipitous drop in enrollments began long before the state ban on affirmative action. It clearly began when a new administration halted all of the programs of the Michigan Mandate, and then following the 2003 Supreme Court decision, when it throttled back pressures on the deans and directors on achieving diversity. While diversity was certainly given lip service during the 2000s through a massive public relations effort, it most assuredly was not given priority for specific action or strong accountability. Instead the priority was given to a rapid expansion of students from affluent backgrounds capable of paying the high tuition necessary to generate revenues to compensate for the loss of state support. The University set aside its longstanding priority of “providing an uncommon education for the common man”, instead attracting the “uncommonly rich” students, which had major impact on its economic diversity.

### Economic Diversity

Throughout the last decade, there has been an increasing concern that many public universities, particularly flagship research universities such as Michigan, were also losing the economic diversity that characterized their public purpose. A 2010 report by the Education Trust, Opportunity Adrift, stated: “Founded to provide ‘an uncommon education for the common man’, many flagship universities have drifted away from their historic mission”. (Haycock, 2010) Analyzing measures such as access for low-income and underrepresented minority students and the relative success of these groups in earning diplomas, they found that the University of Michigan and the University of Indiana received the lowest overall marks for both progress and current performance among all major public universities in these measures of public purpose. For example, Michigan’s percentage of Pell Grant students in its freshman class (the most common measure of access for low-income students) has fallen to 11%, well below most other public universities including Michigan State (23%) and the University of California (32%); it even lags behind several of the most expensive private universities including Harvard, MIT, and Stanford. (Campbell, 2015)

Yet, another important measure of the degree to which public universities fulfill their important mission of providing educational opportunities to a broad range of society is the degree to which they enroll first generation college students. It is disturbing that today less than 6% of the University’s enrollment consists of such students, compared to 16% by its public university peers and 14% of the enrollments of highly selective private universities.

Of comparable concern is the significant drop in enrollments of underrepresented minority students, dropping from 17% of undergraduates in 1996 (including

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<th>2015</th>
<th>Change</th>
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<tr>
<td>African Am</td>
<td>2,824</td>
<td>1,801</td>
<td>-36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>1,473</td>
<td>2,018</td>
<td>+37%</td>
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<td>Native Am</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>-60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underrep</td>
<td>4,524</td>
<td>3,921</td>
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<th>1996</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>Change</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African Am</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>-48%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.25%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asian Am</td>
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<td>13.5%</td>
<td>+13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underrep</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>-32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh Afric</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
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The drop in underrepresented minorities over the past 20 years.
Michigan’s ranking in Pell Grant students lags badly behind other public universities. From its own internal funds. But it is also due to the decision made in the late 1990s to compensate for the loss of state support by dramatically increasing enrollments with a bias toward out-of-state students who generate new revenues with high tuition. Clearly students who can pay annual tuition-room & board at the out-of-state rates of $60,000 come from highly affluent families. Indeed, the average family income of Michigan undergraduates now exceeds $150,000 per year, more characteristic of the “top 1%” than the “common man”.

Lessons Learned

It seems appropriate to end this chapter on the University’s public purpose with several conclusions: First, we must always keep in mind that the University of
Michigan is a public university, created as the first such institution in a young nation, evolving in size, breadth, and quality, but always committed to a truly public purpose of “providing an uncommon education for the common man”.

Today there is an even more urgent reason why the University must once again elevate diversity to a higher priority as it looks toward the future: the rapidly changing demographics of America. The populations of most developed nations in North America, Europe, and Asia are aging rapidly. In our nation today there are already more people over the age of 65 than teenagers, and this situation will continue for decades to come. Over the next decade the percentage of the population over 60 will grow to over 30% to 40% in the United States, and this aging population will increasingly shift social priorities to the needs and desires of the elderly (e.g., retirement security, health care, safety from crime and terrorism, and tax relief) rather than investing in the future through education and innovation.

However, the United States stands apart from the aging populations of Europe and Asia for one very important reason: our openness to immigration. In fact, over the past decade, immigration from Latin America and Asia contributed 53% of the growth in the United States population, exceeding that provided by births (National Information Center, 2006). This is expected to drive continued growth in our population from 300 million today to over 450 million by 2050, augmenting our aging population and stimulating productivity with new and young workers. As it has been so many times in its past, America is once again becoming a nation of immigrants, benefiting greatly from their energy, talents, and hope, even as such mobility changes the ethnic character of our nation. By the year 2030 current projections suggest that approximately 40% of Americans will be members of minority groups; by mid-century we will cease to have any single majority ethnic group. By any measure, we are evolving rapidly into a truly multicultural society with a remarkable cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity. This demographic revolution is taking place within the context of the continuing globalization of the world’s economy and society that requires Americans to interact with people from every country of the world.

The increasing diversity of the American population with respect to culture, race, ethnicity, and nationality is both one of our greatest strengths and most serious challenges as a nation. A diverse population gives us great vitality. However, the challenge of increasing diversity is complicated by social and economic factors. Today, far from evolving toward one America, our society continues to be hindered by the segregation and non-assimilation of minority and immigrant cultures. If we do not create a nation that mobilizes the talents of all of our citizens, we are destined for a diminished role in the global community and increased social turbulence. Higher education plays an important role both in identifying and developing this talent. And the University of Michigan faces once again a major challenge in
reclaiming its leadership in building a diverse campus. Yet there is ample evidence today from states such as California and Texas that a restriction to race-neutral policies will drastically limit the ability of elite programs and institutions to reflect diversity in any meaningful way. In fact, many of the approaches used by the University of California in the wake of Proposition 209 have been considered by Michigan. The UC reached out to low-performing high schools, making it possible for students achieving at top levels in these schools would not be penalized in admission decisions for the weaknesses of their schools. They changed its standardized test requirements to put primary emphasis on achievements tests rather than aptitude tests. They sought to look more carefully at applicants to identify those who had overcome serious obstacles in preparing themselves for higher education. They worked with K-12 schools and community colleges to strengthen the preparation for under represented minority students. They launched a major effort to let students, parents, and counselors know about the opportunities UC provided in financial aid, broadened applications, and preparation for attendance.

Yet, as former UC President Richard Atkinson and his colleagues concluded, “Today if we look at enrollment overall, racial and ethnic diversity at the University of California is in great trouble. A decade later, the legacy of Proposition 209 is clear. Despite enormous efforts, we have failed badly to achieve the goal of a student body that encompasses California’s diverse population. The evidence suggests that—without attention to race and ethnicity—this goal will ultimately recede into impossibility.” Today the University of Michigan provides further evidence from the collapse of its minority enrollments of the difficulty of achieving a diverse campus in the wake of Proposal 2.

However, when one turns to economic diversity, the University of California provides a sharp contrast to the University of Michigan. Today 42% of all UC undergraduates receive Pell Grants, compared to 15% at UM. 46% of UC’s entering California residents come from families where neither parent graduated from college, compared to 5% for UM. Approximately 25% of undergraduates come from underrepresented minority populations (African American, Chicano/Latino, and Native American) compared to 10% at UM (although this later comparison is due in part to the very large growth in the Latino population of California). Key to the UC’s success is achieving this remarkable economic diversity have been two key factors: i) the important of the state’s Cal Grant program providing need-based financial aid that essentially doubles the support of Pell Grant eligible students, and ii) a strategic relationship between California’s community colleges and the University of California, carefully articulated in the California master plan, that enables their associated degrees to serve as stepping stones from secondary school into baccalaureate programs at UC. In sharp contrast, the State of Michigan during the 2000s eliminated ALL state need-based financial aid program in Michigan.
granted Michigan’s community colleges allows them to focus more on providing more lucrative adult education programs in their communities rather than serving as “junior colleges” to prepare students for admission to university programs.

To be sure, rising tuition levels in Michigan’s public universities have also been a factor. However this has not been the fault of higher education in the state, since there is strong evidence that the actual cost of its educational programs has increased only at the inflation rate. Instead, the real blame for the increasing costs seen by parents must fall on the State of Michigan, which has dramatically cut its support of higher education. In fact, a chart comparing state appropriations with University tuition and fees demonstrates that almost all of the increase in the costs faced by students and parents has been driven by the erosion of the state subsidy through appropriations. Hence restoring the University’s economic diversity will require action along several fronts:

Of highest immediate priority is restoring a significant need-based financial aid program at the state level capable of augmenting the modest Pell Grants received by low income students to enable them to attend college. Next, there needs to be serious effort to better define the mission of the state’s community colleges in preparing students for further university education and developing appropriate articulation agreements to support this transition. Finally, it is absolutely essential to the future of the State of Michigan and the welfare of its people that it begin to restore adequate support for higher education. Michigan’s ranking in the bottom 10% in its ranking of state support for higher education is not only embarrassing but also indicative of why the state’s economic performance today and in the future will similarly lag the rest of the nation.

Hence restoring the University’s diversity will require not only a serious restructuring of Michigan’s financial strategies, but even more important, a renewed commitment to the fundamental public purpose that has guided the University for almost two centuries. While the University of Michigan’s concerted effort to generate support from other patrons, particularly through private giving and sponsored research, it simply must realize that these will never be sufficient to support a world-class university of this size, breadth, or impact. Without substantial public support, it is unrealistic to expect that public universities can fulfill their public purpose.

The majority of both in-state and out-of-state UM Freshman now come from families with incomes greater than $150,000.
Hence the highest priority should be to re-engage with the people of Michigan to convince them of the importance of investing in public higher education and unleashing the constraints that prevent higher education from serving all of the people of this state. This must become a primary responsibility of not only the leadership of the University, but its Regents, faculty, students, staff, alumni, and those Michigan citizens who depend so heavily on the services provided by one of the great universities of the world.

Returning again to President Atkinson’s analysis, he suggests “We need a strategy that recognizes the continuing corrosive force of racial inequality but does not stop there. We need a strategy grounded in the broad American tradition of opportunity because opportunity is a value that Americans understand and support. We need a strategy that makes it clear that our society has a stake in ensuring that every American has an opportunity to succeed—and every American, in turn, has a stake in our society. Race still matters. Yet we need to move toward another kind of affirmative action, one in which the emphasis is on opportunity and the goal is educational equity in the broadest possible sense. The ultimate test of a democracy is its willingness to do whatever it takes to create the aristocracy of talent that Thomas Jefferson saw as indispensable to a free society. It is a test we cannot afford to fail.”

The Road Ahead

Perhaps we need a bolder approach, similar to that when in 1862 President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act to create the land-grant colleges to serve both the working class and build an industrial nation. Or perhaps better yet, when President Roosevelt signed the G.I. Bill in 1944 or President Johnson signed the Higher Education Act in 1965. In this spirit, then, consider the following three recommendations:

Learn Grants for the Millennium Generation

Many disadvantaged students (and parents) really do not see higher education as an option open to them, but rather as a privilege for the more affluent. As a result, these students do not have the incentive to perform well in K-12 (nor do their parents have the incentive to support them), hence falling behind early or dropping out of the college-bound ranks. To provide strong incentives, the idea would be to provide EVERY student with a “529 college savings account”, a “Learn-Grant”, when they begin kindergarten. Although this account would be owned by the students, its funds could only be used for postsecondary education upon the successful completion of a high school college-preparatory program. Each year students (and their parents) would receive a statement of the accumulation in their account, with a reminder that this is their money, but it can only be used for their college education (or other postsecondary education). An initial contribution of, say, $10,000 (say, a $5,000 federal grant with a state $5,000 match) would accumulate over their K-12 education to an amount that when coupled with other financial aid would likely be sufficient for their college education at a public college or university.

Beyond serving as an important source of financial aid, the Learn Grants would in themselves be a critical incentive for succeeding in K-12 and preparing for a college education. The program might be funded from any of a number of sources, e.g., from a federal plus state match, much of the federal revenue coming from the auction of the digital spectrum. Learn Grants would be provided to all students when entering K-12 (in order to earn broad political support) and could be augmented with additional contributions from public, private, or parental sources during their pre-college years. As to cost, if we assume roughly 4.5 million children enter K-12 each year (the estimate for 2010), then at $10,000 per student, this would cost $40 billion annually ($20 billion each to the states and the federal government). While such a sum is, in fact, immense, it is about the cost of one year of K-12 education (or college education, on the average). It also should be compared to other public expenditures (Medicaid/Medicare, corrections, defense, and even student financial aid). From this broader perspective, it really doesn’t seem excessive when viewed as an investment in the future of the nation.

Building a Society of Learning through a National Commitment to Lifelong Learning

The nation would commit itself to the goal of pro-
viding universal access to lifelong learning opportuni-
ties to all its citizens, thereby enabling participation in
the world’s most advanced knowledge and learning so-
ciety. While the ability to take advantage of educational
opportunity always depends on the need, aptitude, as-
pirations, and motivation of the student, it should not
depend on one’s socioeconomic status. Access to life-
long learning opportunities should be a CIVIL RIGHT
for all rather than a privilege for the few if the nation
is to achieve prosperity, security, and social well being
in the global, knowledge- and value-based economy of
the 21st century. Perhaps no other recommendation, if
implemented, would drive a greater transformation in
higher education in America, changing very dramati-
cally whom it serves, how it is financed, and how it is
provided. It would clearly transform higher education
into a resource capable of serving a 21st century nation
in a global, knowledge economy.

A Final Appeal to “Us”…the “Me” Generation

When we joined the University of Michigan com-
munity in the late 1960s, our parents’ generation was in
the final stages of a massive effort to provide educa-
tional opportunities for all Americans. Returning veterans
funded through the GI bill had doubled college enroll-
ments, particularly at large public universities such as
Michigan. The post-WWII research strategy developed
by the federal government was transforming flagship
institutions such as Michigan into research universities
responsible for most of the nation’s basic research. The
Truman Commission had proposed that all Americans
should have the opportunity of a college education,
and California responded with its Master Plan, which
would expand the opportunities for providing “an un-
common education for the common man” at great pub-
lic universities such as the University of Michigan.

Our nation—and, indeed, the world—benefited greatly
from these efforts both to provide the educational op-
portunity and new knowledge necessary for economic
prosperity, social well being, and national security. We
saw spectacular achievements such as sending men to
the Moon, decoding the human genome, and, of course,
creating the Internet and the digital age. Although our
generation of baby boomers benefited greatly from the
commitments of the “Greatest Generation”, our priori-
ties in the 1960s lay elsewhere—protesting the war in
Vietnam, fighting for civil rights, saving the environ-
ment, and, of course challenging the establishment.

Yet, fast-forwarding to today, fifty years later, our
generation has clearly failed to embrace the commit-
ments made by our parents to educational opportunity.
The quality of our primary and secondary schools lags
many other nations as K-12 teaching has been trans-
formed into a blue-collar profession. Over the past
decade, state support of our public universities has
dropped by roughly 35%, with the University of Michi-
gan regarded as the poster child as its state appropria-
tions dropped from 80% of our academic budget in
1960 to less than 8% in 2015. Perhaps most telling of
all, are the extraordinary inequities characterizing edu-
cational opportunity today. As one of our colleagues
has put it: “If you are poor and smart, today you have
only a one-in-ten chance of obtaining a college degree.
In contrast, if you are dumb and rich, your odds rise to
nine-in-ten!” Something has gone terribly wrong!

Both the tragedy and irony of this situation flows
from the realization that today our world has entered
a period of rapid and profound economic, social, and
political transformation driven by knowledge and in-
novation. It has become increasingly apparent that the
strength, prosperity, and welfare of region or nation
in a global knowledge economy will demand a highly
educated citizenry enabled by development of a strong
system of education at all levels. It will also require in-
tstitutions with the ability to discover new knowledge,
develop innovative applications of these discoveries,
and transfer them into the marketplace through entre-
preneurial activities.

Now more than ever, people see education as their
hope for leading meaningful and fulfilling lives. Just
as a high school diploma became the passport to par-
ticipation in the industrial age, today, a century later, a
college education has become the requirement for eco-
nomic security in the age of knowledge. Furthermore,
with the ever-expanding knowledge base of many
fields, along with the longer life span and working
careers of our aging population, the need for intellec-
tual retooling will become even more significant. Even
those with advanced degrees will soon find that their
continued employability requires lifelong learning.

Education in America has been particularly respon-
sive to the changing needs of society during early periods of major transformation, e.g., the transition from a frontier to an agrarian society, then to an industrial society, through the Cold War tensions, and to today’s global, knowledge-driven economy. As our society changed, so too did the necessary skills and knowledge of our citizens: from growing to making, from making to serving, from serving to creating, and today from creating to innovating. With each social transformation, an increasingly sophisticated world required a higher level of cognitive ability, from manual skills to knowledge management, analysis to synthesis, reductionism to the integration of knowledge, invention to research, and today innovation, and entrepreneurship.

So what can our generation do, the “me” generation—who as students protested during the 1960s and 1970s, demanded less government and lower taxes in the 1980s and 1990s, and today are embracing the “Let’s eat dessert first since life is uncertain!” attitude even while denying the impact that their way of life poses to future generations—to address these challenges, much as our parents and our ancestors did for us? Perhaps it is time as we enter our “golden years” that we finally step forward to accept a greater degree of generational responsibility for the educational opportunities that we provide our descendants. Perhaps it is time that we use our influence, our wisdom, and for many, our considerable wealth, to make our own bold commitments for the educational resources that will be needed by future generations.

Today a rapidly changing world demands a new level of knowledge, skills, and abilities on the part of our citizens. Just as in earlier critical moments in our nation’s history when its prosperity and security was achieved through broadening and enhancing educational opportunity, it is time once again to seek a bold expansion of educational opportunity. But this time we should set as the goal providing all American citizens with universal access to lifelong learning opportunities, thereby enabling participation in the world’s most advanced knowledge and learning society.

Let us suggest that perhaps it should be our generation’s legacy to ensure that our nation accepts a responsibility as a democratic society to provide all of its citizens with the educational, learning, and training opportunities they need and deserve, throughout their lives, thereby enabling both individuals and the nation itself to prosper in an ever more competitive global economy. While the ability to take advantage of educational opportunity will always depend on the need, aptitude, aspirations, and motivation of the student, it should not depend on one’s socioeconomic status. Access to lifelong learning opportunities should be a right for all rather than a privilege for the few if the nation is to achieve prosperity, security, and social well being in the global, knowledge- and value-based economy of the 21st century.

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Duderstadt, James, “Diversity Management in American Universities”, Conference on Diversity Management in German Universities, Berlin, Germany, 2010
Several of the many awards received by the University for its leadership role in achieving diversity
Appendices

1. Michigan Mandate Early History
2. The Michigan Mandate (Original Report)
3. Seven Year Progress Report
4. Ch 7 Diversity, A University for the 21st C
5. Diversity in American Universities
6. 2014 Total Minority Enrollments
7. 2014 School & College Minority Enrollments
The Seeds for Instability

While many look back to the racial tensions and student unrest which erupted on the University of Michigan campus in the spring of 1987 as the trigger event for the institution’s renewed effort to build a multicultural learning community, in fact, the real antecedents traced back to earlier times. Although the University had placed affirmative action issues high on its agenda during the 1970s, it was clear that the University’s focus on this agenda had been distracted by a number of other priorities during the 1980s, not the least of which was the extraordinary erosion in state support and the University’s efforts to deal with this situation. Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s most quantitative indicators of progress of affirmative action objectives were declining—whether it be minority student enrollments or the University’s ability to attract and retain minority faculty. Although there were occasional expressions of concern about the lack of University progress on these fronts, this was not sufficient to reorder University priorities until the late 1980s.

Ongoing Student Activism

Michigan, like many other campuses, experienced ongoing student activism around the issue of divestment in University holdings of companies with a presence in South Africa. Although the University had divested the bulk of its holdings during the mid-1980s in response to state legislation, it had withheld $500,000 worth of such stocks so that it could contest the state action in court in an effort to protect the principle of institutional autonomy. This small holding was sufficient to provide a target for various groups on campus that wished to draw energy from the far more substantive divestment debates occurring on many other campuses—most notably private universities—in an effort to sustain race-related activism in Ann Arbor.

By the late 1980s this had coalesced into a movement known as the Free South Africa Coordinating Committee, or FSACC, led by a small group of graduate students in the social sciences, including Barbara Ramsby, Rod Lindzie, and Daniel Holliman. Although the group built most of their activism around the case for divestment, there were a series of other issues including demands that the University establish Martin Luther King Day as an official University holiday, that it re-evaluate the manner in which tenure was provided to minority faculty, and that it discard the normal admissions requirements such as the use of standardized test scores. Although such activism continued at a fairly vocal level, it was stable and did not escalate until a series of events occurred in early 1987. This activism was generally manifested in occasional rallies on the Diag, angry testimony to the Regents at public comments sessions, or letters to the editor of the Michigan Daily.

Nevertheless, there were other signs that all was not well within the University. The University was subject to occasional attacks from both of the Detroit newspapers about its lack of success in affirmative action. It was clear that the effort to recruit minority students was not a top University priority in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and minority student enrollment declined throughout this period. Furthermore, the number of minority faculty had leveled off and began to decline; indeed, there were losses of key minority faculty throughout the 1980s. This led to a growing sense of frustration on the part of a number of minority faculty (e.g., Professors Alden Morris and Walter Allen).

Appendix A

The Early History of the Michigan Mandate
Office of Minority Affairs

In an effort to deal with this situation, Harold Shapiro and Billy Frye created a new position of Associate Vice President for Academic Affairs to provide leadership in minority student and faculty recruiting and appointed Professor Niara Sudarkasa to this role. Professor Sudarkasa was deeply committed, strong willed, and a strong scholar, but her activities were more effective at the state and national level. Her relationships with faculty and students were limited, and her interactions with the staff tended to be volatile. Compounding the situation was an ongoing turf battle between the Office of Minority Affairs and the Office of Affirmative Action. The Director of Affirmative Action, Virginia Nordby, was seen by the minority community to be focused on women’s rather than minority issues. Further, the personalities of Nordby and Sudarkasa led to frequent conflict.

Despite these factors, Dr. Sudarkasa managed to turn around the decline in minority enrollments, and for the first time in almost a decade, minority enrollments began to slowly rise in 1985 and 1986—albeit at a level far below that of the mid-1970s. Nevertheless, there was continued and growing frustration in the lack of progress in student recruiting and in faculty attrition. Furthermore, there was a clear absence of senior faculty leadership, coupled with a growing sense of frustration on the part of staff. Indeed, it was clear that many staff members were quietly “stirring the pot” behind the scene in order to stir up student activism on a series of issues related to race.

Early Signs of Racial Unrest

Although subsequent investigation provides little evidence of an actual increase in the number of instances of overt racism on campus, it was nevertheless clear that those instances that did occur were receiving somewhat higher visibility. There was increased concern expressed about graffiti on the walls and in the buildings. There was also occasional racial tension among students within the residence halls. Ironically enough, some of the most visible forms of racism occurred in the Michigan Daily itself. Of particular note was an extremely insensitive political cartoon portraying the dangers of shopping in Detroit, illustrating white shoppers being held at gunpoint by a Black student wearing a tee shirt from a Detroit high school. This caused great anger both on the campus and also in the Detroit community. Further, the editorial positions taken by an increasingly radical Daily opinion page staff tended to fan the flames of racism on the campus.

The Role of the Press

The Michigan Daily was not alone in its role in fanning the flames of racial unrest. The University had been subject to a series of hostile attacks by the Detroit Free Press concerning its lack of progress in the affirmative action area. Although the University did not have much to be proud of in this area, the Detroit Free Press articles were particularly provocative and raised many concerns both on and off campus. Added to this was the increasingly hostile stance toward the University taken by the Ann Arbor News. The editor of the Ann Arbor News, Brian Malone, had determined that one of the best ways to sell newspapers was to beat up the University on whatever issues could be found—or contrived. Few opportunities were lost in his efforts to criticize the University.

The media hostility was compounded by the University’s inadequate attention to building and sustaining a competent public relations capacity. Indeed, early in his presidency, Harold Shapiro had combined the University’s communication/public relations activity with the Office of Development. As a result, the entire communications operation was being used primarily to support the fund raising effort associated with the ongoing capital campaign. Hence, it had little capacity to deal with responses to a hostile press, and the University was seriously exposed.

Put it all Together, and What Do You Have? Trouble with a Capital “T”!

In summary, there were many factors that put the University in an extremely vulnerable position with respect to racial unrest by late 1986. Almost a decade of inadequate progress toward affirmative action goals had led to a high degree of frustration among students, faculty, and staff. A hostile press had become accustomed
to attacking the University across a broad front, from in state/out state ratios to tuition to affirmative action. The University had placed a low priority on building an adequate public relations effort, which left it defenseless against attacks from the media.

There were other systemic problems within the University. The absence of any student disciplinary policy had left the University largely defenseless against student misbehavior. The faculty had largely abdicated responsibility, both for the achievement of the University’s affirmative action goals and for the behavior of students more generally. So too, there was poor leadership in key parts of the University. For example, with the loss of Tom Easthope, there was no capacity in the Office of Student Services to deal with student problems as they arose. Throughout Student Services, and particularly in Housing, there was an increasing tendency to attempt to ignore or hide problems or issues when they arose. For example, when some of the first incidents of racist flyers began to occur, these were not brought to the attention of higher authorities in the University. There was a general tendency to attempt to pass the buck up the administrative chain of command on more sensitive issues as they arose. This, coupled with inadequate staff capability and cumbersome regulations for student behavior in the residence halls, led to a situation bound for trouble.

The external environment contributed to the rising tensions on campus. Of particular significance here was the increasing hostility of the Michigan State Legislature. The two principal appropriations committees responsible for higher education were led by Senator William Sederburg, a former Michigan State faculty member, and Representative Morris Hood whose district included Wayne State University. Both Sederburg and Hood were overtly hostile to the University of Michigan and used every opportunity to disadvantage it in the appropriations process. Indeed, there was a complex interaction in which Senator Sederburg would frequently manipulate Representative Hood into a violent attack on the University. These attacks ranged over a series of issues including the perception of rising non-resident enrollments, rising tuition and fees, and an increasing series of attacks on the University for its inadequate efforts in the affirmative action arena. The hostility of the Legislature was compounded by an increasingly passive role taken by Governor James Blanchard as he veered away from higher education as a priority during his second term and instead looked for devices (e.g., the Michigan Education Trust) designed to deflect growing concerns about underfunding of higher education and to keep the universities on the defensive.

However, putting these internal and external factors aside, it is clear that the most significant factor in contributing to the series of instabilities which would set in during early 1986 was the fact that the University was simply “asleep at the wheel.” It had not given high priority to affirmative action activities. It did not have the capacity to sense the growing racial tensions on the campus. And it had not made an adequate investment in developing the resources that would give it the capacity to interact with the external community. The University had become quite vulnerable to a new round of student activism along racial lines.

The National Climate

Throughout 1986 there were increasing signs of racial tension on several of the more politically active campuses across the country. Both Berkeley and Columbia had experienced the first signs of a new generation of student activism along racial lines. There had been actual racial conflict on some campuses, with the most serious incident, resulting in actual physical violence, occurring earlier in the fall at the University of Massachusetts. Hence, there was already strong awareness within the national media and increasingly on the part of student activist groups of the growing racial tensions on the college campuses.

The Birth of the United Coalition Against Racism

Early in 1987, the student activism shifted from divestment to focus instead on racism as its rallying cry. FSACC was renamed the United Coalition Against Racism, or UCAR, and the rallies on the Diag began to address incidents of racism on campus. Coincidentally, the number of charges of racist incidents began to increase, including the appearance of racist flyers in dormitories and complaints about racist slurs directed against minority students. Needless to say, these charges attracted great attention from the Detroit papers, which had be-
Increasing activism concerning UM racial diversity
come almost fixated on the subject of racism because of the increasing racial polarization of that city. So too, both the Michigan Daily and the Ann Arbor News gave headline attention to any charge of a racist incident, whether substantiated or not.

Parenthetically, there does not seem to be any evidence that the number of racial incidents on campus had increased significantly during the late 1980s. However, those instances that did occur—or were claimed to have occurred—attracted far more visibility and became the focal point of student activism. Most of these incidents were associated with the residence halls. Here, once again, the inability—or unwillingness—of residence hall staff to accept responsibility for the handling of these issues in a timely fashion led to much of the difficulty. In effect, the staff of the Office of Student Services effectively isolated the administration of the University from an adequate understanding of or capacity to address these incidents.

The fact that Harold Shapiro was on sabbatical leave and Duderstadt was acting president compounded the difficulties because, as acting president, Duderstadt had little capacity to give strong marching orders to other vice presidents to deal with racial incidents as they were reported. As a result, the University administration had precious little capacity to deal with the growing tensions on the campus.

The Radio Station Incident

Smoldering racial tensions broke into flames in early 1988. The trigger event used by student activists—primarily UCAR—was an incident in which an inexperienced disc jockey on the student-run closed-circuit radio station invited callers to tell their most offensive jokes, and a series of racially and gender offensive jokes were told on the air. Although the incident itself occurred in early January, it was not singled out and brought to the attention of the University until the public comments session of the Regents meeting in late February. This meeting was chaired by Harold Shapiro who had returned briefly from his sabbatical in New York. During the public comments session, UCAR representatives played a tape of the offensive material. The intensely racist and obscene nature of the material shocked all those present at the Regents meeting and triggered strong reaction in the press.

The University responded immediately by shutting down the radio station and launching an investigation into the incident. However, it is also clear that there were broader issues involved. For example, it later became evident that the radio station incident really represented a sophomoric attempt to imitate a similar incident which had occurred several months earlier on a Washington radio station to probe the limits of broadcast freedom. The fact that the radio station broadcast had occurred in early January and was not singled out by activist groups until late February, suggested that the announcement of this incident was a very carefully planned and staged event, designed to get maximum publicity in the media.

The Hood Hearings

Although the radio station is generally singled out as the trigger event in the series of racial protests that would occur throughout the spring of 1988, in truth the most damaging event was a public hearing held on campus by state representative Morris Hood. As noted earlier, Representative Hood chaired the Higher Education Appropriation Committee in the Michigan House of Representatives. He had been hostile toward the University for some time. Therefore, it was natural that student activists aimed at disrupting the University would develop a direct relationship with Hood in an attempt to draw him into their efforts. For some time Hood had been attacking the University on a variety of issues including tuition constraints and non-resident enrollments, egged on to some degree by another hostile legislator, Senator Sederburg.

Representative Hood picked up the new charge of racism associated with the radio station incident with a vengeance and immediately announced that his intent to hold public hearings of his Higher Education Appropriation Committee on the Michigan campus to determine the extent of the racism. Although many were aware of the circus environment this event would create, none of the University’s friends in the state legislature, including in particular Speaker of the House Gary Owen, were willing or capable of talking Hood out of his intent. Furthermore, Governor Blanchard also was unwilling to play any active role in heading this off.
In view of Hood’s powerful position in the Legislature, the University believed it had no choice but to allow Hood and his committee to hold hearings on campus, and hence it could only turn its attention to damage control. The University agreed to allow the hearings to be held in the Michigan Union Ballroom so that a large crowd could attend. Furthermore, in working with the staff of the appropriations subcommittee, it assembled a schedule of testimony before the committee, led off by Harold Shapiro, followed by Virginia Nordby and Henry Johnson.

In his opening remarks, however, Hood took everyone by surprise by stating his belief that the University was a racist institution and that he wanted to hear testimony only from Black students, faculty, and staff. Hence, the agreed-upon agenda went out the window, and instead what ensued was a circus of open-mike criticisms of the University from people with every conceivable axe to grind. Of particular note were a series of vicious personal attacks directed at Harold Shapiro, including actual threats of violence directed toward both Shapiro and his family. Other members of Hood’s appropriations committee sat passively, either unable or unwilling to bring this circus atmosphere under control.

Disruption of Regents Meetings

Throughout much of the year activist groups had been using the public comments of Regents meetings as a focal point for disruption. Because of the widespread press coverage of this portion of Regents meetings, it was ideal for obtaining maximum media coverage for various activist agendas. As the various activist groups became more and more aggressive, they soon found that they could bring significant pressure to bear by packing the actual Regents board room itself, surrounding the Regents table, and intimidating the Regents and others who might wish to talk at public comments through menacing behavior. For this reason, it was decided to shift the March Regents meeting to a larger space, the Michigan League ballroom, where crowd control would be more easily achieved.

Throughout the days leading up to the March Regents meeting and following the Hood hearings, rallies continued on campus led both by UCAR and a new group, known as BAM-III, which portrayed itself as a new Black power coalition intent on reactivating the agenda of the earlier Black Action Movements of the 1970s. This was a somewhat more militant group that proposed a separatist agenda for the University along racial lines. This group played a major role in the disruption of the March Regents meeting.

Midway during the Thursday afternoon meeting, during a break in the proceedings, Black activists proceeded to take over the Regents meeting by seating themselves at the Regents table, disrupting the meeting, and forcing the Regents to shift the meeting elsewhere. As the Regents left the meeting, they were surrounded by a number of activist students who harassed them as they walked across the campus. In an effort to deal with this behavior, Harold Shapiro and several of the Regents agreed to meet with leaders of the BAM-III and UCAR groups. However, this meeting simply provided some of the more radical student leaders with an opportunity to verbally harass Shapiro and members of the Board and build further visibility in the press for their element. Hence, when it became apparent that public theater rather than dialog was the intent of the activist groups, Shapiro adjourned the meeting and stated his willingness to meet at a later point in private.

The Jessie Jackson Visit

Due to widespread media coverage, the events on the Michigan campus were receiving broader national coverage. Hence, it was clear that it was only a matter of time before components off campus were drawn directly into the campus activities. And sure enough, the University soon received word that Jessie Jackson intended to visit the campus to meet with various groups and to try to play a role in negotiating between various activist groups and the University. In retrospect it was learned that activist members had used family connections to communicate directly with Jackson. However, because Jackson was heavily involved in the early stages of his presidential campaign, and Michigan would provide an excellent forum, it was not at all surprising that he would choose to visit Michigan as “a peacemaker.” Although the University would have preferred to have headed off the Jackson visit, it had little choice but to accept his visit to the campus. The University
had less than twenty-four hours notice of the timing of the Jackson visit, and thus there was little that could be done to head it off.

Jackson arrived on Sunday afternoon and spent much of Sunday night meeting with a number of activist groups, both on campus and off. By this time student leadership had managed to activate a number of community groups both within Ann Arbor and the city of Detroit, and many of these were involved in discussions with Jackson. Early the next morning the President’s Office received notice that Jackson wished to meet with Harold Shapiro at 10:00 a.m. There was no indication as to the nature of this meeting. Harold Shapiro agreed to meet with Jackson. Duderstadt suggested he and Dean John D’Arms join Shapiro in the meeting just in case there was a broader agenda.

This was a fortunate decision because when Jackson showed up, he was accompanied by a dozen representatives from various groups, including a number of individuals from off-campus. He was also accompanied by a large press contingent who were fully prepared to camp outside the door of the President’s Conference Room to report on the meeting. Jackson and those who accompanied him then moved into the President’s Conference Room to meet with Shapiro, D’Arms, and Duderstadt.

Jackson began by announcing that he wanted to negotiate for the various groups represented by his entourage. His initial goal was to force the University to agree to a target of 24% Black enrollment within five years—24% being the percentage for southeastern Michigan. He then went around the table and asked each member of his group to state what their highest priority demand was of the University. For example, the Black Action Movement indicated that their highest priority demand was for $35,000 for the Black Student Union. UCAR demanded the establishment of an Office of Minority Affairs “with an independent budget”. A Black faculty member demanded funds to support his personal research. And so on, running through the specific demands of each group.

Following this opening set of demands, there ensued was a very tense set of negotiations throughout the remainder of the morning, through lunch, and into the afternoon. At periodic intervals during the meeting, Jackson would move into the adjacent room for off-line comments with Harold and then return to the meeting. During one of these occasions he was joined by Elliot Hall, a prominent Detroit attorney, and father of Lannis Hall, one of the student leaders involved in the UCAR movement (and probably the link that brought Jackson to campus.)

The discussion around the table was a difficult one. Harold Shapiro was exhausted throughout much of marathon session due to the overload of the preceding weeks. Duderstadt and D’Arms had to carry much of the load. The discussion was particularly difficult because it was clear that many of the groups around the table were primarily after their own special interests—including several of the faculty members. Jackson was fully prepared to stay as long as it would take to wear the University leadership down.
But here the University had one major advantage: Jackson had scheduled a major rally in Hill Auditorium at 4:00 p.m. which would be covered by the national media. Duderstadt and D’Arms knew that Jackson had to come out of the negotiations with some visible results to hold up at this meeting, if he was to maintain his credibility as a peacemaker/negotiator. Hence, Duderstadt and D’Arms developed a strategy to hold out for a more reasonable agreement and hope that time would work for them. As the time of the Hill Auditorium rally approached, Duderstadt and D’Arms took the lead in preparing a draft agreement and making certain that the language was worded in such a way that it did not commit the University in specific numbers, as had the BAM I agreements in the early 1970s (the 10% Black enrollment agreement of the 1970s).

For example, they insisted on including the phrase, “aspiration” for proportionate representation consistent with federal policies rather than specific numbers. As it became apparent that the University was not going to agree to specific numerical targets, a number of members of Jackson’s entourage began to object. However, Jackson realized that it was important that he have some agreement, and therefore he told them that it was the best they could get under the circumstances and that they should accept it. The eventual agreement was known as the Six Point Plan since it had six basic elements including:

1. An agreement to establish a Vice Provost for Minority Affairs with an office and a budget;
2. $35,000 of annual support for the Black Student Union;
3. Support funds for minority faculty development;
4. The establishment of specific plans and targets for each component of the University;
5. The development of a racial harassment policy
6. The establishment of an advisory committee on minority affairs to work with the president of the University.

The agreement began with a carefully worded sentence drafted by Duderstadt and D’Arms to reflect the aspiration of the University to move toward the same proportionate representation targets characterizing national affirmative action policies.

Shortly before 4:00 the group adjourned and Jackson and Shapiro, surrounded by reporters and cameras, walked over to Hill Auditorium. Hill Auditorium was packed with large numbers of students and other onlookers struggling to get inside the building. On the stage of Hill Auditorium were dozens of groups and individuals, representing much of the Black leadership of southeastern Michigan along with selected members of the University’s Board of Regents. Harold Shapiro spoke first and described the agreement so that Jackson would not have the opportunity to distort it in his own presentation. Jackson’s own presentation was more a sermon than an address, lasting almost an hour, and rambling through his standard themes. Indeed, he eventually ended up exciting the crowd with slogans such as “up with hope, down with dope.” Afterwards he swept off the campus and on to his next set of public appearances associated with his presidential campaign.

President Shapiro’s Decision to Leave

The events of the winter term—the Hood hearings on campus, the disruption of the Regents meeting, and the Jackson visit—had already put great pressure on President Shapiro. The Shapiros had just returned from a sabbatical leave and were still readjusting to campus life. The personal attacks were particularly unfair, since Shapiro had long had a deep commitment to equity and social justice. Yet, despite his efforts, several of the activist groups aimed much of their anger at the leadership of the University in their attempt to gain visibility for their agenda.

Earlier in the year Shapiro had been approached by Princeton University, first about the possible leadership of the Institute for Advanced Studies and then concerning the presidency of the university itself. He had responded on both occasions that he was not interested in leaving the University of Michigan. However, the series of events during early 1988, including the unfair personal attacks by activist groups, became increasingly burdensome. Therefore, when Princeton approached once again later in the spring, Shapiro agreed to begin discussions with them and eventually reached agreement to become President of Princeton University. In late April, shortly before University Commencement,
Shapiro informed the Regents and Executive Officers of the University of his intent to leave. This was announced shortly before University Commencement.

Some Observations

Once again, certain themes are apparent from the University’s experience during this difficult period. The University was clearly unprepared to cope with this new outbreak of student activism and campus disruption. There was inadequate involvement of staff on campus capable—or more to the point, willing—to become involved; there was inadequate capability to deal with the media; there was a marked absence of linkages to various external communities who might have helped, particularly to the Black community; and there was a lack of teamwork that could link leadership of the University together to deal with such a crisis.

What were the trigger events for the activism and disruption? To be sure, there were the racial incidences themselves. Here it should be noted that while some of these did occur and were due no doubt to the racism which more generally characterizes American society, there also was some evidence that several of the racial incidents, such as the distribution of racist flyers, were actually planted by the activist groups themselves. Furthermore, the timing for bringing to the University’s attention the radio station incident, occurring as it did almost six weeks after the incident itself, indicated that this too was used in a highly opportunistic fashion to disrupt the University.

Nevertheless, it was also clear that these incidents and the way that they were portrayed by groups in and of themselves were not the real events that destabilized the University. Rather, if one had to point to a single incident it would be the hearings held by Representative Hood on campus. These hearings, which took on a McCarthyesque character, victimized the campus and its leadership while triggering enormous media attention. The damage done by this legislative interference in the affairs of the University was very deep and demonstrates in a rather convincing fashion the havoc that irresponsible government officials can cause to the fragile nature of a university.

The Jesse Jackson visit, while disruptive and damaging to the University as a media event, albeit helpful to “candidate” Jackson, did serve two useful purposes. It provided a certain catharsis for the University community, and it pulled together the various activist groups under a single umbrella so that the University could interact with them more effectively.
Listening and Learning...
The Six Point Plan

During the weeks following the traumatic events of March, the University campus was relatively quiet. Although there continued to be a good deal of sabre-rattling by various activist groups, jockeying among themselves for power and visibility, there were no further events that pulled together these coalitions. Once again they began to diverge as a consequence of their widely varying agendas. This gave the University an opportunity to begin to consider in more detail the implications of the Six Point Plan, agreed to publicly in the Jackson negotiations, and to develop a longer term strategy.

With Harold Shapiro's announcement of his decision to leave the University it was clear that the mantle of leadership for these issues passed immediately to Duderstadt as Provost of the University. To be sure this was made somewhat more complex by Shapiro's decision to stay on as a lame-duck president until the end of 1988 before moving to Princeton. This gave Duderstadt the very complex challenge of providing adequately strong leadership from behind the scenes as Provost of the University.

The first order of business was to fulfill the University's obligations under the Six Point Plan agreement. A key item was completing the search for the new Vice Provost for Minority Affairs. This was an extremely difficult search because it had to deal with a very complex set of political forces—from the perspective of student activists, other minority communities, faculty perception, and so forth. Duderstadt decided to handle the search by personally chairing the search committee. He selected a committee designed to have maximum credibility to the broader University community and proceeded to move ahead with a series of early morning breakfast meetings on a weekly basis throughout the search process.

It was clear from the very early stage that the list of candidates with the necessary credibility to all constituencies was extremely limited. Indeed, one candidate stood out from the beginning, Professor Charles Moody of the School of Education, who combined the necessary credibility with the various student groups along with the external minority communities through his leadership in affirmative action issues related to K-12 education. Furthermore, Moody had a close relationship with Black leadership at the national level. Hence, the search moved quickly and resulted in the selection of Moody as the new Vice Provost for Minority Affairs.

The second issue of major concern was the lack of credibility of the Director of Affirmative Action, Virginia Nordby, with broad elements of the Black community. The hostility between Nordby and Niara Sudarkasa was well known. In fact, Nordby was blamed by the Black community for many of its own frustrations. It became clear that a change was necessary, and Duderstadt undertook the difficult task of negotiating first with Shapiro and then with interim president Robben Fleming to find an appropriate and politically acceptable mechanism to allow new leadership for the Office of Affirmative Action. Other aspects of the Six Point Plan were somewhat easier to handle. The President's Advisory Committee on Minority Affairs was deferred for implementation until the fall. A Faculty Development Fund was implemented to assist in minority faculty development and retention, and the Graduate School was assigned the lead role in providing necessary support to minority faculty.

Despite these actions, it was clear that the University was still very vulnerable to instabilities ignited from time to time by the politics swirling about the agendas of various groups of activists. UCAR continued its effort to expand its power base and kept returning to a long list of demands they had put before the University at an earlier stage. This list was essentially identical to similar lists that were put in front of a number of other universities as part of a nationwide effort. It included a number of intentionally extreme proposals such as calling for the granting of immediate tenure to all Black faculty, the movement to an open admissions policy for students of color, and so forth.

In the face of this continuing activism, it became clear that the key challenge before the University was to somehow regain control of the agenda. That is, the University had to take a number of steps so that it began to define the agenda and the issues for debate in the months ahead. This task was particularly difficult since Shapiro was clearly viewed as a lame duck president, and hence any leadership would have to be provided from the Provost's office. It also meant that other executive officers would have to be brought into alignment
with the strategy without the benefit of “presidential authority.”

Finally, it was also clear that the University did not have an infrastructure in place needed for this effort. The public relations staff was essentially non-existent; the staff in student services, particularly Housing, was not only of marginal competence but actually working at cross-purposes to the University administration, and there were inadequate communication links with the leadership of the Black communities in southeastern Michigan. The challenge, therefore, was to develop and put into place an effective strategy to regain control of the agenda and to begin to move ahead with a long-term strategic plan, but to do it from a “behind-the-scenes” chief executive officer sitting in the Provost’s Office.

Executive Officer Retreats

The first step was to gain a better understanding of what the real issues were. To this end, Duderstadt arranged a series of Executive Officer retreats involving all of the executive officers of the University and then eventually broadening to include the deans. At the outset, facilitators were brought in such as Bailey Johnson of the University of Massachusetts and Mark Chesler, of the University’s Center for Conflict Resolution. These day-long retreats, while sometimes painful, were quite useful in pulling together a team. Although these sessions were led first by Provost Duderstadt and then in collaboration with Charles Moody, they did involve the presence of Harold Shapiro. In passing, it was clear that Shapiro found these sessions particularly difficult. He conveyed his frustration from time-to-time about the lack of support that the broader University had given him during the period of personal attack earlier in the year surrounding the Hood hearings.

The second technique used to regain control of the agenda involved a major internal public relations campaign built around the University Record. Duderstadt ordered the University Record to develop a second regular weekly edition highlighting all of the University’s efforts in the affirmative action area. Although these issues frequently contained information about earlier programs, they did convey a sense of movement. Parenthetically, it should be noted that the existing communications staff was very strongly opposed to this effort. In an effort to reach across executive officer lines, Duderstadt had to use his authority as the University’s chief budget officer to threaten the communications staff with the loss of their budget if they did not accede to his requests. In retrospect, this effort to recapture control of the communications dialog was one of the most important steps taken during the early stages.

The Change Group and Strategic Planning

It was clear at the outset that moving through the Six Point Plan, building teamwork through retreats, and launching a major public relations effort, while important, would simply buy time and would not address the longer-term issues. What Duderstadt realized at an early stage was that the real key to making progress was to recognize that it would involve a process of organizational change. His own earlier experience in the University’s College of Engineering had given him great skepticism for the bureaucracies—organizations, policies, and procedures—that characterized the traditional affirmative action and equal opportunity programs conducted by institutions such as the University. In fact, he suspected that such programs were installed in the 1970s in an effort to transfer the responsibility for minority representation and minority concerns away from the leadership of the institution to bureaucratic structures so that it would become out of sight, out of mind. And indeed during the 1980s, this effort clearly fell from among the higher priorities of the University, thereby leading eventually to the difficulties that arose in the late 1980s.

Recognizing that progress would involve an organizational change process, Duderstadt pulled together an informal group of individuals, known simply as the “Change Group”, who had expertise in organizational change from both the public and private sector. Charles Moody added not only his keen understanding of many of these diversity challenges faced by the University, but he also had important relationship with student and faculty minority groups. Included in this group were individuals with extensive experience in driving change in complex organizations, such as Joe White, former Vice President for Human Resources at Cummins Engine and then associate dean of the Busi-
ness School; Mark Chesler, head of the Center for Conflict Resolution; Chuck Vest, dean of the College of Engineering, who had worked closely with Duderstadt in achieving a similar organizational change process in the College of Engineering. Of particular importance was the role of Shirley Clarkson, assistant to the President and former projects manager for the Center for African and Afro-American Studies, who did much of the drafting of the Michigan Mandate.

Second, Duderstadt also recognized that what had to be done was to develop and implement a highly strategic approach in which very clear objectives were set and highly focused actions were taken to move toward these objectives. Finally, Duderstadt realized that it was absolutely essential to regain control of the agenda and to move away from the University’s tendency to simply react to each incident triggered by student activist groups. Hence, an effective strategic plan in and of itself would not work without an accompanying public relations effort capable of regaining the support of both the internal and external communities. To this end, the strategic planning effort began to evolve under the code name the “Michigan Plan.” However when a highly publicized, but considerably less ambitious effort, was launched at the University of Wisconsin known as the “Madison Plan”, Shirley Clarkson coined the new name, the Michigan Mandate, to avoid confusion.

The Michigan Mandate: Early Design

The Change Group worked throughout the spring and into the summer to develop the broad outlines of what would later become known as the Michigan Mandate. It recognized early on that the real goal was institutional change. The objective was to develop a preliminary version of a plan, a new agenda, a vision of the future of the University of Michigan that would respond more effectively to two of the principal challenges before us in the 21st century: first, the fact that our nation was rapidly becoming more ethnically and racially pluralistic; and second, the growing interdependence of the global community, which called for greater knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of human history than ever before needed in our history. Duderstadt, working closely with Shirley Clarkson, assumed personal responsibility for the design, articulation, and implementation of the plan.

The purpose of the plan was to change the institution to remove all institutional barriers to full participation in the life of the University and the educational opportunities it offered for peoples of all races, creeds, ethnic groups, and national origins. But it was also recognized at the outset that the strategic plan would really become only a road map. It was intended to set out a direction and point to a destination, but the journey itself would be a long one, and much of the landscape through which the University would travel was still to be discovered. As the effort evolved, it attempted to deal with two themes that heretofore had appeared to be incompatible: community and pluralism. The goal of the effort was to strengthen every part of the University community by increasing, acknowledging, learning from, and celebrating the ever-increasing human diversity of the nation and the world.

It was also recognized at the outset that the plan would be organic and evolving in such a way as to facilitate the involvement of both the University community itself and the broader external community. The challenge was to construct a process that would engage the various constituencies of the institution, reflecting their opinions and experience. Indeed, the plan would provide the framework for a continuing dialogue about the very nature of the institution. In this sense, the Change Group was engaged in developing a dynamic process and not a finished product.

In their discussions, the Change Group became convinced that the University’s ability to achieve and sustain a campus community recognized for its racial, cultural, and ethnic diversity would in large part determine the University’s capacity to successfully serve the state, the nation, and the world in the challenging times before us. The group became convinced that this diversity would become the cornerstone in the University’s efforts to achieve excellence in teaching, research, and service in the multicultural nation and world in which it would exist.

In this sense then, the plan, which was to become known as the Michigan Mandate, was developed as a framework for building a multicultural community that would be a model for society at large. More specifically, the purpose of the Mandate was to guide the University of Michigan in creating a community that:
i) supported the aspirations and achievements of all individuals, regardless of race, creed, national origin, or gender;

ii) embodied and transmitted those fundamental academic and civic values that bonded us together as a scholarly community and as part of a democratic society, while at the same time it;

iii) valued, respected, and indeed drew its intellectual strength from the rich diversity of peoples of different races, cultures, religions, nationalities, and beliefs.

But the Change Group also recognized that institutions do not change quickly and easily any more than do the societies of which they are a part. To move toward the goal of diversity the University would have to leave behind those current reactive and coordinated efforts that had characterized its past and move toward a more strategic approach designed to achieve long-term systemic change. In particular, it recognized the limitations of those efforts that focused only on affirmative action; that is, on access, retention, and representation. It believed that without deeper and more fundamental institutional change, these efforts by themselves would inevitably fail—as they had throughout the 1970s and 1980s. While such affirmative action efforts should be continued, what was really the focal point would be to achieve a more permanent and fundamental change in the character of the institution itself.

To make progress in achieving such a change, it was recognized that the first and vital step was to link diversity and excellence as the two most compelling goals before the institution, recognizing that these goals were not only complementary but would be tightly linked in the multicultural society characterizing our nation and the world in the years ahead. The challenge was to broaden its vision, to draw strength from its differences, and to learn from new voices, new perspective and different experiences of the world.

In these efforts the University would have to take the long view that would require patient and persistent leadership. Progress would also require sustained vigilance and hard work as well as a great deal of help and support. The plan would have to build on the best that we already had. The challenge was to persuade the community that there is a real stake for everyone in seizing this moment to chart a more diverse future, that the gains to be achieved would more than compensate for the necessary sacrifices.

It was also recognized at the outset that there would be many mistakes in the early stages. There would be setbacks and disappointments. The important point was to make a commitment for the long range and not be distracted from this vision.

This long range viewpoint would be particularly important in the face of activist groups because of the ongoing pressures to serve one special interest group or another or to take a particular stance on a narrow issue or agenda. Indeed, many, both on and off the campus, tended to view the presence or absence or nature of such responses as a sequence of litmus tests that measured the extent of University commitments.

While the inevitable pressures were understandable, the plan would succeed only if the University leadership insisted on operating at a long-term strategic rather than on a short-term reactive level. It was essential to keep one’s eyes focused on the prize ahead and resist efforts to react to every issue that arose. In this sense then while commitment and support within and outside the University community were necessary ingredients for success, it could not succeed alone as the University had learned in the past two decades. It was essential to have a strategy, a plan designed to guide institutional change.

The goals in developing the Michigan Mandate were to: i) develop a carefully designed strategic process for achieving, using, and cherishing diversity, ii) achieve a community strongly committed in philosophy to our objectives, and iii) allocate the necessary resources to accomplish this task. A plan was sought that featured clear, concise and simple goals, proposed specific actions and evaluation mechanisms, and reflected extensive interaction with and direct comment from a variety of constituencies and individuals to ensure responsiveness to the plan. It was also decided that once the basic outlines of the plan were developed, a broad process of consultation would be launched to engage groups both on and off campus.

The mission and goals of the Michigan Mandate were quite simple:
Philosophy: To recognize that diversity and excellence are complementary and compelling goals for the University and to make a firm commitment to their achievement.

Representation: to commit to the recruitment, support, and success of members of historically underrepresented groups among our students, faculty, staff, and leadership.

Environment: to build on our campus an environment that seeks, nourishes, and sustains diversity and pluralism and in which the dignity and worth of every individual is valued and respected.

Associated with these general goals were more specific objectives:

Faculty recruiting and development: to substantially increase the number of tenure track faculty in each underrepresented minority group; to increase the success of minority faculty in the achievement of professional fulfillment, promotion, and tenure; to increase the number of underrepresented minority faculty in leadership positions.

Student recruiting, achievement, and outreach: achieve increases in the number of entering underrepresented minority students as well as in total underrepresented minority enrollment; establish and achieve specific minority enrollment targets in all schools and colleges; increase minority graduation rates; develop new programs to attract back to campus minority students who have withdrawn from our academic programs; to design new and strengthen existing outreach programs that have demonstrable impact on the pool of minority applicants to undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs.

Staff recruiting and development: to focus on the achievement of affirmative action goals in all job categories; to increase the number of underrepresented minorities in key University leadership positions; to strengthen support systems and services for minority staff.

Improving the environment for diversity: to foster a cultural and diverse environment; to significantly reduce the number of incidents of racism and prejudice on campus; to increase community-wide commitment to diversity and involvement in diversity initiatives among students, faculty, and staff; to broaden the base of diversity initiatives, for example, by including comparative perspectives drawn from international studies and experiences; to ensure the compatibility of University policies, procedures, and practice with the goal of a multicultural community; to improve communications and interactions with and among all groups; and to provide more opportunities for minorities to communicate their needs and experiences and to contribute directly to the change process.

Over the course of the next several months a series of carefully focused strategic actions were developed to move the University toward these objectives. These strategic actions were framed by the values and traditions of the University, an understanding of our unique culture, and imaginative and innovative thinking.

A good example of this approach was the Target of Opportunity faculty recruitment program. Traditionally, university faculties have been driven by a concern for academic specializations within their respective disciplines. This is fundamentally laudable and certainly has fostered the exceptional strength and disciplinary character that we see in universities across the country; it also can be constraining. Too often in recent years the University had seen faculty searches that are literally “replacement” searches rather than “enhancement” searches.

To achieve the goals of the Michigan Mandate, it was recognized that the University had to free itself from the constraints of this traditional perspective. Therefore, the central administration sent out the following message to the academic units: be vigorous and creative in identifying minority teachers/scholars who can enrich the activities of your unit. Do not be limited by concerns relating to narrow specialization; do not be concerned about the availability of a faculty slot within the unit. The principal criterion for the recruitment of a minority faculty member is whether the individual can enhance the department. If so, resources will be
made available to recruit that person to the University of Michigan.

In this way some important academic barriers for minority recruitment were removed. Those departments that were able to identify candidates found rapidly that their vitality was not only enhanced, but their numbers were enlarged. The Target of Opportunity program was an example of idealism joining self-interest; it also provided an example of breaking down the barriers.

The Michigan Mandate plan evolved throughout the spring and summer of 1987. Although much of the strategy had been developed by the fall, only a few of the strategic actions could be put into place because of the interim nature of the University leadership—with Harold Shapiro in a lame duck status, Robben Fleming waiting in the wings as interim, and a rather difficult and contentious presidential search underway on the part of the Board of Regents. Nevertheless, in an effort to gain control of the agenda, the decision was made to continue with special editions of the University Record, both to demonstrate the University's progress toward fulfillment of the Six Point Plan and also to highlight some of the more innovative programs associated with the as-yet-to-be announced Michigan Mandate. Media consultants were retained (Walt Harrison) to provide more direct access to the national media. To build the necessary foundation for implementation of the plan, Duderstadt began to include components of the underlying philosophy of the Michigan Mandate in his own public addresses.

Student Activism

Although the University was successful in regaining some control of the agenda, student activist groups continued their efforts to trigger student unrest and disrupt the campus. While BAM III rapidly dissolved, UCAR, characterized by a much stronger and adept leadership, continued to search for opportunities to reignite racial tensions on the campus.

And, as with the radio station incident, they eventually found a suitable target: Dean Peter Steiner of the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts. While Steiner was widely regarded as one of the University's strongest and most effective deans, his rather forthright style occasionally made him an easy victim for student activists. The particular incident seized on by UCAR actually occurred during a confidential meeting with LS&A department chairs early in the fall term of 1987. In his effort to urge departments to become far more aggressive in affirmative action efforts, Steiner stressed the importance of recognizing the unique character of the University of Michigan. In particular, he stressed the importance of upholding the standards of the University of Michigan rather than returning to the tragic open-door admission policies of the 1970s, which although it had been successful in attracting large numbers of minority students, had turned into a revolving door as many of those admitted failed to succeed and graduate. Included in this discussion was Steiner's use of the soon-to-be-famous phrase that the objective of the University of Michigan was not to attract minority students "locking to the University" but rather to recruit students who had demonstrated the capacity to succeed at the institution.

Although the group meeting in executive session with Steiner was primarily comprised of department chairs, the Sociology Department had sent a substitute, Professor Alden Morris. Morris had been working with a number of the students actively involved in the UCAR movement. He quickly leaked the substance of the Steiner remarks to UCAR. The UCAR leadership realized that they were suddenly presented with the incident they needed to regain control of the agenda. Throughout the remainder of the fall, UCAR carefully planned their efforts, and immediately following the winter holidays in early January (some three months after the Steiner remarks), UCAR held a series of press conferences condemning Steiner's remarks and demanding both his apology and his resignation. Unfortunately, Steiner decided to meet publicly with those concerned and was taken off balance when a large contingent of UCAR students arrived with the press. This resulted in yet another confrontation that began to draw in other elements, in particular Charles Moody, who went on record strongly criticizing Steiner.

This situation was made more difficult by the bitter relationship that developed between Steiner and Moody, which tended to fan the racial tensions on the campus. Both Interim President Fleming and Provost Duderstadt worked for weeks behind the scenes to re-
pair the rift between Steiner and Moody. Both issued statements supporting Steiner but at the same time urging greater sensitivity as the University pushed ahead on its commitments to diversity.

Throughout the remainder of the winter term UCAR launched occasional sorties designed to trigger incidents that would allow it to build its power base. Indeed, it seems clear in retrospect that some of the more radical elements of UCAR actually seeded “racist” incidents from time to time in their efforts to regain control.

However, two things were beginning to happen which were eroding the power base of student activism. First, the early elements of the Michigan Mandate plan were beginning to work, and this progress was evident to the University community. But beyond that, UCAR began to find itself divided over the issue of a student harassment policy proposed by Interim President Fleming.

The Student Harassment Policy

In late summer of 1987 it was announced that former President Robben Fleming had agreed to serve as interim president of the University until such time as the Board of Regents selected permanent leadership. Throughout the fall term Fleming prepared for this transition by meeting with a great many people across the campus. From his earlier experiences in the 1970s, Fleming was well aware of the difficulty in dealing with the political environment surrounding racial tensions. In particular, he recognized that the Six Point Plan committed the University to develop policies to deal with the issue of racism and racial harassment on campus. Furthermore, he also recognized that in the absence of a more general student discipline policy—a student code of nonacademic conduct—the campus would remain quite vulnerable to those who might commit racist acts in part to challenge the system.

After extensive consultation, Fleming spent the winter holidays drafting a prototype student harassment policy—on his own typewriter. Shortly after he took office as interim president in January, Fleming ran this initial draft by a number of individuals, including the executive officers of the University as well as some of his colleagues in the Law School. After this initial review, he then put out the draft policy in public form before the University in January and invited all members of the University to provide their input so that a final version of the policy could be completed and implemented by late spring or summer. Virginia Nordby, Director of the Office of Affirmative Action, played the lead role in collecting and implementing the revisions.

The public announcement of the draft had several interesting effects. First, it did put at ease a number of members of the minority community who felt somewhat at risk because of the absence of any student policies in this area. Furthermore, it honored the University’s commitment to have moved forward with policies concerning racial harassment. However, some of the more activist students on the Michigan Student Assembly and the Michigan Daily attempted to stir up the fears that the Fleming draft harassment policy was only the first step toward a more comprehensive code for non-academic student conduct. In fact, MSA leadership attempted to disrupt the January and February Regents meetings, using the harassment policy as the fuel for a “no-code” effort. Interestingly enough, the Fleming policy effectively divided the more radical student activists from the mainstream of the minority student groups since the latter had pushed hard for just such a harassment policy.

As is typical of any such broadly consultative process, as more and more groups became involved, the policy began to take on a life of its own. While many members of the University community did their best to respond with the best of intentions, there were of course others who viewed the policy as a potential tool to advance their own special interests and sought modifications to this end. After a good deal of further debate, a final form of the policy was prepared and Fleming took this to the Board of Regents for action in April. After extensive discussion, the policy was adopted by the Board of Regents and went into effect.

It was recognized at the outset that the implementation of any harassment policy would be a complex issue, in part due to the fact that most other institutions had already moved down this path. Indeed, many other institutions had simply used a slight broadening of their existing student conduct codes to accomplish the same action. However, a few other institutions were seriously considering taking steps similar to those at Michigan, and hence they were watching Michigan
with some interest. It was clear that beyond the development of the policy itself, the implementation process would require the development of extensive training and administrative structures. Of particular importance was the implementation of the policy within the residence hall environment.

In retrospect, it should have been anticipated that the policy would be abused to some degree, both in its development and in its implementation. The Office of Affirmative Action, which was given the lead in developing materials explaining the policy and developing implementation procedures, moved ahead without adequate oversight. As a result, many of the materials that were developed clearly overextended the original intent of the policy. Furthermore, a number of special interest groups began to get involved in the implementation of the policy. What resulted began to acquire all of the tones of today’s “political correctness” debate—that is, in which groups would tend to justify extreme constraints on student behavior, including speech, using the harassment policy as an excuse even though upon more careful reading it was clear that the harassment policy was sufficiently narrowly drawn that it would not apply to these situations.

Hence, it was only a matter of time before someone would bring suit against the University claiming that the policy violated first amendment rights. These initial suits were enjoined by the American Civil Liberties Union and began to work their way through the court system.

Within the University administration, Fleming and the legal staff continued to believe that the policy itself was probably constitutional. Indeed, it was quite similar to policies adopted at other institutions such as the University of Pennsylvania. However, they viewed with some alarm the increasingly cumbersome process that was being developed to apply the policy. Furthermore, it became increasingly clear that the policy was subject to considerable misuse and abuse by those who either misunderstood its intent, or, worse yet, those who understood its intent but wished to distort and extend it to push their own special interest agendas. Hence, the University administration became more and more concerned that the policy was evolving into a Frankenstein monster. Unfortunately, they also recognized that a major effort to modify or even replace the policy would be difficult politically since it would almost certainly trigger another round of protests around racial lines.

There were also definite misgivings as the legal tests of the policy evolved. For example, the national leadership of the ACLU was rather embarrassed that their Michigan chapter had taken on such aggressive opposition to the policy. Indeed, preliminary contacts were made on the part of the national ACLU to convince the Michigan ACLU to back-off of this effort—without success. A second complication was the fact that the case was assigned to Judge Avern Cohn, an outspoken critic of the University. Cohn indicated at the very earliest moment that he believed the University “guilty of sin” and felt that his court would demonstrate it. In a sense, he made it clear at the outset that his mind was made up on the issue before the trial proceeded.

As it became more apparent that Judge Cohn would rule against the policy on First Amendment grounds, the University faced the decision as to whether to appeal a negative decision. Within some quarters of the University there was confidence that the policy itself was sufficiently narrowly drawn that we would eventually be able to win. However, it was also felt that the policy was quite cumbersome and subject to misapplication. Hence, the University administration decided to take advantage of what it anticipated as a negative court ruling to eliminate the policy and begin again.

The actual court decision came down in September of 1988 during the first month of the presidency of James Duderstadt. In anticipation of this action, Duderstadt had asked the new General Counsel of the University, Elsa Cole, to draft a far narrower policy based on the “fighting words” principle that would clearly stand the First Amendment test. In particular, he asked that the policy be directed at specific individual harassment rather than the broader speech implications of the earlier policy. Hence, when Judge Cohn finally struck down the original policy, Duderstadt immediately moved to use his presidential powers under Regents Bylaw 2.01 to put into place the far narrower “fighting words” policy so that the campus would continue to have some safeguards in place to counter the absence of a more general student disciplinary policy. He managed to obtain the Regents support for this use of the presidential power, although it is unlikely that the Regents would have voted for such a policy themselves. While most
Graduation rates of African-American student cohorts six years after initial entry

Number of university minority graduate fellowships

Number of African-American faculty

Number of minority tenured and tenure-track faculty
Regents understood the vulnerability of the campus, they were also comfortable in letting Duderstadt take the heat on this issue.

The new restricted policy was supported by most of the opponents of the Fleming policy, including the ACLU. The substitute policy went into place without any further contest. In fact, in subsequent months many other institutions adopted similar restricted harassment policies based on the “fighting words” concept. Nevertheless, Duderstadt intentionally included the language “interim” in enacting the policy because of his belief that further review would be necessary—not only of the policy itself, but whether there was even a need for an harassment policy. Such reviews occurred roughly one year later, and reached the conclusion that the policy would remain in its restricted form with an interim title on an indefinite basis, subject to ongoing review.

The Michigan Mandate: Action Agenda

Early Strategies

With the selection of James Duderstadt as the eleventh president of the University in June of 1988, he immediately turned his attention to moving forward in a much more visible fashion with the implementation of the Michigan Mandate, the key strategy which had been developed during the previous year to make the University a model of a multicultural learning community. By working closely with both the original Change Group and broader elements of the University’s leadership, a plan was developed which would involve extensive consultation to put into place the remaining elements of the plan during the year ahead.

Building a Support Base

Key to the success of the Michigan Mandate was the engagement of as many individuals and groups as possible, both on and off the campus. It was recognized at the outset that success would be determined largely by grass roots involvement. Hence, it was important to build commitment and awareness by creating a process in which a variety of different groups were involved in refining of the Michigan Mandate plan.

Of particular concern here was the importance of determining and controlling an agenda that would be focused on strategic objectives. It was recognized at the outset that there was a danger in that various special interest groups would attempt to distort or even disrupt the Michigan Mandate in order to establish their own particular priorities. Hence, control of the agenda was recognized as a critical element of success, and a strong public relations/media based campaign was designed with this as its objective.

At the beginning of the fall term, Duderstadt began to implement this plan through a series of major addresses to on-campus groups, including the Senate Assembly, the deans, various schools and colleges, various student groups, and alumni. Of particular importance here were presentations to a number of ethnic groups, including Black student groups and faculty, Hispanic students and faculty, a number of minority staff groups, and so forth. Duderstadt spent a great deal of time meeting with leaders of external communities to explain to them the nature of the Michigan Mandate, including the key leadership in cities such as Detroit, Flint, Lansing, and Saginaw, various alumni groups, various church groups, and so forth.

Within the University an effort was made to build the key teams necessary to move forward with the Michigan Mandate. This involved at the outset a series of retreats involving the leadership of the University—executive officers and deans—but also the more active use of the President’s Advisory Committee on Minority Affairs, and the Vice Provost’s Advisory Committee on Minority Affairs. Throughout the course of the year the Michigan Mandate became effectively woven into the objectives of the University. There were many examples of key actions taken by the University that played important roles in maintaining the momentum of the Michigan Mandate. For example, the decision by the University to declare Martin Luther King Jr. day as a time for education and reflection on the University’s role in a multicultural society became particularly important. Here it should be recalled that one of the principal demands of activist groups for several years have been to declare Martin Luther King Jr. day as an official University holiday. Instead, the University moved to identify Martin Luther King Jr. day as an opportunity for educational commitment in which classes would
be replaced by a variety of other learning experiences including retreats, seminars, and numerous lectures. The Board of Regents agreed to support this particular strategy.

A second example occurred when the University managed to negotiate with the Michigan Attorney General an agreement that would allow it to sell its remaining $500,000 worth of stock holdings in companies with South African interests. Here the key issue was whether the Attorney General would continue to push to challenge the University’s autonomy or drop the case following the ruling by the Court of Appeals upholding the University’s autonomy. The Attorney General agreed to drop the case, and the University was then free to go ahead and complete divestment.

The focus of the initial phase of the Mandate was primarily on issues of representation. That is, it focused on building a more representative presence of minority groups among its students, faculty, staff, and leadership. It went beyond this, however, and also sought to put into place policies and procedures and programs to assist these groups in achieving success at the University.

Signs of Progress

The broad array of steps taken during the early phases of the Michigan Mandate began to have an impact almost immediately. Over the course of the next three years, the University made very significant progress toward the goals set out by the Michigan Mandate. From top to bottom University decisions began to be made with the goals of diversity as their priority. Indeed, throughout the nation other universities began to use the Michigan Mandate as a model in their own planning.

Several of the key highlights of this period of the Michigan Mandate included:

1. An increase of 39 percent in minority enrollments over the first three years of the Michigan Mandate, resulting in the largest number of students of color in the University’s history, 6,044 or 18.2 percent of enrollment.

2. The University achieved the largest number of Hispanic, Native American, and Asian students at all levels—undergraduate, graduate, and professional—in its history. Indeed, Black enrollments increased by 36 percent over the first three years to 2,358 or 7.1 percent of the student body. Hispanic students increased 56 percent to 1,055 students or 3.2 percent of the student body. Asian students increased 37 percent to 2,474 or 7.5 percent, while Native American students increased 22 percent to 157 or 0.5 percent total.

3. There was also remarkable progress at the graduate and professional levels: 46 percent increase in minority graduate students (55 percent increase in Black) and 36 percent in minority professional students (53 percent Black).

4. The University’s graduation rates for students of color exceeded 60 percent, ranking it among the best in the nation.

5. During the first three years of the Michigan Mandate the University added 121 new faculty of color to the University’s tenure track ranks, including fifty-nine African American faculty. This put the University on schedule in achieving a preliminary objective of doubling the number of faculty of color on campus within the first five years of the Michigan Mandate.

There were many other signs of progress ranging from major growth in financial aid to students of color to increased outreach programs to school systems in cities such as Detroit, Flint, and Saginaw.

The Michigan Mandate: In High Gear

The New Challenge

The first phase of the Michigan Mandate was focused on the issue of increasing the representation of minority groups within the University community. But increasing the numbers was always recognized to be the easy part of the plan. It is the case that one can have a great many different people living in the same locale, working side-by-side, going to the same classes, but that will not mean that one has a community. Just increasing the numbers and mix of people doesn’t provide one with a sense of mutual respect and a cohesive
community. To achieve this the University faced the challenge of creating a new kind of community, a community that drew on the unique strengths and talents and experiences of all of its members. And this was felt to be the important challenge of the second phase of the Michigan Mandate.

More specifically, it was recognized that the traditional institutions of our society, our communities and neighborhoods, our churches and public schools, our business and commerce, all had failed to create a sense of community or to provide the models for creative interaction that were needed to build a new kind of society based on a general mutual dependence, trust, and respect. It was recognized that in America today it is on our college campuses that many students come together for the first time with students of other races and cultures in an environment in which they are expected to live, work, and learn together. It was therefore not surprising that in our existing universities structures there is a good deal of tension and separatism.

Hence, the University accepted that one of its missions was to build multicultural learning communities. In a sense, it was recognized that our college campuses would become the crucibles in which the multicultural, multiracial world cultures of 21st century America would be forged. This was a major responsibility—in-deed a mandate—for the University.

The Evolving Plan

The University of Michigan had a certain advantage over many other institutions because it benefitted from having one of the strongest concentrations of programs in the social sciences of any American university. Hence, it was clear that key to the University’s success in building a multicultural university would be drawing on the great experience and knowledge of its social science faculty. To this end, the Change Group was restructured into a group that more appropriately reflected these disciplines and Robert Zajonc, Director of the Institute for Social Research, was asked to chair the committee. Beyond this a second structure was formed by replacing the affirmative action coordinator council with a new committee consisting of the second ranking administrative officers in each unit of the University, and charged with implementing many of the ideas necessary to take the University toward a multicultural community.

In this regard, it should also be noted that while the Michigan Mandate was being moved into a new phase the strong commitment to achieve a more representative presence in the life of the University by minority
students, faculty, and staff continued to be among the University’s highest priorities. The President and other officers continued to push very hard on this agenda and would meet from time to time with units of the University who were felt to be making less than the desired commitment.

Concluding Remarks

Through the Michigan Mandate, the University of Michigan set out on a new course to better respond to the extraordinary diversity of our nation and the world in which we live. In a sense, the University was acting to change its make-up and its culture to bring all ethnic groups fully into the life and leadership of the institution. The goal of the Michigan Mandate was to make the University a leader known for the racial and ethnic diversity of its faculty, students, and staff. To make the University set its sights on becoming a leader and creating a multicultural community capable of serving as a model for higher education and for society-at-large.
Student Access and Success
Undergraduate Student Access
Wade McCree Incentive Scholarship
King/Chavez/Parks Program
Summer programs (e.g., DAPCEP)
College Day visitation for families
Tuition grants to all Native American students from Michigan.
Special Undergraduate Programs
Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program
21st Century Program
CRLT Programs
Leadership 2017
Office of Academic Multicultural Initiatives
Graduate Student Support
Fully funding minority graduate support
Rackham Graduate Merit Fellowship Program
Special Programs
Tapped grass-roots creativity and energy using
$1 M/y Presidential Initiatives Funds for
competitive proposals from faculty and student groups.

Results
Enrollments:
83% increase in students of color (to 28%)
90% increase in underrep min (to 15%)
57% increase in AA (to 2,715 or 9.1%)
126% increase of Latinos (to 4.3%)
100% increase in Native Americans (to 1.1%)
Graduation rates for African Americans highest among public universities.
UM ranked 27th in nation in minority BA/BS
8th for M.S. degrees, 7th for PhD degrees
1st in African American PhDs (non HBCU’s)
Graduate education
Increased minority fellowships by 118%
Of 734 Rackham Fellows in 1994,
51% were African American,
29% were Latino
Professional Schools:
Business: 12% AA, 28% color
Medicine: 11% AA, 39% color
Law: 10% AA, 21% color

Faculty
Target of Opportunity Program
Faculty Development (Faculty Awards Program for minority faculty)
Cluster hiring
Creating a welcoming and supportive culture (networks, centers, surveys)
Enlarging candidate pool by increasing PhD enrollments

Results
+62% for African Americans (128)
+117% for Latinos (52)
+75% for Native Americans (7)
Senior academic leadership (URM): from 14 to 25

Staff
Demanded accountability in hiring and promotion
Human Resources and Affirmative Action programs
Consultation and Conciliation Services

Results
Top managers: +100% (to 10% of management)
P&A: +80 (from 449 to 816)

More Generally
Building University-wide commitments
Office of Minority Affairs, Vice-Provost for Minority Affairs
Demanding accountability
Included in compensation review
Included in budget review
Included in appointment review

Leadership
Half of Executive Officers were African American
Executive VP Medical Center (Rita Dumas)
Secretary of University (Harold Johnson)
VP Research (Homer Neal)
UM Flint Chancellor Charlie Nelms
UM Dearborn Chancellor James Renick
JJD’s Successor was African American (Homer Neal)

Some Actions and Results of the Michigan Mandate by 1996
THE MICHIGAN MANDATE:
A Strategic Linking of
Academic Excellence and Social Diversity

The University of Michigan

Draft 6.0
March, 1990
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FOREWORD

The Michigan Mandate is a preliminary version of a plan, a new agenda, a vision of the future of the University of Michigan. It is intended to assure our leadership in meeting two of the principal challenges before us in the 21st century. The first of these is that our country is rapidly becoming more ethnically and racially pluralistic. The second is our growing interdependence with the global community, which calls for greater knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of human diversity throughout the world than we have needed ever before in our history.

The fundamental premise of the Michigan Mandate is that for the University to achieve excellence in teaching and research in the years ahead, for it to serve our state, our nation, and the world, we simply must achieve and sustain a campus community recognized for its racial and ethnic diversity. But beyond this, we believe that the University has a mandate not just to reflect the growing diversity of America—indeed, the world—in our students, faculty, and staff; but to go beyond this to build a model of a pluralistic, multicultural community for our nation. We seek to build a community that values and respects and, indeed, draws its intellectual strength from the rich diversity of peoples of different races, cultures, religions, nationalities, and beliefs.

In this effort it is clear that a fundamental purpose of the Michigan Mandate must be to remove all institutional barriers to full participation in the life of the University and the educational opportunities it offers for people of all races, creeds, ethnic groups, and national origins, without regard to gender, age, or orientation. This broader agenda for the University will be addressed in other papers, proposals, and forums. For example, a strategic plan to implement an agenda for women is already in progress. However, the issue of racial and ethnic diversity is the focus of this particular document.

In its formative stages our plan has had many names . . . the "Michigan Plan," the "Michigan Commitment," and finally, the "Michigan Mandate."
But by whatever name, it is really only a road map. It is intended to set out a direction and point to a destination, but the journey itself has only begun, and much of the landscape through which we will travel is still to be discovered.

Before presenting details of the Michigan Mandate I want to point out that:

- The Michigan Mandate focuses on the joining of objectives that initially may seem incompatible, but that we must strive to join inextricably together. These are community and pluralism and excellence and diversity. Indeed, it is the goal of the Michigan Mandate to strengthen every part of our community and its missions of teaching, research, and service by increasing, acknowledging, learning from, and celebrating our great human diversity.

- The Mandate is an organic, evolving plan that will continue to respond to the concerns and suggestions of the University and the wider community. The Mandate already reflects the opinions and experience of the several hundred individuals and groups with whom I, as well as other members of our administration, have met. Every one of these meetings has been significant and contributes to changes of substance, emphasis, and approach. This is because the Mandate is intended to provide the framework for continuing dialog, planning, and implementation activities among all University groups and with our extended family of alumni, friends, and constituents. We see this consultation as a continuing dynamic process that I hope will eventually reach and involve every member of our community in planning and actions to make the Mandate’s goals a reality.

- The Mandate is presented in a highly personal way that reveals, as much as anything else, my own growing education and intensifying commitment to this agenda for the University of Michigan. My commitment has evolved from my personal conviction as a scholar and citizen and from my understanding of the imperatives of the future gained through the experience of leadership at the University and various state and national groups concerned with our nation’s future.

- Finally, we all recognize that women of color face the double jeopardy of racial and gender discrimination. Therefore it is critical that our
efforts to achieve the goals articulated by the Mandate take into account the special needs and concerns of women of color in order that they can participate and succeed in all aspects of University life and leadership.

The University has made a very deep commitment to the achievement of an environment that seeks, nourishes, and sustains racial, cultural, and ethnic diversity. We must learn how to resist the great pressures of prejudices, separatism, and the fear and bigotry which push us apart. Instead we must pledge ourselves to being a university, indeed, a nation, committed to working together, to achieve great public purposes.

Michigan is first and foremost a "UNI" versity—not a "DI" versity. Hence we view our challenge as learning how to weave together these dual objectives of diversity and unity in a way that strengthens our fundamental goal of academic excellence and serves our academic mission and our society. We must not abandon our quest for community and our allegiance to our academic and civic values. I do not believe the goals of diversity and community are incompatible any more than I believe that excellence and diversity are incompatible. But we will need to work hard together to weave these goals together in new ways that will inspire and strengthen our University.

It is important to state here clearly that in drafting the Michigan Mandate, I certainly did not view myself as Moses returning from the mountain with stone tablets of commandments to govern the University. Rather, this document was intended as a very personal statement of my own views and recommendations on these matters. In a sense, I viewed the Michigan Mandate both as a challenge to the University community and as a road map, setting out my personal commitments to an eventual destination for our University. I hope you will approach the plan as part of a dynamic process and not as a finished product. Indeed, as more and more students, faculty, and staff have responded to this challenge, the plan has already evolved significantly, to reflect their wisdom, experience, and commitment. Hence, in this sense, my challenge to the University, the plan I set before it, has already changed. It will continue to change as more and more people become a part of the process of commenting, criticizing, and suggesting improvements, and--it is my hope--becoming committed to and actively involved in this great challenge to the University and to America.

Hence, the Michigan Mandate is very much an organic document, a document designed to change. What cannot change, however, is my personal determination to lead the University in a direction that serves all members of our society.

James J. Duderstadt
HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FIRST TWO YEARS

Objective 1: Faculty Recruiting and Development

- The University has added 76 new minority faculty over the past two years corresponding to a 35% increase, bringing its minority faculty representation to 12%.

- During this period, 40 new African American faculty have been added, an increase of 52%, bringing this representation to nearly 4.0%.

- Furthermore, 11 new Hispanic American faculty have been added during this period, an increase of 120%, bringing Hispanic representation to 1.2%.
Objective 2: Student Recruiting, Achievement, and Outreach

- The University has made significant progress over the past two years in moving toward its student representation goals:

![Minority Student Enrollments](image)

- **African American:** 23.4% increase to 2,140 students (6.5%)
- **Hispanic American:** 36.9% increase to 927 students (2.9%)
- **Native American:** 7.0% increase to 138 students (0.5%)
- **Asian American:** 24.7% increase to 2,249 students (6.9%)

**All Minorities:** 25.6% increase to 5,454 students (16.6%)

- Graduate minority fellows have increased from 336 to 444 (32.1%), by far the largest of any research university in the nation. Among the entering students, African American graduate fellows have increased from 24 to 80 (233%), and Hispanic American fellows have increased from 13 to 42 (223%). This is particularly important, since these students represent the next generation of faculty. At the present time, Michigan is second only to Howard University in the number of African American PhDs it graduates.

- The School of Business Administration has seen its entering MBA minority enrollments increase to 22%, including 14% African American. The School leads the nation in these efforts.

- Other schools with unusual success in recruiting African American students include Medicine (12%), Public Health (9%), and Dentistry (12%).
• Major additional commitments have been made to financial aid programs for minority students:
  ...a 53.6% increase in undergraduate financial aid ($4.6 million).
  ...a 28.3% increase in graduate financial aid ($6.8 million).
  ...repackaging financial aid awards to stress long-term commitments and minimize loans.

• A broad series of outreach activities have been launched:
  ...King-Chavez-Parks Program (4,000 participants to date).
  ...Wade McCree Incentive Scholars program.
  ...Detroit Compact.
  ...DAPCEP (1,500 students to date).
  ...Cooperative relationships with key school systems across the state (e.g., Detroit, Flint, Saginaw, Ann Arbor, ...).
  ...Cooperative relationships with Michigan community colleges.
  ...Cooperative relationships with historically Black and predominantly Hispanic colleges and universities.
  ...Major expansion of alumni recruiting efforts.

• Student retention programs have been expanded (e.g., the Comprehensive Studies Program) and retention numbers, while still lagging those of the majority population (i.e., 60% for African Americans and Hispanic Americans compared to 80% for majority students) are still highest among our peers and moving upwards.

Objective 3: Staff Recruitment and Development:

• Minority representation among senior management has increased 55% over the past two years (including a 39% increase in African American and a 200% increase in Hispanic American managers).

• Minority representation among P&A staff has increased 20.0% (including a 28.7% increase in African Americans).

• Key appointments:
  ...Vice Provost for Minority Affairs.
  ...Director of Minority Affairs.
  ...Director of Affirmative Action.
  ...Director of Admissions.
  ...Director of Comprehensive Studies Program.
Objective 4: Improving the Environment for Diversity:

- Completion of 1987 Six-Point Plan:
  ...Establishment of position of Vice Provost for Minority Affairs.
  ...Funding for Black Student Union.
  ...Implementation of policy and grievance procedure for racial harassment by faculty, students, and staff.
  ...Additional budget support for attracting and retaining minority faculty.
  ...Development of unit goals and annual review process.
  ...Formation of Presidential Advisory Committee on Minority Affairs.

- The University established the position of Vice-Provost for Minority Affairs, supported by the staff of an Office of Minority Affairs (budgeted for FY89-90 at a level of $1.2 million).

- Over the past six years, the University has invested almost $4,000,000 in its support of the facilities and programs of the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies.

- The University developed and implemented a series of orientation and educational programs for students, faculty, and staff at all levels to increase understanding and sensitivity to multicultural issues.

- The University has set aside Martin Luther King, Jr. Day as a time for drawing the campus community together in a broad set of educational and commemorative activities in which thousands of students, faculty, and staff join together to celebrate diversity.

- The Regents of the University have divested all University stock holdings in companies with interests in South Africa.
INTRODUCTION

The leadership of the University of Michigan is firmly convinced that our institution's ability to achieve and sustain a campus community recognized for its racial, cultural, and ethnic diversity will in large part determine our capacity to serve successfully our state and nation and the world in the challenging times before us. Indeed, this diversity will become a cornerstone of our efforts to achieve excellence in teaching, research, and service in the years ahead.

The University has put forth the Michigan Mandate as both a challenge and a framework to build a multicultural community that will be a model for our society. The purpose of this Mandate is to guide the University of Michigan in creating a community that:

- Supports the aspirations and achievements of all individuals, regardless of race, creed, national origin, or gender;

- Embodies and transmits those fundamental, academic, and civic values that must bond us together as a scholarly community and as part of a democratic society;

- Values, respects, and, indeed, draws its intellectual strength from the rich diversity of peoples of different races, cultures, religions, nationalities, and beliefs.

The reasoning that leads us to consider this commitment to the achievement of diversity to be a key element in our efforts to build a University for the 21st century grows out of our tradition of educational leadership as well as our assessment of the trends we anticipate in our nation's future.

RATIONALE FOR THE MICHIGAN MANDATE

The University of Michigan is at an important turning point in its history. The students we are educating today will spend most of their lives in the 21st century. Theirs will be a very different world than the one we have known. Most of us who are leaders and teachers in the University are products of the 20th century. Furthermore, the structure of the American university as we see it today is a product of the 19th century and, of course, many of its features originated long before that in far different and distant times and places.
As we look to the profound changes ahead of us, it is important to keep in mind that throughout their history, universities have evolved as integral parts of their societies to meet the challenges of their changing environments. They continue to evolve today. This disposition to change is a basic characteristic and strength of university life, the result of our constant generation of new knowledge through research that in turn changes the education we provide and influences the societies that surround us. At the same time, this propensity of universities to change is balanced by vital continuities, especially those arising from our fundamental scholarly commitments and values and from our roots in a democratic society. While the emphasis, structure, or organization of university activity may change over time to respond to new challenges, it is these scholarly principles, values, and traditions that animate the academic enterprise and give it continuity and meaning. Thus, an integral part of the life of the University of Michigan has always been to continuously evaluate the world around us, in order to adjust our teaching, research, and service missions to serve the changing needs of our constituents while preserving basic values and commitments. Today we must once again try to anticipate the future direction of our society in order to prepare students for the world they will inherit.

For the past several years, the leadership of the University of Michigan has been trying to look ahead and to anticipate the future as part of our strategic planning initiatives. While it is always risky to speculate about the exact shape of things to come, especially in the face of the accelerating pace of change we are experiencing, three themes dominate the future we foresee in 21st century America:

- The United States will become a truly multicultural society, with a cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity that will be greater than we have ever known before.

- Our nation will be "internationalized" as every aspect of American life becomes ever more dependent on other nations and other peoples. Through immigration, too, we are becoming truly a "world nation," with ethnic ties to every corner of the globe. Increasingly, all of our activities must be viewed within the broader context of our interdependence in the global community.
RATIONALE, con't

- The United States and the world community will rapidly evolve from a resource-and labor-intensive society to a knowledge-intensive society, in which intellectual capital—educated people and their ideas—become the keys to our own and, indeed, world productivity, prosperity, security, and well-being.

We cannot ignore these trends and their profound implications for our society and our University. Nor should we react to them passively. In keeping with our heritage of leadership in higher education, we must act directly to determine our own destiny, to make our ideals a reality.

Our faculty, students, staff, alumni, and friends must join together to anticipate and prepare for this future. The Michigan Mandate is one important part of that preparation. It is intended to build a new model of a multicultural academic community more capable of serving the highly pluralistic society that will characterize America in the 21st century.

The Michigan Mandate is based on the following premise:

Premise

Embracing and, even more importantly, capitalizing on our racial, cultural, and ethnic diversity will be a critical element of the University's ability to achieve excellence in teaching and research while serving our state, nation, and world in the years ahead.

Future Imperatives

Several imperatives support this premise including our moral and social responsibilities, our academic aspirations, the national interest, and the changing nature of our workforce.

Moral Responsibility

First and foremost, the University of Michigan's commitment to affirmative action and equal opportunity is based on our fundamental social, institutional, and scholarly commitment to freedom, democracy, and social justice. These require us to:

- Take affirmative action to overcome the inequities imposed by our society on people who historically have been prevented from participating fully in the life of our nation. The University has an obligation to reach out to make a special effort to increase the participation of those racial, ethnic, and cultural groups who are not adequately
RATIONAL, con't

represented among our students, faculty, and staff. This is a fundamental
issue of equity and social justice that we must address if we want to keep
faith with our values, responsibilities, and purposes.

• Provide equal opportunity for every individual regardless of race,
nationality, class, gender, or belief, both as part of our basic obligations
as a public institution, and as a major source of leaders of our society.

• Provide equal access to all educational resources to individuals from
under-represented racial and ethnic groups to enable them to achieve a
fulfilling life and the rewards of meaningful work in a knowledge-based
society.

Equity and social justice are fundamental values of this institution and
integral to its scholarly mission. They are the basic reasons for making a
commitment to promoting diversity.

Academic Aspirations

The University of Michigan's ability to achieve excellence in teaching,
scholarship, and service will be determined over time to a considerable
degree by the diversity and pluralism of our campus community. Diversity
is in our best intellectual interest because diversity will increase the intellec-
tual vitality of our education, scholarship, service, and communal life.
Many African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans and
Asian Americans, women, foreign students and faculty, and other groups
bring special ways of representing and conceptualizing problems and
addressing intellectual issues. Research in progress at the University—in
politics, history, and literature, for example—has already discovered the
valuable insights that these under-represented voices and viewpoints bring
to those fields. Simultaneously scholars in areas like anthropology, art,
or sociology are discovering new patterns in and theories of the social
construction of "difference"—racial, gender, ethnic, national, etc.—which
reveal its distorting effects on both the dominant culture and the culture of
people of color.

In addition to these intellectual benefits, the inclusion of under-represented
groups allow the University to tap reservoirs of human talents and experi-
ences from which it has not yet fully drawn. Indeed, it seems apparent that we
cannot sustain the distinction of our university in the pluralistic world society that
is our future without diversity and openness to new perspectives, experiences, and
talents.
Furthermore, drawing an analogy from the sciences, we believe that as an institution we draw strength from diversity in the same way that biological populations often benefit from variation that helps them to successfully adapt to the challenges and opportunities posed by their environment. This points to the way that excellence and diversity can be conceived of as not only mutually compatible, but in many ways they should be viewed as mutually reinforcing objectives.

Clearly, in the years ahead we will need to draw on the insights provided by many diverse perspectives to understand and function effectively in our own as well as the national and world community.

**National Interest**

America’s population is changing rapidly. Our nation’s ability to face the challenge of diversity in the years ahead will determine our strength and vitality. We all need to understand that those groups we refer to today as minorities will become the majority population of our nation in the century ahead, just as they are today throughout the world. Our nation will cease to have a majority culture—we will become a nation of minorities. For example:

- By the year 2000, one of three college-age Americans will be a person of color.

- By the year 2000, roughly 50 percent of our school children (K-12) will be African American or Hispanic American.

- By 2020, the American population which now includes 26.5 million African Americans and 14.6 million Hispanic Americans, will include 44 million African Americans and 47 million Hispanic Americans.

- By the late 21st century, some demographers predict that Hispanic Americans will become the largest population group in America.

Indeed, the America of the 21st century seems destined to become one of the most socially diverse nations on earth. This does not necessarily mean that America will be a "melting pot" in which all cultures are homogenized into a uniform blend. Adaptation and the blending of cultures is likely to
occur over several generations and then to varying degrees as our past history has already shown. The truth is that most of us retain proud ties to our ethnic roots. And our future is likely to continue to be pluralistic in this sense—composed of peoples different in backgrounds, cultures, and beliefs, who seek to retain their cultural identities as other Americans have done before them—to retain their distinctiveness within the society—while at the same time becoming full participants in the economic and civic life of our country. This pluralism poses a continuing challenge to our nation and its institutions. We want to build and maintain a fundamental common ground of civic values that will inspire mutually beneficial cohesion and purpose—a true sense of community—for our society.

As both a leader and a reflection of our society, universities—especially the University of Michigan, with its long heritage of leadership—must accept the special challenge and responsibility to help develop effective models of community, developing and transmitting intellectual and social values that will help bind us together. These are needed to help inspire and inform our country and enable it to cope successfully with our changing demographic make-up and interdependence in the global community. Education has always been the crucible for our democratic culture, and this function has never been more necessary to our social health than it is today. The task before us is formidable, but consider our future if we do not commit ourselves wholeheartedly to the effort.

Human Resources

The demographic trends we see in our future hold some significant implications for the national economic and political life and for education. For example:

- During the 1990s, 90 percent of the net additions to the workforce will be non-minority women, members of minority groups, and immigrants.

- By the mid-1990s, there will be only three workers for each retiree, and one of the three will be a member of a minority group.

Our clearly demonstrated need for an educated workforce in the years ahead means that America can no longer afford to waste the human potential, cultural richness and leadership represented by minorities and women. In America today, we are experiencing a profound transformation of our society. Our traditional industrial economy is shifting to a new
knowledge-based economy, just as our industrial economy evolved from an agrarian society in an earlier era. Now as people and knowledge are the source of new wealth, we will rely increasingly on a well-educated and trained workforce to maintain our competitive position in the world and our quality of life at home.

Yet our country faces an educational and human crisis of unprecedented proportions in the knowledge-intensive professions, as we prepare to enter the Age of Knowledge. This is that the number of high school graduates is declining by 20 to 25 percent during the 1980s and early 1990s. Because of the predicted demographic shortfall in the college-age population, America is expected to face serious shortfalls in key professions and academic disciplines.

Clearly, we must make special efforts to expand educational achievement and workforce participation by minorities and women not just because that is good social policy, but because we cannot afford to waste their talents! America will need to call on the full contribution of all of its citizens in the years ahead.

Summary

America of the 21st century will be one of the most pluralistic, multicultural nations on earth.

- In this future, the full participation of under-represented groups in all realms of national life will not be just a matter of equity and social justice.

- It will be the key to the future strength and prosperity of America, since our country cannot afford to waste the human talent represented by its under-represented populations. This human potential, cultural richness, and leadership are needed by government, business, education, and the arts, if American society is to continue to govern itself successfully and prosper in a new age.

- If we do not create a nation that mobilizes the talents of all of our citizens, we are destined for a diminished role in the global community.

- Most important of all, if we do not meet the challenge of diversity, we will have tragically failed to fulfill the promise of democracy on which this nation was founded and for which the world looks to us still for leadership.

This is probably the most serious challenge facing American society today. While it is true that universities cannot solve this problem alone, we must not use this fact as an excuse for doing nothing. Our nation looks to us for leadership.
We are determined that the University of Michigan will take the initiative to prepare for the future. We must commit ourselves to leadership in higher education by developing a model of what a pluralistic, multicultural university community must be to serve our nation in the 21st century. The way ahead will not be an easy one. There are many challenges to overcome including continuing racism, an eroding sense of community, and the challenge of change itself.

The Challenge of Racism

Prejudice and ignorance continue to exist on our nation’s campuses as they do in our society. As our colleagues Reynolds Farley and Walter R. Allen have pointed out in their book *The Color Line and the Quality of Life in America*, American society today is characterized by very high levels of racial segregation in housing and education in spite of decades of legislative efforts to reduce it. To quote our colleagues, this has led to a situation in which most students “complete their (elementary and secondary) education without ever having attended a school that enrolled students of the other race and without living in a neighborhood where the other race was well represented. This isolation may perpetuate stereotypes . . . which reinforce the idea that one race is superior to the other.”

Not surprisingly, then, new students arrive on our campuses bringing with them the many flaws characterizing society-at-large. It is here that many students for the first time have the opportunity to live and work with students from very different backgrounds. In many ways our campuses act as lenses that focus the social challenges before our country. It is not easy to overcome this legacy of prejudice and fear that divides us.

Obviously we must:

- Decry racism in all its forms, both individual and institutional.

- Demonstrate clearly and unequivocally that racism on this campus will not be tolerated.

- Initiate programs to help make us learn to value diversity individually and collectively, to promote reflection on social values, and to encourage greater civility in social relations.

- Provide new networks and forums to promote interaction among campus groups.
CHALLENGES, con't

But this is not enough. Our University Mandate is intended to take us far beyond mere reactive measures.

The Challenge of Community

As a public institution, the University can find direction in our history and tradition. The idea of the campus as a melting pot of cultures and races must evolve towards a vision of a more varied and tolerant environment—a more pluralistic, cosmopolitan community. We must become a community in which all barriers to full participation of all people in the life of our University are removed; a place where every person is valued and respected; a place where we can all rejoice in the richness of our human variety; but also a place where we can work constructively together as a community of scholars and as citizens of a democratic society.

That is the challenge before us now. We must work together to achieve tolerance, understanding, and respect. As citizens we must reaffirm our commitment to justice and equality. As scholars we must unwaveringly support our shared commitment to academic freedom and the pursuit of excellence. The task is large and calls on the best that is in each of us. It demands that we become leaders for change on our campus and in our society.

The Challenge of Change

Let us not fool ourselves. Institutions do not change quickly and easily any more than do the societies of which they are a part. In confronting the issues of racial and ethnic inequality in America we are both probing one of the most painful wounds in American history and rejecting the prescription of "benign neglect," which for too long has paralyzed action. The road we must travel is neither well traveled nor well marked; there are very few truly diverse institutions in American society. The challenge is great; we must literally make our own history. To do this we need both a commitment and a plan.

To move toward our goal of diversity, the University of Michigan must leave behind those current reactive and uncoordinated efforts which have characterized our own and most other campuses and move back toward a more strategic approach designed to achieve long-term systemic change.
We must recognize the limitations of those efforts, essential though they are, that focus only on affirmative action; that is, on access and retention and on representation. Of course, increased representation of minorities is the foundation upon which we will build. But without deeper, more fundamental institutional change, these efforts by themselves will inevitably fail. While we continue our affirmative action efforts, we must now strive to achieve more permanent and fundamental change in our institution.

To make progress in achieving this change, the first, vital step is to link diversity and excellence as our two most compelling goals. We must recognize that these goals are not only complementary, but will be tightly linked in the multicultural society characterizing our nation and the world in the years ahead. We must start now to broaden our vision, to draw strength from our differences, and to learn from new voices, new perspectives, different experiences of the world.

In our efforts, we must take the long view, one that will require patient and persistent leadership. Progress also will require sustained vigilance and hard work as well as a great deal of help and support. The plan must build on the best that we already have. We must persuade the community that there is a real stake for all of us in seizing this moment to chart a more diverse future where the gains to be achieved more than compensate for the sacrifices called for.

The Michigan Mandate will succeed only if we keep it on a long-term, strategic rather than a short-term, reactive level. We must keep our eyes focused on the prize ahead and resist efforts to react to every issue that arises. We will make mistakes. There will be setbacks and disappointments. There will be criticism from those who believe we are moving too slowly or too fast. But we are making this commitment for the long-range and should not be distracted from our vision of leadership for change.

While commitment and support within and outside the University community are essential ingredients for success, they are not likely to succeed alone. We must also have a strategy, a plan, designed to guide institutional change.

Universities are learning to appreciate the value of strategic planning. As they have become larger and more complex, they have found it increasingly helpful to apply principles of systematic planning to allocate more efficiently the scarce resources of the competitive world of the nineties.
Increasingly we are seeing that institutional planning is a useful tool for making informed, conscious choices for shaping our own destiny rather than passively allowing external events and forces to determine our fate.

At the University of Michigan we are trying to think and act more strategically in order to preserve our autonomy and unique mission. As one of the world's leading centers of learning, we are determined to initiate change and influence the direction of our rapidly evolving society. More than two years ago, a broadly representative group of faculty and administrators began to develop a planning process for the University that has since been incorporated by all academic and administrative units. Early in our discussions, it became clear that a central issue confronting us as an institution and as a society is to take action to better reflect the growing pluralism of American society both in the diversity of the people who comprise our campus population and in our intellectual activities, our teaching, research, and public service.

Planning models for the institutional change necessary to become a genuinely pluralistic, multicultural community are still difficult to find. However, we were fortunate to be able to draw on the expertise of faculty colleagues with experience in other arenas, particularly in the corporate world, where significant cultural changes in the workplace have been achieved, using strategic approaches and techniques. A small group of advisors with first-hand corporate experience was assembled to help forge the first outlines of the Michigan Mandate. They conceived this Mandate not as a bureaucratic directive, but as an organic and evolving framework for organizational change that would attract and reflect the active participation of faculty, students, and staff at all levels of the University.

Our goals in developing the plan were to:

- develop a carefully designed strategic process for achieving, cherishing, and using diversity;

- achieve a community strongly committed in philosophy to our objectives; and

- allocate the necessary resources to accomplish the task.
We sought a plan that:

- featured clear, concise, and simple goals;

- proposed specific actions and evaluation mechanisms; and

- reflected extensive interaction with and direct comment from a variety of constituencies and individuals to ensure the responsiveness of the plan.

Once the basic outlines of the plan were in place, we began a broad process of consultation with scores of groups and hundreds of individuals both within and outside the University. This consultation process will continue as we implement and evolve the Mandate.

The traditional planning process can be formulated in terms of the following steps, and these were followed in developing and implementing the first phase of the Michigan Mandate.

I. Identification of mission and goals.

II. Realistic assessment of our environment.

III. Establishment of operational objectives.

IV. Identification of strategic actions aimed at achieving these objectives.

V. Tactical implementation of these actions.

VI. Continual evaluation, assessment, and reporting.

The first step in the Mandate development process was to establish the institutional mission and goals. These were quite deliberately designed to be both simple and broad in nature:

Commitment
To recognize that diversity and excellence are complementary and compelling goals for the University and to make a firm commitment to their achievement.
STRATEGIC PROCESS, con't

Representation
To commit to the recruitment, support, and success of members of historically under-represented groups among our students, faculty, staff, and leadership.

Environment
To build on our campus an environment that seeks, nourishes, and sustains diversity and pluralism, and in which the dignity and worth of every individual is valued and respected.

Environmental Assessment

II. Environmental Assessment

With our goals in place we undertook a preliminary assessment to determine the relative effectiveness of our own efforts within the University and in relation to other institutions both within Michigan and across the nation. This involved an evaluation of our current minority representation; the programs we had in place and their appropriateness and effectiveness; the investments needed to enhance diversity; the unique opportunities and potential partnerships afforded by our environment especially in Ann Arbor, Detroit, and other nearby communities of southeastern Michigan; and the quality of the environment that we offered minority members of our community.

We discovered that the University of Michigan compares well with many similar institutions in terms of minority representation. [Comparisons are shown in the Appendix] But this hardly makes us complacent. We know that much more is possible and necessary both in terms of representation and in terms of institutional culture.

As we analyze the foregoing population statistics in relation to our current minority enrollment, it is obvious that increasing the pool of students in the pipeline through improved educational opportunity presents the greatest challenge to this institution in the years ahead. Unless we work with educators and students to improve educational opportunity for all Michigan students, we will not be able to increase the numbers of students we admit and the numbers we graduate. Thus, increasing the minority students in the educational pipeline is our best opportunity to achieve the goals we have set for ourselves. This understanding is leading us to initiate cooperative arrangements with elementary and secondary schools and to aggressively seek out opportunities for collaboration with others to help improve the total educational process in the state of Michigan and nationally.
At the same time, we have undertaken surveys of students in the applicant pool to learn of ways we can attract a larger proportion of Michigan's minority students. We are also looking for ways to increase out-of-state enrollments of minority students. Other outreach efforts to community colleges, historically Black colleges, and predominantly Hispanic and Native American institutions, have been undertaken to expand our pool of prospective minority students both for our undergraduate as well as graduate and professional schools.

Program Inventory

A preliminary canvass of campus programs and activities addressing minority needs revealed hundreds of efforts at the central administrative level and by all the Schools and Colleges, as well as by groups of faculty, students, and staff. Many programs are of long standing and many more are newly instituted. They represent a broad and deep commitment by units and individuals. However, viewed strategically, even after two years, it is clear that greater coordination, evaluation, and support are needed. It is essential to do more, to experiment and learn from experience—to create a risk-tolerant environment for testing new approaches and, at the same time, provide a rigorous assessment of programs to eliminate those that do not work while allocating resources to those that do.

Investments

In 1988 some $27 million were allocated for minority programs. In addition, there are many programs and allocations that support activities, services, and staff related to minority interests that are a regular part of unit budgets and not separately identified as minority-related budget items. The $27 million expenditures for minority programs include new and incremental funding for faculty hiring, student recruitment, admissions and counseling, graduate support, faculty development and research, and the Office of Minority Affairs, as well as targeted financial aid from federal, state, and private sources.

Environment for Diversity

Already our campus community is reflecting the more diverse and changing society in which we live. The University of Michigan, like its peer institutions across America, must build an environment that sustains, indeed thrives, on this diversity. Diversity should strengthen our intellectual mission and add vitality and joyful variety to our cultural and social life.
STRATEGIC PROCESS, cont

This will not be easy. Our University and many others are enrolling many students who have lived and been schooled in environments offering little opportunity for interaction with people from different racial, ethnic, economic, religious, or generational backgrounds. Thus, many new students arriving on our campuses have had little experience in understanding and appreciating racial, ethnic, economic, or other differences found among their classmates.

In short—the growing economic and ethnic divisions characterizing our society and their manifestations—prejudice, bigotry, discrimination and even racism—are mirrored on our own and most of our nation's campuses. We have a long way to go to achieve our goal of an environment that values diversity and creates community and to remove institutional barriers to full participation in the life and leadership of our institution.

Operational Objectives

III. Operational Objectives

The next step in developing the Michigan Mandate has been to establish operational objectives aimed at achieving specific goals derived from analysis of our situation and from our overall mission. We seek objectives that are:

- Clear and narrowly focused.
- Capable of measurement and evaluation.
- Capable of expansion and adjustment.

The basic objectives the Michigan Mandate sets out for the University of Michigan include:

Objective 1

1. Faculty Recruiting and Development

- Substantially increase the number of tenure-track faculty in each under-represented minority group.
- Increase the success of minority faculty in the achievement of professional fulfillment, promotion, and tenure.
- Increase the number of under-represented minority faculty and staff in leadership positions over the next five years.
Objective 2

2. Student Recruiting, Achievement, and Outreach

• In each of the next five years, achieve increases in the number of entering under-represented minority students, as well as in our total under-represented minority enrollment.

• Establish and achieve specific minority enrollment targets in all schools and colleges.

• Increase minority graduation rates.

• Develop new programs to attract back-to-campus minority students who have withdrawn from our academic programs.

• Design new and strengthen existing outreach programs which have demonstrable impact on the pool of minority applicants to undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs.

Objective 3

3. Staff Recruiting and Development

• Focus on the achievement of affirmative action goals in all job categories during the next five years.

• Increase the number of under-represented minorities in key University leadership positions.

• Strengthen support systems and services for minority staff.

Objective 4

4. Improving the Environment for Diversity

• Foster a culturally diverse environment.

• Significantly reduce the number of incidents of prejudice and discrimination.

• Increase community-wide commitment to diversity and involvement in diversity initiatives among students, faculty, and staff.

• Broaden the base of diversity initiatives; e.g., by including comparative perspectives drawn from international studies and experiences.

• Ensure the compatibility of University policies, procedures, and practice with the goal of a multicultural community.
STRATEGIC PROCESS, con't

- Improve communications and interactions with and among all groups.
- Provide more opportunities for minorities to communicate their needs and experiences and to contribute directly to the change process.

Strategic Actions

IV. Strategic Actions

Having identified operational goals for the University, we next turn to developing strategic actions aimed at achieving these goals. Some essential features of these actions are that they include:

- Long-term perspective.
- Sustained commitments.
- Focused leadership agenda.
- Clear assignment of responsibility for actions and success.

The following are the strategic actions identified and implemented through the Michigan Mandate:

Strategic Action 1  Target of Opportunity Faculty Recruiting Program

*General Goal*

In order to improve the quality and diversity of our faculty as a whole, we will develop strong incentives for minority faculty recruiting while trying to identify and eliminate any existing disincentives.

*Action*

Through a joint program involving the central administration and the Schools and Colleges, we will agree to meet full base and start-up funding requirements for tenure-track minority faculty candidates proposed by academic units in consultation with the administration.
Strategic Action 2  

Minority Faculty Development

_General Goal_
To identify and remove institutional barriers to minority faculty success and to ensure equitable access to opportunities for professional development and success.

_Actions_
- Assess and where necessary adjust workloads of minority faculty.
- Within Schools and Colleges, provide equitable access to human, financial, and technical resources which contribute to success and achievement.
- Establish specific funding designed to assist minority and women faculty in professional development during the pre-tenure period.

_Responsibility_
President, Provost, Deans, Graduate Dean, Vice President for Research.

Strategic Action 3

Minority Student Financial Aid Programs

_General Goal_
To meet the full financial needs of all under-represented minority students who are Michigan residents and to expand significantly the financial aid resources available to nonresident under-represented minority students.

_Actions_
- Assess effectiveness of all financial aid programs.
- Optimize packaging of financial aid; e.g., by giving to four-year commitments which minimize additional components.
- Launch major efforts to increase both public and private support of minority financial aid programs.
- Initiate special incentive programs that match central resources against those of units.

_Responsibility_
President, Provost, Deans.
Strategic Action 4  Minority Student Recruiting

General Goal
To develop and implement a comprehensive plan for minority student recruitment.

Actions
- Assess effectiveness of all current recruiting programs.
- Restructure and expand minority recruiting function in the Office of Admissions.
- Establish task forces to coordinate all campus recruiting activity.
- Develop alumni recruiting network through joint efforts with Alumni Association.
- Strengthen research capability in areas such as longitudinal studies, pool identification, and program design and evaluation.

Responsibility
President, Provost, Deans.

Strategic Action 5  Outreach Programs

General Goal
Develop strong programs for mutually beneficial cooperation and interaction with K-12, community colleges, historically Black colleges and universities, and predominantly Hispanic and Native American colleges, community colleges, and universities to address the pipeline problem.

Actions
- Establish both formal and informal partnerships with K-12, community colleges, and colleges and universities for mutually beneficial outreach activities to improve educational opportunities.
- Develop effective mechanisms to promote communication, collaboration, and consultation between the University of Michigan, and elementary and secondary schools.
Strategic Action 6  Minority Student Achievement

General Goal
To develop and implement a comprehensive plan to enhance minority student success.

Actions
* Assess effectiveness of all current retention programs.
* Develop strong retention programs within each college.
* Develop strong support of retention programs at both the central and unit level.

Responsibility
President, Provost, Deans, Faculty.

Strategic Action 7  Staff Recruitment and Development

General Goal
To expand efforts to recruit and develop minority staff.

Actions
* Work with units to achieve affirmative action goals in all job categories.
* Design and implement career development programs aimed at advancing minority staff into leadership positions.

Responsibility
President, Executive Officers, Deans and Directors.

Strategic Action 8  Research Strengths

General Goal
To launch key research thrusts responding to the needs and experience of under-represented minorities.

Actions
* Stimulate major initiatives in the basic and applied social sciences which support scholarship in fields of ethnic studies and intergroup relations.
STRATEGIC PROCESS, con't

- Coordinate the capacities of key University units such as the Schools of Education and Social Work; the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts; the Institute for Social Research; the Institute for Public Policy Studies; and other units to address the underlying issues that limit the opportunities for under-represented minorities with special focus on Southeastern Michigan.

- Develop the nation's leading program in race and ethnic studies.

Responsibility
President, Provost, Graduate Dean, Vice President for Research, Deans, Faculty.

Strategic Action 9  Office of Minority Affairs

General Goal
Provide guidance, assistance, and coordination for University efforts to achieve diversity.

Actions
- Strategic planning.
- Policy leadership.
- Evaluation.
- Strategic funding.
- Infrastructure to sustain and facilitate progress.
- Internal and external communication and liaison.

Responsibility
President, Provost, Vice Provost.

Strategic Action 10  Identification and Support of "Change Agents"

General Goal
To identify and mobilize key leadership among faculty, students, and staff.
STRATEGIC PROCESS, con't

Actions

- Develop small action teams of Deans and Directors.
- Develop action teams of key faculty opinion leaders.
- Strengthen Affirmative Action Coordinator appointments.
- Support student leadership development.
- Support staff leadership development.

Responsibility
President, Provost, Deans, Vice Provost, Executive Officers.

Strategic Action 11 Multicultural and Ethnic Studies Education Programs

General Goal
To implement efforts to achieve better understanding of multicultural communities.

Actions

- Launch pilot programs to encourage faculty to integrate multicultural material into the curriculum.
- Identify, retain, and fund the use of both internal and external consultants in race relations and organizational change.
- Stimulate faculty leadership to envision the characteristics of a diverse academic and civil community.
- Strengthen existing and launch new programs for student, faculty, and staff education (e.g., Orientation, Housing, In-Service Staff Training).

Responsibility
President, Provost, Deans, Faculty, Vice Provost.

Strategic Action 12 Student, Faculty, and Staff Policies to Combat Harassment

General Goal
To develop clear policies for handling incidents of racial harassment and discrimination.
STRATEGIC PROCESS, con't

**Actions**
- Clarify faculty and staff policies.
- Develop and implement student policies.

**Responsibility**
President, Provost, Vice President for Student Services, Vice President for Finance, Deans and Directors.

Implementation Strategies

"Bottom-up" Initiatives in Creating Diversity Coupled with Top-down Incentives

The University of Michigan community traditionally is one of high ideals. Desiring greater diversity is not the most difficult issue. Accomplishing diversity, however, has been an issue in the minds of some. And with good reason. For our performance, and that of the rest of American higher education, has failed to live up to our obligations and commitments.

But these are new times that require new and firmer resolve. The initial results we have to offer from the Michigan Mandate provide hope for the real possibility of creating diversity here at the University of Michigan. As departments that have not actively been engaged by the Michigan Mandate become involved, momentum for diversity across the entire University will build.

We have little doubt that all of our academic units will become engaged, both because they can see the possibility of the achievement of their ideals for diversity and because the University reward structure, especially in terms of available faculty positions, will favor and support those units that aggressively pursue the enhancement of diversity.

A good example of how the strategic approach works is shown in the faculty hiring program instituted in 1987-88.

**Target of Opportunity Faculty Recruitment Program**

The most important ingredients of effective strategic action are adherence to our values and traditions as a public university, understanding of our unique culture, and imaginative and innovative thinking. The Target of Opportunity Faculty Recruitment Program was based on this understanding.
Traditionally, university faculties have been driven by a concern for academic specializations within their respective disciplines. This is fundamentally laudable and certainly has fostered the exceptional strength in disciplinary character that we see at universities across the country; it also can be constraining. Too often in recent years we have seen faculty searches that are, literally, "replacement" searches rather than "enhancement" searches.

To achieve our goals at the University of Michigan we cannot be constrained by this perspective. Therefore, we have sent out the following message to our units: Be vigorous and creative in identifying minority teacher/scholars who can enrich the activities of your unit. Do not be limited by concerns relating to narrow specialization; do not be concerned about the availability of a faculty slot within the unit. The principal criterion for the recruitment of a minority faculty member is whether that individual can enhance the department. If so, resources will be made available to recruit that person to the University of Michigan.

We have agreed to provide full funding for both non-tenured and tenured minority faculty hires from central rather than unit funds. This initiative has placed strong incentives for minority faculty recruitment at the department level where the key search committees are formed. Moreover, since the funds for this program are reallocated from the base budget of the University as a whole, there are strong disincentives for "business as usual" behavior by Schools and Colleges.

In this way some academic barriers to minority recruitment have been removed. Those departments that have been able to identify candidates have often found that not only is their vitality enhanced, but their numbers are enlarged. The results of the program during its first two years have been spectacular: 75 new minority faculty hires (+35%), including 40 African Americans (+52%), 11 Hispanic Americans (+120%), and 22 Asian Americans (+20%). The "Target of Opportunity Program" is one example of idealism joining self-interest; it also is an example of breaking down the barriers.
VI Evaluation

Leadership and Assessment

The achievement of goals at a university, as with any organization, ultimately depends on the people charged with the task of carrying them out. Of course, as we present the Michigan Mandate, we know that those in key administrative positions must be sufficiently capable and committed to lead this institution towards true diversity. Not only are we operating from strength in our key administrative offices, but we can draw heavily on the expertise and counsel of a variety of individuals and groups who are experienced and committed to this agenda.

At the same time it is essential to understand that in a structure as decentralized as ours at the University of Michigan, real change must come at the unit level. And in the units, it will be the concerted effort and commitment of individuals that will carry us forward and make the difference. The central administration can provide incentives and leadership, but every member of our community must take personal responsibility to opt for change if we are to succeed.

The inclusion of affirmative action criteria as part of the performance evaluations of units, departments, and their heads, has brought substantial progress, but still shows an uneven response. We expect even better results as the units become more committed to this new policy and begin to accept the opportunity that it represents to achieve greater cultural and scholarly creativity.

Finally, accountability is an important part of the Michigan Mandate and will be accomplished through established channels, improved and expanded reporting, and by several oversight committees. We expect to identify membership and convene several such groups over the course of the coming two years. With the inauguration of the plans for the creation of diversity among all our academic units, the involvement of these oversight committees will assume increasing importance in the assessment and course adjustment process.

THE CONSTITUENCIES

The University of Michigan's Constituencies: Part of the Process, Essential to the Success of the Michigan Mandate

It is only the collective commitment of the University of Michigan community that will cause the Michigan Mandate to succeed. That
THE CONSTITUENCIES, con’t

community includes every person on our campus and our many alumni, friends, and constituents beyond it.

As a major public research university, the University of Michigan is not apart from society, but in and of it. We believe that, if we cannot create here a truly equal participatory, diverse community, there is little chance that one will be created in the broader society.

We have the responsibility to succeed with the Michigan Mandate, a responsibility that requires the active involvement of many constituencies. We believe that with the involvement of all, the Michigan Mandate will guide us to greater diversity on campus, enriching this community as well as the state and nation. This will ensure our continued leadership in teaching, research, and service in the coming century.

We have very high expectations of those who will join us in achieving the objectives of the Michigan Mandate. To each of them we address the following challenge to help us succeed:

The Board of Regents and the Legislature

Give us your personal support and the resources to accomplish our goals. Provide us with the means and your own clear mandate to accomplish our objectives, to serve the needs of the state by creating an institution that provides opportunity and access in our rapidly diversifying society. Above all, be patient, but hold us to our high aspirations.

The Students of the University

Demand of your University and yourselves a campus environment that supports diversity to prepare you for a pluralistic society and global economy. Be bold in proclaiming your own best ideals about dignity and the worth of individuals. Realize that your ideals and your educational objectives converge in the Michigan Mandate. Demonstrate responsibility and leadership rather than negativity or passivity. Take an active role in creating diversity by volunteering in community outreach programs, by tutoring, by forming and participating in the multi-cultural activities on this campus, and by working with each other in a spirit of mutual respect and cooperation.

The Faculty of the University

Help us continue the commitment to excellence and the openness that has long characterized this great University. Uphold the quality and integrity of discourse and strengthen it by seeking out diverse perspectives. Foster a regard for the intellectual interests, concerns, even new intellectual
paradigms that accompany the growing diversity in the academic arena, not only in this country but across the world. Let your teaching and research reflect an enlarged world view that encompasses the reality of a pluralistic campus and world community. Join with your students in applying knowledge to solve problems through service and outreach. Help to identify and recruit minority faculty members and students. Exercise creativity in developing opportunities for minority faculty members and students to succeed and enrich our intellectual vitality. Help to articulate a vision of the University's future that fosters diversity and community.

University Officers, Deans and Directors

Provide leadership to the University. Use the framework of the Michigan Mandate to develop strategic plans for every unit of the University with goals, timetables, assessment, evaluation, and commitment of resources that will assure success. Communicate with one another and the larger community about successes and failures so that we can all learn together. Hold yourself and your associates accountable for progress. Create an atmosphere that encourages learning and welcomes constructive change.

The Staff of the University

Use your daily contacts to affect positively the quality of life enjoyed by our students, faculty, and staff of all races and backgrounds. In your work, set a high standard of civility, an orientation to service, and personal concern in every interaction with students, faculty, and the public. Commit yourselves to the creation of greater diversity in your own unit and throughout the University. Pursue the principles of affirmative action with vigor. Encourage your colleagues and create opportunities for your subordinates to improve their skills and assume greater responsibility and leadership.

The Alumni of the University

Inform yourselves about the changes in American society. Communicate with us your views of the educational needs to improve and sustain our democratic and economic welfare. Criticize and shape, but also support our efforts to prepare the next generations of citizens and leaders. Become involved. Together our actions will protect and enhance the value of the University of Michigan degree that you have earned.

Corporations and Other Employers

Your interests and ideals are as compelling as ours in the promotion of a truly pluralistic society that offers equal access to all our citizens. We envision and invite your creativity and commitment in working with the University to bring under-represented groups into those positions that will be crucial to the success of our society in the future. Also out of conscience and self-interest, join with us to extend educational opportunity to all of our youth.
The Educational Community
Especially faculty and administrators of elementary and secondary schools: as we actively seek partnerships to expand the hopes and opportunities of those disadvantaged by racism, we invite the same of you. Your collaboration with the University is an important component of the Michigan Mandate, and we invite you not just to be responsive but to initiate possibilities, to challenge the University to do more, to identify different ways that we can have an impact on your important task of educating and creating hope among these children.

The Citizens of Michigan
All of us, as citizens of Michigan, have directly felt the meaning of the word "change" in the last fifteen years. Change will be even more profound in the future, both in the types of jobs that will become available and in terms of the types of people who will do them. With that understanding, we seek the support of the people of Michigan for the Michigan Mandate and the recognition that it represents an important continuation of the University's commitment to serve the State with excellence.

National Leadership
There is no more compelling agenda before our nation than to improve education at all levels and to extend its benefits to all of our people. There may be difficult decisions ahead, but we must approach each one with a sense of the needs of the future as well as those of the present. This country must invest now to develop its most precious resource--its people--if it is to survive and prosper in the new century.

CONCLUSION
The University of Michigan has a rich academic tradition as well as an exciting intellectual future. We can honor that tradition and secure that future by setting aside confrontation and empty rhetoric, by overcoming ignorance and resistance to change, by seeking the understanding that comes from working side by side, by engaging in thoughtful dialogue, and by standing firm in our commitment to the creation of a diverse community on this campus.

We must do so with an awareness that institutional change is a complex process and that, despite our best intentions, occasionally we will falter. While setbacks may be a measure of the difficulty of our task, most of the people in our University community are committed to our agenda and will not be diverted from progressing toward our goals.
CONCLUSION, con't

The current pace of intellectual, cultural, and social change throughout our nation and the world creates enormous pressures on the University. In addition to the challenge of creating pluralism and diversity, America's leading research universities face a number of other formidable challenges, including the financing of academic excellence, preparing for the globalization of America, sustaining and encouraging intellectual innovation and advances, and leading America's metamorphosis from a resource-intensive to a knowledge-intensive society.

All of these challenges are interrelated. Thus the success of the Michigan Mandate is also intricately related to our success in meeting the many other challenges facing the University. We have met challenges of equal magnitude before. Leadership is both the heritage and the destiny of the University of Michigan.

We approach the 21st century confident that the University of Michigan will once again assert its tradition of leadership for the people of this state, for this nation, and for the world, to build a better future for us all.
Appendix A
A Two Year Status Report
Appendix A

A Two Year Status Report

**Objective 1: Faculty Recruiting and Development**

Goals:

- Substantially increase the number of tenure-track faculty in each under-represented group.

- Increase the success of minority faculty in the achievement of professional fulfillment, promotion, and tenure.

- Increase the number of under-represented minority faculty and staff in leadership positions over the next five years.

**Results to Date:**

The Target of Opportunity Program, combined with aggressive recruiting efforts through normal mechanisms, has created significant growth in minority faculty representation over the past two years:

- The University has added 76 new minority faculty over the past two years, corresponding to a 35% increase, bringing its minority faculty representation to 12%.

- During this period, 40 new African American faculty have been added, an increase of 52%, bringing this representation to 4.0%.

- Furthermore, 11 new Hispanic American faculty have been added during this period, an increase of 120%, bringing Hispanic representation to 1.2%.
A better sense of the real impact of the Michigan Mandate on faculty hiring can be seen by comparing faculty hires and attrition, for example, for African American faculty:
The distribution of new minority faculty appointments among the Schools and Colleges during this period is provided in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>1 aP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>1 L, 1 AP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Administration</td>
<td>6 aP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>5 L, 1 aP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>5 aP, 3 P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information and Library Studies</td>
<td>1 L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>2 P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS&amp;A/Humanities</td>
<td>2 L, 7 aP, 4 AP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS&amp;A/Social Sciences</td>
<td>1 L, 3 aP, 1 AP, 2 P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS&amp;A/Natural Sciences</td>
<td>7 aP, 2 AP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>2 L, 3 L, 1 aP, 2 AP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>1 L, 1 aP, 1 AP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Resources</td>
<td>2 aP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing</td>
<td>1 L, 1 aP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacy</td>
<td>3 aP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Health</td>
<td>1 aP, 1 P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>1 aP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

L = Lecturer
I = Instructor
aP = Assistant Professor
AP = Associate Professor
P = Professor
Objective 2: Student Recruiting, Achievement, and Outreach

Goals:

- In each of the next five years, achieve increases in the number of entering under-represented minority students, as well as in our total under-represented minority enrollment.

- Establish and achieve specific minority enrollment targets in all Schools and Colleges.

- Increase minority graduation rates.

- Develop new programs to attract back to campus minority students who have withdrawn from our academic programs.

- Design new and strengthen existing outreach programs which have demonstrable impact on the pool of minority applicants to undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs.

Results to date:

Student Enrollments:

The University has made great progress over the past two years in moving towards its student representation goals:

- African American: 23.4% increase to 2,140 students (6.5%)
- Hispanic American: 36.9% increase to 927 students (2.9%)
- Native American: 7.0% increase to 138 students (0.5%)
- Asian American: 24.7% increase to 2,249 students (6.9%)
- All Minorities: 25.6% increase to 5,454 students (16.6%)
Undergraduate minority enrollments reflect this strong growth:

Since our graduate student population represents the next generation of faculty, particular effort has been focused on increasing minority graduate enrollment. During the first two years of the Michigan Mandate, graduate minority enrollments have increased by 27.5% (African American: +39.4%, Hispanic American: +31.0%, Asian American: +19.7%):
Graduate minority fellows have increased from 336 to 444 (32.1%), by far the largest of any research university in the nation. Among the entering students, African American graduate fellows have increased from 24 to 80 (233%), and Hispanic American fellows have increased from 13 to 42 (223%). This is particularly important, since these students represent the next generation of faculty. At the present time, Michigan is second only to Howard University in the number of African American PhDs it graduates.

![Graduate Minority Student Enrollments (UMAA)](image)

Particularly strong growth has been seen in the minority enrollments of our professional schools during the first two years of the Michigan Mandate, with minority enrollments up 27.2% (African American: +45.5%, Hispanic American: +4.5%, Native American: +9.5%, Asian American: +17.5%):

- The School of Business Administration has seen its MBA minority enrollments increase to 22%, including 14% African American. The School leads the nation in these efforts.

- Other Schools with unusual success in recruiting African American students include Medicine (12%), Public Health (9%), and Dentistry (12%).
It is also of interest to plot enrollments for each ethnic group separately, showing the breakout among undergraduate, graduate, and professional school enrollments. Below we have shown African American enrollments, which reflect the strong recovery in recent years, building to their present level of 2,140 students or 6.5% of the student population:
Hispanic American enrollments have grown steadily since the mid-1980s, and now stand at 927 students or 2.9% of the student population:

Native American enrollments have fluctuated for some time, without showing appreciable progress. It is clear that we need to do much more work in this area.
Asian American enrollments have been growing steadily for some time, now standing at 2,249 students or 6.9% of the student population:

In recent years, we have experienced a steady growth in our minority student population of roughly 10% each year. It is interesting to extrapolate such progress to the mid-1990s, where we would find that roughly 30% of the total student population would be comprised of people of color:
A similar 10%-per-year extrapolation of African American student data—where the University is most seriously under-represented—indicates that if we are able to stay on this pace, we would achieve 12% representation by 1995, roughly the same as the Michigan population:

Other Actions Taken in Student Recruitment, Achievement, and Outreach:

* Over the past two years major additional commitments have been made to financial aid programs for minority students:
  ...a 43.8% increase in undergraduate financial aid ($4.1 million)
  ...a 28.3% increase in graduate financial aid ($6.8 million)
  ...repackaging financial aid awards to stress long-term commitments and minimize loans

* A broad series of outreach activities have been launched:
  ...King-Chavez-Parks Program (4,000 participants to date)
  ...Wade McCree Incentive Scholars program
  ...Detroit Compact
  ...DAPSEP (1,500 students to date)
  ...Cooperative relationships with key school systems across the state (e.g., Detroit, Flint, Saginaw, Ann Arbor, ...)
  ...Cooperative relationships with Michigan community colleges
  ...Cooperative relationships with historically Black and predominantly Hispanic colleges and universities
  ...Major expansion of alumni recruiting efforts
- Student retention programs have been expanded (e.g., the Comprehensive Studies Program) and retention numbers, while still lagging those of the major population (i.e., 60% for African Americans and Hispanic Americans compared to 80% for majority students) are still highest among our peers and moving upwards.

A Comparison With Michigan Institutions and Big Ten Institutions

It is instructive to compare the current status of student enrollments with data from other Michigan and Big Ten universities. In terms of percentages, the University of Michigan is second only to Wayne State University in total minority student enrollment:

![Percentage Total Minority Enrollments](chart)

UM ranks second among Michigan universities in the absolute number of minority students enrolled:

![Total Minority Enrollments](chart)
With the exception of Wayne State University, UM's percentage enrollment of African American students is comparable to those of the state's other major universities at roughly 7%.

A similar ranking holds for absolute number of African American students enrolled, with UM and MSU roughly comparable because of their size.
UM ranks second only to Saginaw Valley in Hispanic American enrollment percentage.

![Percentage Hispanic-American Enrollments](chart1)

However, when absolute numbers of Hispanic American students are compared, UM ranks first among state institutions.

![Hispanic-American Enrollments](chart2)
Because of its location in the Upper Peninsula, Lake Superior State University enrolls by far the largest percentage of Native American students, followed by Northern Michigan University. UM is comparable to other major institutions in the state with roughly 0.5% Native American enrollment.

Once again, UM fares somewhat better in comparisons of absolute number of Native American students enrolled, because of its size.
UM ranks first, both in percentage and absolute numbers, in the enrollment of Asian American students. This is due primarily to the University’s high national visibility which attracts outstanding students from all parts of the nation, including the West Coast, with large Asian American populations.
It is clear that the University of Michigan compares quite favorably with Big Ten institutions, both in percentage and absolute number of minority students enrolled, ranking at or near the top in both categories.
The University of Michigan also clearly ranks as a leader in its enrollment of African American students among Big Ten peer institutions.
A similar situation applies to Hispanic American students, in which the University of Michigan again ranks second in both percentage and absolute number enrolled:

Percentage Hispanic-American Enrollments
Big Ten Institutions, Fall 1968

Hispanic-American Enrollments
Big Ten Institutions, Fall 1968
The University of Michigan is one of the leaders among Big Ten institutions in the percentage and number of Native American students enrolled.
The University of Michigan ranks among the leaders in both percentage and absolute number of Asian American students enrolled.
Objective 3: Staff Recruiting and Development

Goals:

- Focus on the achievement of affirmative action goals in all job categories during the next five years.
- Increase the number of under-represented minorities in key University leadership positions.
- Strengthen support systems and services for minority staff.

Results to Date:

Staff:

Minority representation in University staffing has increased in all areas during the first two years of the Michigan Mandate, with particularly strong growth in senior management (+55.2%) and P&A (+20.0%) ranks.

![Minority Senior Management (UMAA) Graph]
Objective 4: Improving the Environment for Diversity

Goals:

- Foster a culturally diverse environment.
- Significantly reduce the number of incidents of prejudice and discrimination.
- Increase community-wide commitment to diversity and involvement in diversity initiatives among students, faculty, and staff.
- Ensure the compatibility of University policies, procedures, and practices with the goal of a multicultural community.
- Improve communications and interactions with and among all groups.
- Provide more opportunities for minorities to communicate their needs and experiences and to contribute directly to the change process.

Results to Date:

- Completion of 1987 Six Point Plan:
  ...Establishment of position of Vice Provost for Minority Affairs
  ...Funding for Black Student Union
  ...Implementation of policy and grievance procedure for racial harassment
  ...Additional budget support for attracting and retaining minority faculty
  ...Development of unit goals and annual review process
  ...Formation of Presidential Advisory Committee on Minority Affairs

- The University established the position of Vice-Provost for Minority Affairs, supported by the staff of an Office of Minority Affairs (budgeted for FY89-90 at a level of $1.2 million).

- Over the past several years, the University has invested $910,000 in facility renovation, $300,000 for one time program support, and $650,000/year in base support for the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies.
• The University developed and implemented a series of orientation and educational programs for students, faculty, and staff at all levels to increase understanding and sensitivity to multicultural issues.

• The University has set aside Martin Luther King, Jr. Day as a time for drawing the campus community together in a broad set of educational and commemorative activities in which thousands of students, faculty, and staff join together to celebrate diversity.

• The University has developed racial harassment policies for faculty and staff and has an interim policy in place for students.

• The Regents of the University divested all University stock holdings in companies with interests in South Africa.
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<td>Undergraduate Student Enrollments</td>
<td>11</td>
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After serving for almost a decade as provost, acting president, and president, Anne and I have decided that this will be our last year as leaders of the University. It is my intention to retire from the presidency and return to the faculty of the University, effective June 30, 1996.

Serving the University has been a privilege. It has been a wonderful and exhilarating experience, primarily because of the extraordinary people who learn in, work at, sacrifice for, and love Michigan. It has also been a satisfying period in my life because of the exceptional progress made by the University during these years.

This is my final report to the University community on the progress of the Michigan Mandate. I am pleased to say that we have become known as a national leader in building the kind of diverse learning community necessary to serve an increasingly diverse society. The American Association of Colleges and Universities has identified the University of Michigan as one of the twenty leading resource institutions on issues related to diversity in the curriculum.

As this report goes to press in early November 1995, enrollment of students of color on the Ann Arbor campus is at its highest ever. Students of color number 8,108, or 24.8 percent of all students, up from the 1994 total of 7,927, or 24.2 percent of total enrollment. This year’s figure is more than twice the total of minority students enrolled in 1986, two years before the Michigan Mandate was established. For the fifth straight year, enrollment of African Americans is at a record high. African American students now number 2,846, or 8.7 percent of total enrollment, compared with 2,715, or 8.3 percent, in 1994. This represents the largest gain—a 4.8 percent increase—among minority groups over last year.

The report you are about to read reflects our progress as of June 1995. It is important to note that the annual report always lags a year behind, as we await final counts of faculty, students, and staff for the previous academic year.

I bring this to your attention because we made some very significant adjustments in our programs last year after we received reports on enrollments of students of color and the composition of our faculty in fall 1994. At that time, we were disappointed by our slower movement in faculty hiring, by two successive years of falling African American graduate enrollments, and by the African American representation in the professional and
administrative work force. We renewed our efforts to work harder and smarter to meet our objectives. Although the report on the faculty is not available as of press time, we anticipate improvement as a result of this renewed commitment during the 1994-95 academic year.

What lies ahead? That is up to the University in large measure, but it is also essential that we understand that external forces may also affect our ability to move forward. Challenges to affirmative action policies in California, in Washington, D.C., and even in our own state emphasize how imperative it is that we keep making the case for diversity.

Working to achieve diversity does not mean imposing quotas. Instead, it represents the fulfillment of a broad set of goals for student recruitment and achievement and for faculty and staff recruitment and development. Our goals, as outlined in this report, have served our University, state, and nation well. They continue to guide us as we grapple with some of the most tenacious challenges facing our society.

Sometimes people ask why the University has made this commitment to change, why diversity is the cornerstone of our efforts to achieve national excellence and leadership during the 1990s. Fundamentally, it is the morally right thing to do. Plurality, equal opportunity, and freedom from discrimination are the foundations upon which the University is built. In an often painfully divided society, America's universities must act as leading engines of progress in our long struggle toward true equity.

Furthermore, excellence in teaching and scholarship will elude us unless we also draw on the varied intellectual perspectives and experiences of America and the world in every aspect of our community. Without a vast diversity of people and ideas, and without fairness to all members of our society, we cannot hope to generate the intellectual and social vitality needed to thrive in a rapidly changing world.

I hope that all who read this report will share my pride in what we have already accomplished at the University. The Michigan Mandate is a work in progress, a task worthy of our energy and our most creative efforts. The foundation has been laid, thanks to the passion and diligence of our faculty, students, staff, and alumni. The responsibility of fulfilling the goals of the Mandate rests on all our shoulders.

James J. Duderstadt
November 1995
The University of Michigan continues to work diligently to promote diversity in our student, faculty, and staff ranks so we can provide a quality academic experience and working environment for all members of the campus community. The following report provides a snapshot of where we are as an institution and how far we have to go.

Strategic Objective #1

- Substantially increase the number of tenure-track faculty in each underrepresented group.
- Increase the success of faculty of color in the achievement of professional fulfillment, promotion, and tenure.
- Increase the number of underrepresented faculty of color in leadership positions.

Since 1987, we have increased our tenured and tenure-track faculty of color by 55 percent:

- 62 percent increase in Blacks, to a level of 128 Total Faculty
- 117 percent increase in Hispanic/Latinos 52 Total Faculty
- 75 percent increase in Native Americans 7 Total Faculty
- 39 percent increase in Asians 181 Total Faculty

Since the beginning of the Mandate, 87 percent of the underrepresented assistant professors of color who were reviewed for the critical promotion to associate professor with tenure were recommended for promotion and received tenure.

The number of underrepresented faculty of color in academic leadership positions (vice presidents, deans, directors, vice provosts, and department chairs) has increased 79 percent since 1987, from 14 to 25.
Strategic Objective #2

Student Recruitment, Achievement, and Outreach

- Achieve an increase in the number of entering students from underrepresented groups, as well as in the total underrepresented group enrollment.

- Increase the graduation rates of underrepresented students of color and improve the success of graduate students of color.

The total number of students of color has increased by 83 percent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Students</th>
<th>2,715</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57 percent increase in African Americans, to a level of</td>
<td>1,533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126 percent increase in Hispanic/Latinos</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 percent increase in Native Americans</td>
<td>3,421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 percent increase in Asian Americans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our six-year graduation rate for undergraduates entering in 1988 and completing their degree program by 1994 is:

- 70 percent for African Americans
- 73 percent for Hispanic/Latinos
- 71 percent for Native Americans
- 87 percent for Asian Americans
- 87 percent for Whites

Strategic Objective #3

Staff Recruitment and Development

- Increase the number of members of underrepresented groups in key leadership positions.

- Focus on achievement in all job categories.

- Increase the number of underrepresented professional and administrative staff of color.

Representation of persons of color in University staffing increased since 1987:

- Executive Officers: number increased 33%
- Top Managers: percentage doubled to 10%
- Professional and Administrative: percent increased from 12 to 15%

Strategic Objective #4

Improving the Environment for Diversity

- Foster a culturally diverse environment and increase community-wide commitment to diversity.

- Improve communications and interactions with and among all groups.

- Provide more opportunities for all people of color to communicate their needs and experiences and to contribute directly to the change process.

- Reach out to the wider community to provide support and expertise, to identify new learning opportunities for our students, and to enhance the University’s sense of connection and interdependence with the world beyond our campus.
Since the Mandate was launched, we have experienced a steady increase in enrollment of students of color, undergraduates, and graduate students.

Looking first at the undergraduate community, we note that more than 28 percent of the 1994 first-year students were students of color. Our efforts embrace three areas: recruitment, quality of academic and extracurricular life, and graduation in a timely fashion.

Our six-year graduation rate for African American students—70 percent— is the second highest among Big Ten schools. Even so, we can and will improve.

Nationally, the UM is a leader in post-secondary degrees conferred upon members of underrepresented minority groups. According to a recent report in Black Issues in Higher Education, the University ranks 27th nationally in the total number of minority baccalaureate degrees granted.

We intend to improve that ranking, although we know the challenge to do so is not insignificant. The State of Michigan has experienced a steady decline in numbers of high school seniors for more than a decade. While the total number of Michigan high school seniors who graduated in 1979 was about 150,000, by 1994 there were fewer than 100,000—a drop of about one-third. This means we face stiff competition from our peers nationally for top students of color; we have responded by developing more creative ways to encourage these students to come to Michigan. We have created a number of “pipeline programs” for pre-college students across the University and within our individual Schools and Colleges, and see them as vital recruitment tools, introducing prospective young scholars to students, faculty, and staff, and building personal, ongoing relationships. We hope to inspire them with pride, drive, and discipline in their academic pursuits, no matter where they may choose later to go to college.

One of our pipeline programs, the Wade H. McCree Incentive Scholarship Program (ISP), contacts promising students in the early years of high school and builds a relationship that fosters their interest in higher learning. Named in memory of the late Wade H. McCree Jr., the Lewis M. Slimes Professor of Law at the UM Law School, the ISP is part of an ongoing effort in the State of Michigan to increase the number and proportion of high school students who will reach high levels of academic achievement. In 1989, the Presidents Council of State Universities endorsed a commitment by its member institutions to offer guaranteed full tuition scholarships for select students. Since 1992, the UM has awarded a minimum of 25 scholarships each year to qualified Detroit students. Those who successfully complete the program, and meet all the criteria, receive a four-year tuition guarantee when they graduate from high school. Currently over 100 ISP scholarship recipients attend Michigan.

The King/Chavez/Parks Program (K/C/P) is the largest of more than 75 mentoring and recruitment programs that the University offers to young people in
high schools and middle schools. Many of these programs are focused on underrepresented populations. Directed by the Office of Academic Multicultural Initiatives (OAMI) under the leadership of Vice Provost for Academic and Multicultural Affairs, Lester P. Monts, the K/C/P/ Program brings 10th and 11th graders from Southeast Michigan school districts to campus for a week each summer.

The University provides room, board, and class-related activities, including scientific laboratory demonstrations, cultural activities, campus tours, and academic workshops. Similar programs are offered by various academic units such as Nursing, Engineering, and Medicine.

Another K/C/P/ program, the College Day Spring Visitation Program, brings some 1,500 middle school students to campus, where they learn about admission requirements, interact with UM students and faculty, explore career opportunities, and, in general, learn how to plan for college. Nearly 2,000 students from Michigan high schools and middle schools visit our campus for one to three weeks in the summer alone, not to mention dozens of other collaborative educational programs that bring students to campus during the academic year.

Many other examples can be cited of our ongoing commitment to developing and enhancing the pipeline students and exposing them to collegiate opportunities while they are in K-12 schools. (Readers who would like a complete report on our programs for pre-college students may obtain our 56-page booklet Educational Collaboration Programs for Pre-College Students from the Office of Academic Multicultural Initiatives. The address may be found at the end of this publication.)

As a sign of support to students who might be considering Michigan, we have also restated our commitment to provide tuition to Native American students from the State of Michigan for the 1995-96 academic year, even if state funding is reduced or eliminated.

Although our 70 percent graduation rate for students of color sounds impressive, and we are delighted that our graduation rates for all students are rising, we must find out why we still have a 17 percentage-point gap between graduation rates of African American and white students. We are taking comprehensive steps to close that gap.
These efforts begin during the admissions process and orientation of each first-year student who joins the Michigan family. Students learn of academic, extracurricular, housing, and counseling programs that they may explore and adapt to their individual liking and needs. Following are just three of many programs designed to enrich the academic lives of our undergraduates.

- **The Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program (UROP)**, which began as a faculty-student collaboration program for students of color, has now expanded to include the entire student body. UROP brings first- and second-year students into the research enterprise of the University and, early in their careers, makes them part of scholarly inquiry. It began in 1988 as an experimental program with 14 students of color and female students. It now serves over 700 students from all backgrounds, and involves faculty research mentors from every School and College in the University.

- **The 21st Century Program** currently includes 265 first-year students who live and learn together. This program is scheduled to more than double the number of participants. Sponsored by the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts and University Housing, the 21st Century Program features small, in-depth seminars taught by faculty and staff. The students, who live on the same floors or areas of a residence hall, discuss the transition to college life, academic major selection, leadership, and community service opportunities for two hours a week during the fall semester. They also take Mastery Workshops together for two hours twice a week. The workshops are in English composition, math, chemistry, and physics, and emphasize collaborative learning and the mastery of concepts beyond course requirements.

- **The Center for Research on Learning and Teaching** provides workshops for faculty and teaching assistants on classroom diversity issues and consults with instructors and academic units to help them serve the learning needs of the UM’s diverse student body. Advice may include guidance on how to introduce or expand an appropriate multicultural focus in subject areas or how to enhance bibliographies that may have previously omitted such issues as a result of narrowness of vision.

The University of Michigan has long been a national leader in the graduate education of members of underrepresented minority groups. The recent report in *Black Issues in Higher Education* placed Michigan eighth nationally for total minority master’s degrees for all disciplines combined, and seventh in the nation in total minority doctoral degrees for all disciplines combined. These rankings include historically Black institutions.
However, we still have cause for concern. Over the past few years we have seen a trend of decreasing African American graduate enrollments. And since last year, the UM has dropped from 11th to 16th place in the number of Ph.D.s granted to African Americans nationwide, according to the report cited above. Even slight variations in the number of doctoral students a university graduates can result in a rise or drop among closely ranked schools. We must do a better job of increasing the number of African American Ph.D.s at Michigan.

One way is to enlarge the pool of prospective students. But how do we encourage more students from minority groups to pursue graduate school? One of the greatest challenges to diversity can be a lack of resources. A number of highly qualified minority students elect to go directly to the job market after receiving baccalaureate degrees rather than incur thousands more dollars of debt. Congressional efforts to cut back financial aid for students threaten to make the task of encouraging minority students to pursue higher education even more challenging.

In addition to supporting a variety of efforts to increase funding for graduate education on the federal and state levels, we are addressing the need for more financial support for our graduate students through the Campaign for Michigan, our $1 billion fund-raising campaign. A portion of the proceeds raised for endowment will be used for student financial aid.

The Rackham Graduate School Merit Fellowship Program is another important component of our recruitment and retention efforts. The Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies has increased the number of Fellows supported by programs for historically underrepresented groups by 118 percent since 1987.

Of the 734 Rackham Fellows in Fall 1994, 51 percent were African American and 29 percent were Mexican American or Puerto Rican. Since 1993-94, Merit Fellowship awards have included incentives to encourage departments to add teaching and research appointments to the Fellowships for doctoral students from historically underrepresented groups.

The Business School has seen its MBA full-time day student-of-color enrollment rise to 28 percent. In 1994, 11 percent who entered the school were African American—among the highest figures for the nation’s leading business schools.

The enrollment of African American students in the Medical School reached 10 percent in 1994, and 39 percent of the entering class were students of color.

The Law School reported that in 1994, 21 percent of its enrollment and entering class included students of color.
Total Student Enrollments

Total Student Enrollment*, Graduate and Undergraduate Combined

Total Students of Color*, Graduate and Undergraduate Combined, as a Percentage of All Students

Average Percent Increase Per Year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Of Color</th>
<th>Before the Mandate</th>
<th>Since the Mandate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic/Latino</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian American</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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* These figures do not include foreign students.
Undergraduate Student Enrollments

Goals

- Achieve an increase in the number of entering students from underrepresented groups, as well as in the total underrepresented group enrollment.
- Increase the graduation rates of underrepresented students of color.

Accomplishments

- 28.6 percent of the 1994 first-year students are students of color. Of these first-year students of color:
  - 34 percent are African American
  - 18 percent are Hispanic/Latino
  - 3 percent are Native American
  - 45 percent are Asian American

- Our six-year graduation rates for students entering in 1988 are:
  - 70 percent for African Americans
  - 73 percent for Hispanic/Latinos
  - 71 percent for Native Americans
  - 87 percent for Asian Americans
  - 87 percent for Whites

The chart below shows that six-year graduation rates for African American students entering the University of Michigan in 1988 were the second highest among Big Ten schools.
- Total enrollment of undergraduates of color has increased by 83 percent since 1987.
This represents the following:
   56 percent increase in African Americans
   157 percent increase in Hispanic/Latinos
   109 percent increase in Native Americans
   85 percent in Asian Americans
Graduate Student Enrollments

Goals

Graduate Student Recruitment and Achievement

- Achieve an increase in the number of entering students from under-represented groups, as well as in the total underrepresented group enrollment.
- Improve the success of graduate students of color.

Accomplishments

- The Rackham Graduate School has increased the number of Fellows supported by programs for historically underrepresented groups by 118 percent since 1987 to a total of 734 in Fall 1994. Of these:
  
  - 51 percent were African American
  - 29 percent were Mexican American or Puerto Rican

- The School of Business Administration has seen its MBA full-time day student of color enrollments increase to 28 percent of total enrollment. The class that entered in 1994 is 11 percent African American. Among top schools, the Michigan Business School is a national leader in its successful recruitment of students of color.

- The Medical School reached an African American student enrollment of 10 percent in 1994. Thirty-nine percent of their 1994 entering class were students of color.

- Student of color enrollments in graduate professional programs at the Law School have increased 46 percent since 1987. Twenty-one percent of all students in 1994 were students of color.
We have increased our tenured and tenure-track faculty of color by 55 percent since 1987; more than 13 percent of our tenured or tenure-track faculty are persons of color.

Since the beginning of the Michigan Mandate, 87 percent of the underrepresented assistant professors of color who were reviewed for promotion to associate professor with tenure received tenure.

The number of underrepresented faculty of color in such important academic leadership positions as vice presidents, deans, directors, vice provosts, and department chairs has increased by 79 percent.

Unfortunately, our momentum has slowed; there are only two more Black tenured and tenure-track faculty than a year ago, and our numbers of tenured and tenure-track faculty in other underrepresented categories remain low: Hispanic/Latinos, 52; Native Americans, 7; and Asians, 181.

Concerned about the recent leveling of efforts to recruit and retain minority faculty, the University’s executive officers decided last year that we needed to recommit ourselves to this important goal. We intend to compete hard, in the best Michigan tradition, to recruit and retain top scholars of color. Increasing our faculty representation is a challenge that needs to be addressed at every level of the University. No one office, task force, or person on our campus has a monopoly on solutions or on the responsibility to strive to come up with them.

Many formal and informal inquiries have confirmed that the creation of a climate and culture that is more welcoming and supportive of all new faculty, including scholars of color, often is most effective when done at the departmental and college level, where newcomers are initiated into the University community.

A number of departments, schools, and colleges have responded to the challenge of enriching the academic culture by using a recruitment strategy known as “cluster hiring”—the hiring of faculty members who share similar research and teaching interests, either within one department or across departments. This practice creates communities of scholars and creative artists, and we are optimistic that the results of cluster hiring will become evident very soon.

Another way we are working to attract and retain faculty of color is through the Target of Opportunity Program, which provides funds to help schools and colleges hire faculty of color with disciplinary interests that contribute to the unit’s programmatic goals. Target of Opportunity funds also support programs that contribute to the multicultural mission of the University.

Already, we can report an increase in the number of Target of Opportunity offers and acceptances in the 1994-95 fiscal year. A total of 26 offers have been extended, and as of mid-summer 1995, we had 20 acceptances. Of the offers, 16, or 69.5 percent, were extended to female faculty of color.

We cannot, however, rely solely on Target of Opportunity funding and cluster hiring to make our faculty better reflect the composition of our society at large. To ensure that we achieve diversity, we need to build a diverse pool of candidates for every opening. To that end, we are enlarging and enriching our candidate pools by keeping in touch with our outstanding Ph.D. graduates as they launch their careers. We are also contacting postdoctoral fellows who have received Mellon or Ford founda-
tion grants, inviting them to consider the many advantages of teaching and doing research at Michigan.

Another program that is making a difference is the Faculty Awards Program sponsored by the Office of the Vice Provost for Academic and Multicultural Affairs (OVPAAMA). The Faculty Awards Program supports the intellectual, professional, and scholarly pursuits of African American, Asian American, Latino/a American, and Native American faculty. Proposals from other faculty that contribute to the University’s multicultural goals are also supported. The program provides tenured and tenure-track faculty financial support to enable them to spend uninterrupted time pursuing research interests or independent study.

We are encouraged that of the 43 grants awarded through the Faculty Awards Program in 1994-95, 67.4 percent were to women of color. The Faculty Awards Program is part of our effort to increase the presence and participation of women faculty of color on campus. The current ratio of women faculty of color to women students of color is 1 to 22. The same ratio for white men is 1 to 5, often resulting in much heavier workloads for these women.

Last year, groups of women of color met several times with the President of the University as part of a series of town meetings focusing on the Michigan Agenda for Women, the University’s comprehensive program for making Michigan the leading University in bringing full gender equality to the campus in all phases of academic life. As a result of these discussions, we are developing strategies to alleviate or correct the inequities women of color encounter on campus. The Michigan Agenda for Women has made funds available to hire 10 new senior women faculty, a number of whom will be women of color.

Finally, the Office of the Vice Provost for Academic and Multicultural Affairs, along with the Office of the Vice President for Research, the Center for the Education of Women, and the Women’s Studies Program, is launching a new initiative titled Women of Color in the Academy. This initiative will focus on issues of concern to women faculty, students, and staff of color. Activities planned include:

- Create a faculty network to link women of color faculty across the campus, reducing isolation and building community;
- Conduct focus groups that help shape activities of this initiative and inform the campus community about the experiences of women of color;
- Develop a speaker series to focus attention both on the accomplishments of women of color in the academy and on issues of particular concern to women of color; and
- Hold a research conference at the UM featuring studies of faculty, students, and staff on a particular group or program, race relations, and broader issues of the multicultural community.
Faculty Recruitment and Retention

**Goals**

- Substantially increase the number of tenured and tenure-track faculty in each underrepresented group.

- Increase the success of faculty of color in the achievement of professional fulfillment, promotion, and tenure.

- Increase the number of underrepresented faculty and staff of color in leadership positions.

**Accomplishments**

- The number of underrepresented faculty of color in academic leadership positions (vice presidents, deans, directors, vice provosts, and department chairs) has increased 79 percent since 1987, from 14 to 25 positions.

- Since the beginning of the Mandate, 87 percent of the underrepresented assistant professors of color who were reviewed for the critical promotion to associate professor with tenure were recommended for promotion and awarded tenure.

- Since the beginning of the Mandate, the University has hired 246 new faculty of color to tenured or tenure-track positions:
  - 107 Blacks
  - 40 Hispanics/Latinos
  - 4 Native Americans
  - 95 Asians

- Including attrition, transfers, and retirement, the University of Michigan now has either tenured or on tenure track:
  - 368 Faculty of color, representing 13.5 percent of the total
  - 128 Black faculty 4.7 percent of the total
  - 52 Hispanic/Latino faculty 1.9 percent of the total
  - 7 Native American faculty 0.3 percent of the total
  - 181 Asian faculty 6.6 percent of the total
Black Tenured and Tenure-Track Faculty Hires and Attrition (UM-AA)

Tenured and Tenure-Track Faculty of Color* (UM-AA)

- Asian
- Black
- Hispanic/Latino
- Native American

Tenured and Tenure-Track Faculty of Color* as a Percentage of All Faculty (UM-AA)

- Asian
- Black
- Hispanic/Latino
- Native American

* These figures include U.S. citizens, permanent resident aliens, or nonresident aliens with visa status which allows their employment at the University.
We have made steady progress in hiring and retaining professional and administrative (P&A) staff of color, increasing the total P&A staff of color from 449 to 816, with substantial increases in three of the four racial categories. However, over the past three years the percentage of P&A staff who are African American has fallen, which is cause for concern and attention. We also need to provide more opportunities for Native American staff members; currently we have only 19 Native Americans in P&A positions.

The number of African Americans in senior management positions increased from 23 in 1987 to 53 in 1994.

We have experienced some success in recruiting and promoting members of underrepresented groups, particularly African Americans, to key leadership and P&A positions since 1987. The number of African Americans in senior management positions has increased from 23 in 1987 to 53 in 1994. During that same period, the number of senior managers increased from two to 11 among Hispanics/Latinos, from one to two among Native Americans, and from three to 10 among Asian Americans.

The Office of Human Resources and Affirmative Action (HRAA) has launched several initiatives to better develop our staff. Currently the Human Resources Development Office is undergoing an assessment and evaluation. The goal is to target professional development programs to meet the needs of employees and departments. As a result of meetings and consultations with staff from underrepresented minority groups, we recognize that we must do a better job of helping all employees identify long-term career paths and provide the tools necessary to assist them with career development.

A new recruitment brochure is now available through the HRAA to alert prospective staff and faculty to the University’s commitment to diversity and the myriad organizations that already exist to promote the interests of underrepresented minorities. We are also considering creating videos for specific groups to be made available upon request to prospective faculty and staff.

HRAA also has established a dispute resolution system operated by its Consultation and Conciliation Services. We hope that this nonconfrontational approach to resolving workplace conflicts in the early stages will help employees resolve problems before they conclude a situation has become intolerable and seek employment elsewhere.
Staff Recruitment and Development

Goals

- Focus on the achievement of affirmative action goals in all job categories.
- Increase the number of members of underrepresented groups in key leadership positions.
- Increase the number of underrepresented staff of color in professional and administrative positions.

Accomplishments

- Representation of persons of color in University staffing increased since 1987:
  - Executive Officers: number increased 33 percent
  - Top Managers: percentage doubled to 10 percent
  - Professional and Administrative: increased from 12 to 15 percent

- Within the senior manager ranks, we have made significant gains over the past seven years.
  - Black: +130 percent
  - Hispanic/Latino: +450 percent
  - Native American: +100 percent (1 person to 2 people)
  - Asian: +233 percent

- Over the seven years of the Mandate, the percentage of Black noninstructional staff who were at the higher levels has increased from 26 percent to 35 percent.

* These figures include U.S. citizens, permanent resident aliens, or nonresident aliens with visa status, which allows their employment at the University.
Staff of Color* in P&A Positions (UM-AA)

Professional and Administrative staff (P&A) are the professional non-faculty staff of the University.

P&A Staff of Color* as a Percentage of All P&A Staff (UM-AA)

* These figures include U.S. citizens, permanent resident aliens, or nonresident aliens with visa status, which allows their employment at the University.
A MESSAGE FROM THE VICE PROVOST FOR ACADEMIC AND MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS

THE COMPLEX PROCESS of guiding a major research university such as the University of Michigan into becoming a more representative and more equitable institution cannot be expressed in numbers alone.

Numbers are important, to be sure, because they offer a clear and comparable measurement of our progress. I would like to share a few more illustrative highlights from the past year’s activities, during which I believe we have carved a new path for academic and multicultural affairs, one that has far-reaching benefits for the campus at large.

I share with President Duderstadt the passionate conviction that our commitment to these institutional values and objectives can be fully realized only when being fair, inclusive, and unbiased is ingrained in the University culture.

We have made great strides, doubling our enrollment of students from underrepresented minority groups since the Mandate was launched, and we are on pace to meet our goals for a fully representative student body, faculty, and staff. But it is tough to reach one’s ultimate goals, so we find now at Michigan we have to become more creative, more bold, and more focused as we near our objective.

Any institution’s climate inevitably reflects a tradition of “the way we do things and have always done them”; the formal and informal policies; the routine, habits, and systems that crystallize over time and can be hard to identify or change—these are the areas we must concentrate on as we move “beyond the numbers.”

In my meetings with executive committees of several Schools and Colleges and with department heads of the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, our undergraduate college, I have stressed the importance for getting a clearer view of climate issues and how they affect minority recruitment and retention of students, faculty, and staff. Through retreats and meetings with the President and the faculty’s Senate Assembly and Senate Advisory Committee on University Affairs, I have concluded that my office and the faculty will enjoy an increased level of cooperation in the period to come.

This cooperation is already showing progress, and we have a clear set of recommendations on ways to improve University practices and procedures so that principles of diversity become both normal and normative.

From our discussions with students of color, we have concluded that some of them, as well as many other students, could benefit from the creation of an early warning system that proactively alerts support, advising staff and faculty to students with academic, financial, and adjustment problems that could interfere with the students’ academic progress. We are currently exploring the mechanisms and range of such a program.
We also are planning to develop more detailed information on student demographics and on the resources available to students from many different backgrounds and with an array of interests. Yet at the same time, all our students share a common commitment to academic achievement. Providing such data to the support staff and faculty should raise the level of assistance they can give students.

Another measure under consideration is to conduct timely, thorough and considerate person-to-person exit interviews with students who are leaving the University. We need to know whether the institution is placing any unnecessary impediments in the way of students who don't return. If we can adjust certain practices, and change inhospitable features of our environment, we must make every effort to do so.

Other actions under consideration include identifying ways to foster more collaborative relationships in the classroom, forming support groups for students considering graduate school, increasing access to academic and personal enhancement workshops, and involving more students in learning communities in the form of living units, study teams, research projects, or service opportunities.

To improve faculty recruitment and retention, we plan to conduct workshops for new departmental chairs that include a session on faculty search procedures. Candidates of color should be routinely considered in open searches and for open positions, as well as through the mechanism of the Target of Opportunity Program described elsewhere in this report.

Also recommended is an electronic bulletin board to provide information on current listings of minority recipients and holders of major postdoctoral fellowships and research awards throughout the country. Such an instrument would help departmental search committees identify outstanding prospective faculty candidates.

To increase minority faculty in the areas of greatest underrepresentation, the life and physical sciences, we look to expand pipeline programs at the graduate and undergraduate levels and “grow our own,” as it were.

Linked to the pipeline effort is the recognition that we are already among the nation’s leading producers of Ph.D.s of color in certain disciplines, yet we have not made sufficient efforts to recruit these young scholars to our faculty.

Curricular issues are important equally to faculty and students. What is learned through research, reflection, and performance; how that knowledge and skill is taught to students; and how faculty respond to the probing and sometimes skeptical or challenging questions of students—this is the essence of intellectual interaction.
At Michigan, we are strengthening the multicultural efforts within our Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, the nation’s largest and one of its oldest units dedicated to improving teaching skills.

We are committed to assisting all of our interested faculty in expanding their knowledge of multiculturalism, in exploring ways in which multicultural content can be infused into the curriculum, and in upgrading their skills in presenting different kinds of multicultural content. This will entail interdisciplinary projects, team teaching, and other collaborative efforts that will benefit the classroom experience in all departments, not just those that most obviously involve multicultural issues.

As President Duderstadt has said on many occasions, we do not do these things at Michigan because any outside agencies or interest groups pressure us to do so. We do it because it is right. Nor do we conceive of multiculturalism as the transference of a rigid, "politically correct" system of values.

What we do strive for is knowledge and the cultivation of individual expressions of civility, community service, decency, honesty, and honor.

These are the dimensions of education that cannot be captured by numbers. But as we move beyond the numbers and toward the 21st Century, these are the values that we hope everyone working and studying at Michigan will accept. With the support, advice, and effort of our alumni, of the communities we study and live in, and of our students, faculty, and staff, I have every confidence we will reach them.

Lester P. Monts, Vice Provost for Academic and Multicultural Affairs, Professor of Music
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Today civilization is in danger by reason of a perversion of doctrine concerning the social character of humanity. The worth of any social system depends on the value experience it promotes among individual human beings. There is no one American value experience other than the many experiences of individual Americans or of other individuals affected by American life. A community life is a mode of eliciting value for the people concerned.

Alfred North Whitehead

A distinguishing characteristic and great strength of American higher education is its growing commitment over time to serve all segments of our pluralistic society. Higher education’s broadening inclusion of talented students and faculty of diverse ethnic, racial, economic, social, political, national, or religious background, has allowed our academic institutions to draw on a broader and deeper pool of talent, experience, and ideas than more exclusive counterparts in other places and times. This diversity invigorates and renews teaching and scholarship in American universities, helping to challenge long-held assumptions, asking new questions, creating new areas and methods of inquiry, and generating new ideas for testing in scholarly discourse.

We have never needed such inclusiveness and diversity more than today when differential growth patterns and very different flows of immigration from Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Mexico are transforming our population. By the year 2030 current projections indicate that approximately 40 percent of all Americans will be members of minority groups, many—even most—of color. By mid-century we may cease to have any one majority ethnic group. By any measure, we are evolving rapidly into a truly multicultural society with a remarkable cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity. This demographic revolution is taking place within the context of the continuing globalization of the world’s economy and society that requires Americans to interact with people from every country of the world. These far reaching changes in the nature of the people we serve and the requirements of global responsibility demand far-reaching changes in the nature and structure of higher education in America.

Our rapidly diversifying population generates a remarkable vitality and energy in American life and in our educational institutions. At the same time, it gives rise to conflict, challenging our nation and our institutions to overcome at last our long history of prejudice and discrimination against those groups who are different, particularly and most devastatingly, those groups identified by the color of their skin. Tragically, race remains a significant factor in our social relations that profoundly affects the opportunities, experiences, and perspectives of those discriminated against as well as those who discriminate. To change this racial and cultural dynamic, we need to understand better how others think and feel and to learn to function across racial and cultural divisions. We must replace stereotypes with knowledge and understanding. Slowly, we Americans are learning but there remains a great distance to go.

The final century of the second millennium, for all its advances in learning and technology, is likely to be most remembered for the horrors unleashed by racial, religious, and ethnic prejudice and discrimination. If anyone should doubt the urgency of our task in seeking to overcome this evil heritage, they have only to recall the Holocaust or to look around the world today at the religious, racial, and ethnic conflicts that have killed millions of innocents, made millions of others refugees, ripped nations asunder, set neighbor against neighbor, and poisoned the minds and hearts of generations.
From Rwanda to Timor, from Kosovo to the Middle East, the endless toll of violence and suffering rises unabated. Some see this as evidence that the ideal of tolerance and understanding is impossible to achieve. We cannot accept such defeatism. We must meet this challenge to overcome prejudice and discrimination here and now. America’s colleges and universities have a critical part to play in this struggle.

This means we must not falter in our national commitment to ending discrimination and achieving the promise of equal opportunity. In recent years academia has made a dedicated effort to make progress towards diversity. It can point to significant gains as a result of these efforts. Unfortunately, but perhaps not surprisingly, this progress has given rise to a growing backlash. An increasing number of Americans oppose our traditional approaches to achieving diversity such as affirmative action. Federal courts are pondering cases that challenge racial preference. In state after state, voters are taking aim through referenda at an earlier generation’s commitment to civil rights. At such a time, it seems particularly important that we in academe talk openly, with boldness, about the need for more, not less, diversity. There is plenty of room to debate the merits of various methods of achieving our ends, but as our nation and our world become ever more diverse, ever more interdependent and interconnected, it is vital that we stand firm in our fundamental commitment to our diversity.

The Case for Diversity

When one discusses the topic of diversity in higher education, it is customary to focus on issues of race and ethnicity, and we shall do so in much of this chapter. But it is also important to recognize that human diversity is far broader, encompassing characteristics such as gender, class, national origin, and sexual orientation. These, too, contribute to the nature of an academic community. In both the narrow and broader sense, it is important to set out a compelling rationale for seeking diversity in American higher education. First and foremost, the case rests on moral responsibility and democratic ideals, based on our social contract with society. I would also contend that diversity is a critical element in sustaining the quality and relevance of our education and scholarship. Our nation’s campuses have a unique opportunity to offer positive social models and provide leadership in addressing one of the most persistent and seemingly intractable problems of human experience—overcoming the impulse to fear, reject, or harm the “other.” In addition, there are persuasive pragmatic reasons for academia to pursue diversity.

Social and Moral Responsibility

American colleges and universities are founded on the principle that they exist to serve their society through advancing knowledge and educating students who will, in turn, apply their knowledge for their own advancement but also to serve others. Hence, higher education, indeed all educational institutions, are responsible for modeling and transmitting essential civic and democratic values and helping to develop the experience and skills necessary to put them into practice. In this sense, then, higher education’s commitment to reflect the increasing diversity of our society in terms of both our academic activities and the inclusiveness of our campus communities is based in part on the American university’s fundamental social, institutional, and scholarly commitment to freedom, democracy, and social justice.

To further these lofty goals, our colleges and universities must overcome inequities deeply embedded in our society by offering opportunity to those who historically have been prevented from participating fully in the life of our nation. Over the years our universities have broadened their commitment to providing equal opportunity for every individual regardless of race, nationality, class, gender, or belief. They have done so as part of their basic obligations to serve those who founded and support us, to serve as models of social interaction, and to serve as a major source of leaders throughout society. This is a fundamental issue of equity and social justice that must be addressed if we are to keep faith with our values, responsibilities, and purposes.

Educational Quality

Nevertheless, universities are social institutions of the mind, not of the heart. While there are compelling moral and civic reasons to seek diversity and social eq-
uity on our campuses, the most effective arguments in favor of diversity to a university community tend to be those related to academic quality.

Perhaps most important in this regard is the role diversity plays in the education of our students. We have an obligation to create the best possible educational environment for the young adults whose lives are likely to be significantly changed during their years on our campuses. Their learning environment depends on the characteristics of the entire group of students who share a common educational experience. Students constantly learn from each other in the classroom and in extracurricular life. The more diverse the student cohort, the more opportunities for exposure to different ideas, perspectives and experiences and the more chances to interact, develop interpersonal skills, and form bonds that transcend difference.

There is ample research to suggest that diversity is a critical factor in creating the richly varied educational experience that helps students learn. Since students in late adolescence and early adulthood are at a crucial stage in their development, diversity (racial, demographic, economic, and cultural) enables them to become conscious learners and critical thinkers, and prepares them to become active participants in a democratic society. Students educated in diverse settings are more motivated and better able to participate in an increasingly heterogeneous and complex democracy.

We must accept as a fact of life in contemporary America that the persistence of separation by race and ethnicity, past and present, has shaped the life experiences and attitudes of whites and minorities in fundamental ways. Americans of different races and ethnicities live in worlds that have a long history of separation and are still, to a great extent, separate. Indeed, in many regions, we are more sharply segregated than ever. Too few Americans of different racial and ethnic backgrounds interact in a meaningful way on a daily basis. A racially and ethnically diverse university student body has far-ranging and significant benefits for all students, non-minorities, and minorities alike. Students learn more and think in deeper, more complex ways in a diverse educational environment. Racial diversity in a college student body provides the very features that research has determined are central to producing the conscious mode of thought educators demand from their students.

**Intellectual Vitality**

Diversity is similarly fundamental for the vigor and breadth of scholarship. Unless we draw upon a greater diversity of people as scholars and students, we cannot hope to generate the intellectual vitality we need to respond to a world characterized by profound change. The burgeoning complexity and rapidly increasing rate of change forces us to draw upon a broader breadth and depth of human knowledge and understanding. Perhaps our society could tolerate singular answers in the past, when we could still imagine that tomorrow would look much like today. But this assumption of stasis is no longer plausible. As knowledge advances, we uncover new questions we could not have imagined a few years ago. As society evolves, the issues we grapple with shift in unpredictable ways. A solution for one area of the world often turns out to be ineffectual or even harmful in another. The dangers of unanticipated consequences of our actions multiply as we take on ever more complex social problems. Many academic and professional disciplines have found their very foundations radically transformed as they grapple with the impact of new perspectives, revolutionary technologies, and the exponential growth of knowledge.

For universities to thrive in this age of complexity and change, it is vital that we resist any tendency to eliminate options. Only with a multiplicity of approaches, opinions, and ways of seeing can we hope to solve the problems we face. Universities, more than any other institution in American society, have upheld the ideal of intellectual freedom, open to diverse ideas that are debated on their merits. We must continually struggle to sustain this heritage and to become places open to a myriad of experiences, cultures, and approaches.

In addition to these intellectual benefits, the inclusion of underrepresented groups allows our institutions to tap reservoirs of human talents and experiences from which they have not yet fully drawn. Indeed, it seems apparent that our universities could not sustain such high distinctions in a pluralistic world society without diversity and openness to new perspectives, experiences, and talents. In the years ahead we will need to draw on the insights of many diverse perspectives to
understand and function effectively in our own as well as in the national and world community.

Serving a Changing Society

Our nation’s ability to face the challenge of diversity in the years ahead will determine our strength and vitality. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, our culture needs to come to grips with the fact that those groups we refer to today as minorities will become the majority population of our nation in the century ahead, just as they are today throughout the world. For instance, as we enter the next century, one of three college-age Americans today is a person of color, and roughly 50 percent of our school children (K-12) are African American or Hispanic American. By 2020, the American population, which now includes 26.5 million African Americans and 14.6 million Hispanic Americans, will include 44 million African Americans and 47 million Hispanic Americans. By the late 21st century, some demographers predict that Hispanic Americans will become the largest ethnic group in America.

The truth, too, is that most of us retain proud ties to our ethnic roots, and this strong and fruitful identification must coexist with—indeed enable—our ability to become full participants in the economic and civic life of our country. Pluralism poses a continuing challenge to our nation and its institutions as we seek to build and maintain a fundamental common ground of civic values that will inspire mutually beneficial cohesion and purpose during this period of radical transformation of so many aspects of our world.

Human Resources

The demographic trends we see in our future hold some other significant implications for national economic and political life and especially for education. Our clearly demonstrated need for an educated workforce in the years ahead means that America can no longer afford to waste the human potential, cultural richness, and leadership represented by minorities and women. Our traditional industrial economy is shifting to a new knowledge-based economy, just as our industrial economy had evolved from an agrarian society in an earlier era. Now, since people and knowledge are the source of new wealth, we will rely increasingly on a well-educated and trained workforce to maintain our competitive position in the world and our quality of life at home.

Higher education will play a particularly important role in this regard. For example, in the 1960s barely 1 percent of law students and 2 percent of medical students in America were black. Through the use of affirmative action, financial aid programs, and aggressive recruiting, universities were able to attract more minorities into their professional programs, and by 1995, 7.5 percent of law school students and 8.1 percent of medical school students were black. Hence, it is clear that higher education can open the doors of opportunity to under-served components of our society. Our universities must make special efforts to expand educational achievement and workforce participation by minorities and women not just because that is good social policy, but because we cannot afford to waste their talents. America will need to call on the full contribution of all of its citizens in the years ahead.

The Challenges of Diversity

Although American higher education has long sought to build and sustain diverse campuses, this is a goal that has faced many challenges. Our nation continues to be burdened by prejudice and bigotry that plague our neighborhoods, our cities, and our social institutions. Although we think of America as a melting pot in which diverse cultures come together in common purpose, in reality, most among us seek communities of like rather than diverse colleagues. All too frequently we define ourselves in terms of our differences from others, and we have great difficulty in imagining the world as others see it. And, although change is always a difficult task for tradition-bound institutions such as universities, it has proven particularly so in the areas of diversity.

The Challenge of Racism

Prejudice and ignorance persist on our nation’s campuses as they do throughout our society. American society today still faces high levels of racial segregation in housing and education in spite of decades of legis-
lative efforts to reduce it. Furthermore, most students complete their elementary and secondary education without ever having attended a school that enrolled significant numbers of students of other races and without living in a neighborhood where the other races were well represented.

Yet, because of the distinctly different historical experiences of white and non-white Americans, race continues to affect outlook, perception, and experience. For example, most white Americans tend to think that race has only a minor impact on the daily experiences and future expectations of Americans whatever their background and that blacks receive the same treatment as they do both personally and institutionally. Most non-whites, in contrast, feel that race still matters a great deal, and considerable numbers report having experienced discriminatory treatment in shops and restaurants or in encounters with the public. Whether explicit or more subtly, our society continues to perpetuate stereotypes which reinforce the idea that one race is superior to another.

Not surprisingly, new students arrive on our campuses bringing with them the full spectrum of these experiences and opinions. It is here that many students for the first time have the opportunity to live and work with students from very different backgrounds. In many ways our campuses act as lenses that focus the social challenges before our country. It is not easy to overcome this legacy of prejudice and fear that divides us. Not surprisingly, our campuses experience racial incidents, conflict, and separatism. When these occur, we must demonstrate clearly and unequivocally that racism on our campuses will not be tolerated. Programs are also needed to promote reflection on social values and to encourage greater civility in social relations. It is also critical to develop new networks and forums to promote interaction and open discussion among campus groups.

The Challenge of Community

In an increasingly diverse country, deep divisions persist between whites, blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and other ethnic groups. There is nothing natural about these divisions. They are not immutable facts of life. Rather they are a consequence of a troubled and still unresolved past. Racial and ethnic groups remain separated by residence and education. There are unfortunately few places in American society where people of different backgrounds interact, learn from each other, and struggle to understand their differences and discover their commonality. The fundamental issue that we face at the end of the 20th Century is to work to overcome our divisions in the spirit of the venerable American motto, E Pluribus Unum. To build unity from pluralism, to recognize diversity and learn from it, to fashion a democracy of many voices, is still an unfinished project. Its success is vital to our nation’s future.

As a social institution, the university can find direction in its history and tradition of openness. We must set forth a vision of a more varied and tolerant environment—a more pluralistic, cosmopolitan community. We have to become a community in which all barriers to full participation of all people in the life of our institution are removed; a place where we can all draw strength from the richness of our human variety; but also a place where we can work constructively together as a community of scholars and as citizens of a democratic society. This is the challenge before us. As citizens we have to reaffirm our commitment to justice and equality. As scholars we have to support unswervingly our shared commitment to academic freedom and the pursuit of excellence.

Seeing Difference Differently

We need to work diligently to transform our campuses, encouraging respect for diversity in all of the characteristics that can be used to describe our human species: age, race, gender, disability, ethnicity, nationality, religious belief, sexual orientation, political beliefs, economic background, and geographical origin. Yet, in doing so, we will have to move in two directions at once. We have to set aside the assumption that people from groups different from ours necessarily have the same needs, experiences, and points of view that we do. At the same time, we cannot succumb to the equally pernicious assumption that “they” are all the same. Real barriers, experiences, and culture may be shared by many in a group, but that does not give us permission to treat people as though they conform to some stereotyped image of “white,” “gay,” or “Latino.” We seek
a community where various cultures and ethnicity are valued and acknowledged, but where each individual has the opportunity to find her or his own path.

At the same time, we should recognize that not everyone faces the same consequences for their differences. The experience of an Asian American student on our campus is not the same as that of an African American student or a white woman or a person with a disability. We should not forget that issues of difference are inextricably intertwined with issues of power, opportunity, and the specific histories of groups and of each individual. As we pursue a pluralistic campus, we should realize that equality will require effort, resources, and commitment to both structural change and education. We must learn to see difference differently. The multicolored skein that would be a multicultural university has to be woven together, becoming a tapestry, with each thread retaining its unique character while part of a larger design.

The Challenge of Change

It is important not to delude ourselves. Institutions do not change quickly and easily any more than do the societies of which they are a part. Achieving our democratic goals of equity and justice for all often requires intense struggle, and we remain far from our goals as a nation. In confronting the issues of racial and ethnic inequality in America we are probing one of the most painful wounds of American history.

Throughout the latter half of the 20th Century, progress towards greater racial equity in our society and our social institutions has been made, in part, through policies and programs that recognize race as an explicit characteristic. For some time, universities with highly selective admissions have used race as one of several factors (e.g., special athletic, artistic, scientific or leadership talent, or geographic origin; status as children of alumni; or unique qualities of character or experience) in determining which students to admit to their institutions. Special financial aid programs have been developed to address the economic disadvantages faced by underrepresented minority groups. Minority faculty and staff have been identified and recruited through targeted programs.

Yet, despite its utility, the use of race as an explicit factor in efforts to achieve diversity or address inequities is being challenged with great force through popular referenda, legislation, and by the courts. For example, actions taken in several states now prohibit the consideration of race in college admissions. In such instances, it is sometimes suggested that other approaches such as admitting a certain fraction of high school graduates or using family income could be used to achieve the same diversity objectives. Yet, the available evidence suggests such alternatives may not suffice. Income based strategies are unlikely to be good substitutes for race-sensitive admissions policies because there are simply too few Black and Latino students from poor families who have strong enough academic preparation to qualify for admission to highly selective institutions. Furthermore, standardized admissions tests such as the SAT, ACT and LSAT are of limited value in evaluating “merit” or determining admissions qualifications of all students, but particularly for underrepresented minorities for whom systematic influences make these tests even less diagnostic of their scholastic potential. There is extensive empirical data indicating that experiences tied to one’s racial and ethnic identity can artificially depress standardized test performance.

Hence, progress toward diversity will likely require some significant changes in strategy in the years ahead. Unfortunately, the road we have to travel is neither frequently walked nor well marked. We can look to very few truly diverse institutions in American society for guidance. We will have to blaze new trails, and create new social models.

At the University of Michigan we saw that we needed both a commitment and a plan to achieve diversity. We took the long view, one that required patient and persistent leadership, as well as the commitment and hard work of people throughout our community and beyond.

The Michigan Mandate

It may be useful to consider the University of Michigan’s experience in its effort to achieve diversity because it led to measurable progress and because, since it happened on my watch, I can describe some of the victories and pitfalls that occurred along the way. Like most of higher education, the history of diversity at
Michigan has been complex and often contradictory. There have been too many times when the institution seems to take a step forward, only to be followed by two steps backward. Nonetheless, access and equality have always been a central goal of our institution. We are proud that the University has consistently been at the forefront of the struggle for inclusiveness in higher education.

From our earliest beginnings in 1817, the University of Michigan focused on making a university education available to all economic classes. This ideal was stated clearly by an early Michigan president, James Angell, when he said the goal of the University was “to provide an uncommon education for the common man.” At our founding, we attracted students from a broad range of European ethnic backgrounds. In the early 1800s, the population of the state swelled with new immigrants from the rest of the country and across the European continent. By 1860, the Regents referred “with partiality,” to the “list of foreign students drawn thither from every section of our country.” Forty-six percent of our students then came from other states and foreign countries. Today more than one hundred nations are represented at Michigan.

The first African American students arrived on our campus in 1868. In the years after Reconstruction, however, discrimination increased. Black students joined together to support each other early in the century and staged restaurant protests in the 1920s. It was not until the 1960s that racial unrest finally exploded into campus-wide concerted action. Although the University had made efforts to become a more diverse institution, both black and white students, frustrated by the slow movement, organized into the first Black Action Movement (BAM) in 1970. The central administration building was occupied, and students boycotted classes. Many positive advances came from this outpouring of student solidarity. The number of African American faculty and students on campus increased; new goals and programs were established and old programs were funded. Yet only a few years later, enrollments began to fall again and funding waned. By the early 1980’s, black enrollment began to increase but still fell short of the goals set a decade before.

It would take two more student uprisings (BAM II and III), several disturbing racial incidents, negative national media attention, mediation with Jesse Jackson, and powerful legislative political pressure before the University again took a systematic look at the difficult problems of race on campus. To put it mildly, it was a time of ferment built on the Michigan tradition of activism. In this instance, our students recalled us to our commitment and held us to our promises.

Demands for change came not only from black students. These protests were joined by Latino students, who had been involved in the BAM struggles from the beginning, but now raised their voices as a separate group to demand greater visibility and attention to their agenda.

The University had a disappointing record with respect to Native Americans, and they also began to protest as well. Ironically, in 1817 local tribes ceded 1,920 acres of land to the Northwest Territory to establish the “University of Michigania.” Yet the Native American enrollments remained quite low, less than 0.5 percent, throughout most of the University’s history.

Michigan’s record is somewhat better with respect to inclusion of Asian and Asian Americans. Historically, the University played a major role in expanding the opportunities for students from Asia. In the late 1800s, Michigan became one of the first universities to admit foreign Asian students. It was the first university in the United States to award a doctoral degree to a Japanese citizen. Michigan eventually became a major center for Asian education. In recent years, the number of Asian American students has grown more quickly than any other group, and during the protests of the 1980s Asian Americans also made their voices heard.

By the late 1980s it had become obvious that the University had made inadequate progress in its goal to reflect the rich diversity of our nation and our world among its faculty, students and staff. As we learned from our minority and female constituencies, simply providing access to our institution was not sufficient to provide full opportunity for those groups that continued to suffer from social, cultural, and economic discrimination in our society. People from underrepresented groups who did manage to find their way here faced serious barriers to their success and advancement in a University (and national) culture still largely dominated by a white, male majority.

We also faced a particular challenge because of our
geographic location. As a state university, we draw roughly two-thirds of our undergraduates from Michigan, with almost one-half of these from the metropolitan Detroit area. Unfortunately, Michigan ranks among the top four states in the nation in the degree of black/white school segregation: 82 percent of black students attend schools in all black school districts, while more than 90 percent of white students attend schools with a black enrollment of less than 10 percent. Furthermore, Detroit is the second most segregated metropolitan area in the country (following only Gary, Indiana), and the rates of residential segregation in Detroit were higher in 1990 than in 1960. Many suburban communities on the borders of Detroit have remained almost completely white despite their proximity to adjoining minority-dominated city neighborhoods. Drawing a significant fraction of our undergraduate enrollment from such a racially segregated environment presented a particularly serious challenge and responsibility for the University.

To address these challenges we knew that the University would have to change dramatically to achieve diversity. Our first step was to convene a group of faculty with direct experience in organizational change and multicultural environments. We drew upon the expertise of faculty from the social sciences, management, law, and social work along with selected administrators. We wanted a free-wheeling, sky’s-the-limit planning group. It took more than a year of intense discussion and study to arrive at the first outline of goals and a plan for increasing diversity, which was announced in 1987. Based on the experience of other strategic planning efforts, we knew that the plan would need to be strategic and long term, leaving operational details to be developed through extensive consultations. The plan was really only a road map. It set out a direction and pointed to a destination. It offered incentives for achieving goals but disbursed responsibility, authority and accountability for many of the specific steps to be taken by individual academic and administrative units. As the plan evolved, we took care to retain the difficult but essential requirements of community building and pluralism.

It was also essential to engage as many of our constituents as possible in a dialogue about the plan’s goals and strategies with the hope of gradually building widespread understanding and support inside and beyond our campus. Early drafts of the plan, in outline form and expressed in general terms, were circulated to ever widening circles of administration and faculty, and their useful comments were incorporated. The plan evolved daily and was seen as organic and evolving in such a way as to facilitate open exchange of views. The challenge was to construct a process that would engage the various constituencies of the institution, reflecting in the plan’s text their ideas and experiences. The plan would provide the framework for a continuing dialogue about the very nature of the institution. In this sense, we wanted to engage in a dynamic process rather than delivering commandments from on high.

Over the first two years, hundreds of discussions with groups both on and off campus were held. We reached out to alumni, donors, and civic and political leaders and groups and met with countless student faculty and staff groups. Great care was taken to convey the same message to everyone as a means of establishing credibility and building trust among all constituencies. Meetings were sometimes contentious, often enlightening, but rarely acrimonious. Gradually understanding increased and support grew. Although the plan itself came from the administration, it would be individuals and units that would devise most of the detailed plans for carrying it forward. University publications, administrators’ speeches and meetings, Faculty Senate deliberations, all carried the message: Diversity would become the cornerstone in the University’s efforts to achieve excellence in teaching, research, and service in the multicultural nation and world in which it would exist.

The initial planning process and early promulgation of the diversity initiative began when I served as University Provost with the full support of then President Harold Shapiro. When I was named to succeed him in 1987, I seized every opportunity to reiterate my three strategic goals: Make Michigan a national leader in achieving diversity, internationalizing education and research, and building a knowledge infrastructure for a twenty-first century learning institution. I wanted to leave no doubt about what our priorities should be in the years ahead.

It was the long-term strategic focus of our planning that proved to be critical because institutions do not
change quickly and easily any more than do the societies of which they are a part. It is easy to falter, to become discouraged or distracted. The University would have to leave behind many reactive and uncoordinated efforts that had characterized its past and move toward a more strategic approach designed to achieve long-term systemic change. Sacrifices would be necessary as traditional roles and privileges were challenged. In particular, we foresaw the limitations of focusing only on affirmative action; that is, on access, retention, and representation. We believed that without deeper, more fundamental institutional change these efforts by themselves would inevitably fail—as they had throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

The plan would have to build on the best that we already had. The challenge was to persuade the community that there was a real stake for everyone in seizing this moment to chart a more diverse future. More people needed to believe that the gains to be achieved through diversity would more than compensate for the necessary sacrifices. The first and vital step was to link diversity and excellence as the two most compelling goals before the institution, recognizing that these goals were not only complementary but would be tightly linked in the multicultural society characterizing our nation and the world in the future. As we moved ahead, we began to refer to the plan as The Michigan Mandate: A Strategic Linking of Academic Excellence and Social Diversity. But it continued to be modified as discussions broadened and experience was gained.

The early steps in developing the Michigan Mandate were to: 1) develop a carefully designed strategic process for achieving, using, and valuing diversity; 2) achieve a community strongly committed in philosophy to our goals and objectives; and 3) allocate the necessary resources to accomplish this task. Based on strategic models from other spheres, the plan featured clear, concise, and simple goals; proposed specific actions and evaluation mechanisms; and reflected extensive interaction with and direct comment from a variety of constituencies and individuals to assure responsiveness of the plan.

The mission and goals of the Michigan Mandate were stated quite simply:

Philosophy: To recognize that diversity and excellence are complementary and compelling goals for the University and to make a firm commitment to their achievement.

Representation: To commit to the recruitment, support, and success of members of historically underrepresented groups among our students, faculty, staff, and leadership.

Environment: To build on our campus an environment that seeks, nourishes, and sustains diversity and pluralism and that values and respects diversity.

Associated with these general goals were more specific objectives:

Faculty recruitment and development: To substantially increase the number of tenure-track faculty in each underrepresented minority group; to increase the success of minority faculty in the achievement of professional fulfillment, promotion, and tenure; to increase the number of underrepresented minority faculty in leadership positions.

Student recruitment, achievement, and outreach: To achieve increases in the number of entering underrepresented minority students as well as in total underrepresented minority enrollment; to establish and achieve specific minority enrollment targets in all schools and colleges; to increase minority graduation rates; to develop new programs to attract back to campus minority students who have withdrawn from our academic programs; to design new and strengthen existing outreach programs that have demonstrable impact on the pool of minority applicants to undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs.

Staff recruitment and development: To focus on the achievement of affirmative action goals in all job categories; to increase the number of underrepresented minorities in key University leadership positions; to strengthen support systems and services for minority staff.

Improving the environment for diversity: To foster a culturally diverse environment; to significantly reduce the number of incidents of racism and prejudice on campus; to increase community-wide commitment to diversity and involvement in diversity initiatives among students, faculty, and staff; to broaden the base
of diversity initiatives; to assure the compatibility of University policies, procedures, and practice with the goal of a multicultural community; to improve communications and interactions with and among all groups; and to provide more opportunities for minorities to communicate their needs and experiences and to contribute directly to the change process.

A series of carefully focused strategic actions was developed to move the University toward these objectives. These strategic actions were framed by the values and traditions of the University, an understanding of our unique culture characterized by a high degree of faculty and unit freedom and autonomy, and animated by a highly competitive and entrepreneurial spirit.

The first phase of the Michigan Mandate from 1987 to 1990 was focused on the issue of increasing the representation of minority groups within the University community. Primarily our approach was based on providing incentives to reward success, encouragement of research and evaluation of new initiatives, and support for wide-ranging experiments. The plan very emphatically did not specify numerical targets, quotas, or specific rates of increase to be attained.

To cite just one highly successful example, we established what we called the Target of Opportunity Program aimed at increasing the number of minority faculty at all ranks. Traditionally, university faculties have been driven by a concern for academic specialization within their respective disciplines. This is fundamentally laudable and certainly has fostered the exceptional strength and disciplinary character that we see in universities across the country; however, it also can be constraining. Too often in recent years the University had seen faculty searches that were literally “replacement” searches rather than “enhancement” searches. To achieve the goals of the Michigan Mandate, the University had to free itself from the constraints of this traditional perspective. Therefore, the central administration sent out the following message to the academic units: be vigorous and creative in identifying minority teachers/scholars who can enrich the activities of your unit. Do not be limited by concerns relating to narrow specialization; do not be concerned about the availability of a faculty slot within the unit. The principal criterion for the recruitment of a minority faculty member is whether the individual can enhance the department.

If so, resources will be made available to recruit that person to the University of Michigan.

From the outset, we anticipated that there would be many mistakes in the early stages. There would be setbacks and disappointments. The important point was to make a commitment for the long range and not be distracted from this vision. This long-range viewpoint was especially important in facing up to many ongoing pressures, demands, and demonstrations presented by one special interest group or another or to take a particular stance on a narrow issue or agenda. This was very difficult at times as one issue or another each became a litmus test of university commitment for internal and external interest groups. While these pressures were understandable and probably inevitable, the plan would succeed only if the University leadership insisted on operating at a long-term strategic rather than on a short-term reactive level. It was essential to keep our eyes firmly focused on the prize ahead resisting the temptation to react to every issue that arose. Commitment and support within and outside the University community were necessary ingredients for success, but as the University had learned over the past two decades, it would take more than this to succeed. It was essential to have a strategy, a plan designed to guide institutional change.

Over the next several years, through this and many other programs, the diversity of the campus changed dramatically, with the numbers of underrepresented minority students and faculty members roughly doubling. But increasing the numbers was the relatively easy part of the plan. Institutions can have a great many different people living in the same locale, working side-by-side, going to the same classes, but that will not mean that one has a community. Just increasing the numbers and mix of people will not provide one with a sense of mutual respect and a cohesive community. To achieve this, the University faced the challenge of creating a new kind of community—a community that drew on the unique strengths and talents and experiences of all of its members. And this was felt to be the important challenge of the second phase of the Michigan Mandate. More specifically, it was recognized that the traditional institutions of our society—our communities and neighborhoods, our churches and public schools, our business and commerce—all had failed to create a
sense of community or to provide the models for creative interactions that were needed to build a new kind of society based on a general mutual dependence, trust, and respect. It was recognized that in America today it is on our college campuses that many students come together for the first time with students of other races, nationalities, and cultures in an environment in which they are expected to live, work, and learn together. It was therefore not surprising that in our existing university structure there was a good deal of tension and frequent separatism among groups. It may take more than one generation to ease this situation.

By 1995 Michigan could point to significant progress in achieving diversity. By every measure, the Michigan Mandate was a remarkable success, moving the University far beyond our original goals of a more diverse campus. The representation of underrepresented students, faculty, and staff more than doubled over the decade of the effort. But, perhaps even more significantly, the success of underrepresented minorities at the University improved even more remarkably, with graduation rates rising to highest among public universities, promotion and tenure success of minority faculty members becoming comparable to their majority colleagues, and a growing number of appointments of minorities to leadership positions in the University. The campus climate not only became far more accepting and supportive of diversity, but students and faculty began to come to Michigan because of its growing reputation for a diverse campus. And, perhaps most significantly, as the campus became more racially and ethnically diverse, the quality of the students, faculty, and academic programs of the University increased to their highest level in history. This latter fact seemed to reinforce our contention that the aspirations of diversity and excellence were not only compatible but, in fact, highly correlated.

In conclusion, while the Michigan Mandate has been a success, it should be made clear that no plan, no commitment, no goal, and no action could have brought us to this point, without the help and support of literally thousands of faculty, students, staff, alumni, and supporters. They are the ones who made change possible, and they continue to work for it today.

Michigan is always a work in progress.

The Michigan Agenda for Women

While we pursued the goals of the Michigan Mandate, we could not ignore another glaring inequity in campus life. If we meant to embrace diversity in its full meaning, we had to attend to the long-standing concerns of women faculty, students, and staff. We had not succeeded in including and empowering women as full and equal partners in all aspects of the life and leadership of the University despite many promises and continuing struggle.

Michigan takes pride in the fact that it was one of the first large universities in America to admit women. At the time, the rest of the nation looked on with a critical eye. Many were certain that the “experiment” would fail. The first women who arrived in 1870 were true pioneers, the objects of intense scrutiny and resentment. For many years, women had separate and unequal access to facilities and organizations. Yet, in the remaining years of the nineteenth century, the University of Michigan provided strong leadership for the nation. By 1898 the enrollment of women had increased to the point where they received 53 percent of Michigan’s undergraduate degrees.

These impressive gains were lost during the early part of the twentieth century and even more with the returning veterans after World War II. The representation of women in the student body declined precipitously. It only began to climb again during the 1970s and 1980s and, for the first time in almost a century, once again exceeded that of men in 1996. During the past several decades, the University took a number of steps to recruit, promote, and support women staff and faculty, modifying University policies to reflect their needs. Yet true equality came slowly and great challenges remained.

The Challenges

In faculty hiring and retention, despite the increasing pools of women in many fields, the number of new hires of women had changed only slowly during the late twentieth century in most research universities. In some disciplines such as the physical sciences and engineering, the shortages were particularly acute. We also continued to suffer from the “glass ceiling” phenom-
enon, that is, because of hidden prejudice women were unable to break through to the ranks of senior faculty and administrators though no formal constraints prohibited their advancement. The proportion of women decreased steadily as one moved up the academic ladder. Additionally, there appeared to be an increasing tendency to hire women off the tenure track as post-doctoral scholars, lecturers, clinicians, or research scientists. The rigid division among various faculty tracks offered little or no opportunity for these women to move onto tenure tracks.

Retention of women faculty was also a serious concern. Studies suggested that women were less likely than men either to be reviewed for promotion or recommended for promotion at the critical step between assistant professors and associate professors. Women faculty, like men, came to the University to be scholars and teachers. Yet because of their inadequate representation in our institutions, our women faculty were clearly stretched far too thinly by committee responsibilities and mentoring roles. While this was true for women faculty at all ranks, it took the greatest toll on junior faculty.

The period of greatest vulnerability in promotion and retention of women is in the early stage in their academic careers, when they are assistant professors attempting to achieve tenure. Women faculty experienced greater demands for committee service and mentoring of women students; inadequate recognition of and support for dependent care responsibilities; and limited support in the form of mentors, collaborators, and role models. The small number of women at senior levels was due in part to early attrition in the junior ranks. Women faculty at all ranks described their difficulties in juggling teaching, research, formal and informal advising, departmental and University-wide committee service, and family responsibilities. Many female faculty did not feel that these difficulties arose from overt or systematic discrimination, but rather from the interaction between a system that was becoming increasingly demanding and competitive and their personal lives, which were often more complex than those of their male colleagues because of dependent care responsibilities.

While the low participation of women in senior faculty ranks and among the University leadership was due in part to the pipeline effect of inadequate numbers of women at lower ranks, this absence of senior women was also due to the degree to which senior men faculty and administrators set the rules and perform the evaluations in a way—whether overt or unintended—that was biased against women. Old-boy networks, customs, and habits abounded. Women felt that in order to succeed, they had to play by the rules previously set up by the men in their fields. As one of our women faculty members put it, “My profession is male-oriented and very egalitarian. The men are willing to treat everyone the same as long as you act like a man.”

At the same time, we faced serious challenges in the staff area. There was a concern that in higher education, we simply did not do an adequate job of placing women in the key staff positions to get them ready for senior assignments. Women were not provided with adequate stepping stones to senior management, and many believed they were all too frequently used as stepping stones for others. We also needed to rethink our philosophy of staff benefits. There was a need to move to more flexible benefits plans that could be tailored to the employee’s particular situation (e.g., childcare in addition to dependent health care). Furthermore, we needed to aim at providing equal benefits for equal work that were independent of gender.

Many of our concerns derived from the extreme concentration of women in positions of lower status and power—as students, lower level staff, and junior faculty. The most effective lever for change might well be a rapid increase in the number of women holding positions of high status, visibility, and power. This would not only change the balance of power in decision-making, but it would also change the perception of who and what matters in the university. Finally we needed to bring university policies and practices into better alignment with the needs and concerns of women students in a number of areas including campus safety, student housing, student life, financial aid, and childcare.

Over the longer term it was essential that we draw more women into senior faculty and leadership roles if we were to be able to attract top women students. We also needed to do more to encourage and support women in fields of study where they had been discouraged from entering for decades. Our colleges and universities were far from where they should be—from
where they must be—in becoming institutions that provided the full array of opportunities and support for women faculty, students, and staff. Despite the efforts of many committed women and men over the past several decades, progress had been slow and frustrating. Women deserved to be full members and equal partners in the life of our universities. While most women faculty, students, and staff succeeded admirably in a variety of roles within higher education, they nonetheless struggled against subtle pressures, discrimination, and a still-common feeling of invisibility. Removing barriers and encouraging women’s participation in the full array of university activities would transform the University, creating a community in which women and men shared equal freedom, partnership, and responsibility.

The Plan

It was clear in the 1990s that our university had simply not made sufficient progress in providing women with access to the full range of opportunities and activities in the institution. Not that we ignored these issues. Hundreds of dedicated members of the University community, women and men, had worked long and hard for women’s equity. But our actions, while motivated by the best of intentions, had been ad hoc, lacking in coherence and precise goals and strategy, too independent of one another, and providing no assurance of progress or accountability for falling short. Here again we knew Michigan needed a bold strategic plan with firm goals for recruiting and advancing women at every level and in every arena. Programs could be tested against these goals, and our progress could be accurately measured and shared with the broader University community.

To this end, the University developed and executed a strategic effort known as the Michigan Agenda for Women. While the actions proposed were intended to address the concerns of women students, faculty, and staff, many of them benefited men as well. Just as the Michigan Agenda required a commitment from the entire University community, so too did its success benefit us all, regardless of gender.

In developing the Agenda we knew that different strategies were necessary for different parts of the University. Academic units varied enormously in the degree to which women participated as faculty, staff, and students. What might work in one area could fail miserably in another. Some fields, such as the physical sciences, had few women represented among their students and faculty. For them, it was necessary to design and implement a strategy which spanned the entire pipeline, from K-12 outreach to undergraduate and graduate education, to faculty recruiting and development. For others such as the social sciences or law, there already was a strong pool of women students, and the challenge became one of attracting women from this pool into graduate and professional studies and eventually into academe. Still other units such as Education and many departments in humanities and sciences had strong participation of women among students and junior faculty, but suffered from low participation in the senior ranks.

There also was considerable variation among non-academic administrative areas of the University, with many having little or no tradition of women in key management positions. To accommodate this variation, each unit was asked to develop and submit a specific plan for addressing the inclusion of women. These plans were reviewed centrally, and the progress of each unit was then measured against their plan each year, as part of the normal interaction associated with budget discussions. The challenge here was to create a process that both permitted central initiative and preserved the potential for local development of unit-specific action plans. The Michigan Agenda for Women aimed at building a working and learning environment in which women could participate to their fullest. This plan represented a beginning, the sketch of a vision and a plan that would evolve over time as it was shaped through the interaction with broader elements of the University community.

Considerable progress has been made in the years since the Agenda for Women was proposed. More than half of the students in professional schools are now women. Women now serve in key administrative, executive, and management roles. These advances are the foundation for continued progress until full equity is achieved.
The Distraction of Political Correctness

As colleges and universities struggle to become more inclusive of people, they can never lose sight of our commitment to preserve diverse views in academic discourse. We have a fundamental obligation to protect the expression of diverse ideas and opinions in classrooms, research, and public forums. Our academic freedoms are always at risk. While our campuses struggled to become more inclusive of people, there were those within and without our walls determined to limit or exclude ideas and discourse with which they disagreed.

Today as in earlier times, various forms of extremism on and beyond our campuses threaten academic freedom and our capacity to meet our responsibility as teachers and scholars. Recently, universities have been criticized for tolerating on our campuses a particular form of extremism known by the popular but misleading term “political correctness,” defined as an effort to impose a new brand of orthodoxy on our teaching, our scholarship, and even our speech. Those who attack the university on the political correctness issue portray it as threatening not only the quality of our educational programs but the very values which undergird the academy itself: freedom of expression and academic freedom. In reality, extremist threats to our fundamental values come from all points along the political spectrum.

Assaults on the Academy

Threats to academic freedom and institutional autonomy are hardly new, nor are conflicts within our ranks about our direction and purpose. Over the centuries, there have been persistent struggles for the heart of the academy. There have been attacks from religious and political forces bent on capturing learning for their own purposes. The American university is no stranger to periodic ravages from all sorts of zealots and opportunists who would impose a particular belief or orthodoxy on scholarship and teaching. These historical experiences caution us that when academic freedom is threatened, the stakes are high for individuals as well as for the intellectual life and integrity of our institutions.

Threats to academic inquiry unfortunately are alive and well in our world today. Indeed, in some societies, universities have been closed, faculty and students have been jailed or killed, and libraries have been burned. In others, rigid political or religious orthodoxy governs education and research. Why? The answer seems obvious. Free and open inquiry simply cannot be tolerated by tyrants, ideological zealots, inflamed mobs, or narrow interest groups seeking advantage. Not all threats to the academy are so obviously destructive or malicious. Many of the threats we experience today are motivated by the best of intentions. Often they are no more ominous than a new regulation to achieve a laudable goal or even an incentive to stimulate the right behavior promulgated by federal or state bureaucrats. But these efforts are sometimes myopically focused on a short-term goal and mindless of the longer-term erosion of intellectual and institutional autonomy that may result.

By and large, academic freedom has survived and prospered over hundreds of years. This is due to the inherent value of our contribution to society. It has also called upon the courage of scholars the world over who guard their autonomy and freedom; who resist tyrants; and who uphold free, scholarly inquiry. Eventually they win society’s understanding, however grudging, because society has long ago learned that if it wishes to educate its young to be civilized citizens of the world and to advance learning to serve its interests, then it must grant freedoms to scholars and their institutions. Still, we can never be complacent about our autonomy and our freedoms. Our compact with society is a delicate one. Like all liberties, freedom of inquiry requires eternal vigilance. Excesses and violations invite intervention from external authorities. We must not abuse academic freedoms or take them for granted. What is at stake here is not just the loss of our particular institutional freedoms and values but the erosion of one of humanity’s finest and most enduring institutional achievements.

The Political Correctness Debate

Critics who assail us for imposing a new orthodoxy, a single standard of “political correctness” aim at many disparate targets. Some decry efforts to incorporate the study of other civilizations as an added part of the traditional curriculum. Others object to affirmative action efforts to build a more inclusive institution. Still oth-
ers criticize new modes of disciplinary inquiry or what they see as an undermining of traditional values and received tradition or they single out more philosophical issues such as what they describe as the dominance of relativism over absolute moral values.

Of course, many of those who criticize political correctness are themselves extremists and polemicists with their own opportunistic political agenda. Much of what is being written on this issue is often depressingly superficial, factually incorrect, and wildly overstated. Some of it is pure ideological guerrilla warfare. A great deal of the criticism represents yet another chapter in the contemporary media debasement of public discourse about important social issues through hype, sound-bite simplification, and pandering to fads and base prejudices. Some of these folks are always on the lookout for a sensational new lighting rod for public dissatisfaction and frustration. During the past several years, it is the university that is taking the heat. Part of this anti-PC agenda is familiar, old-fashioned reactionary stuff. It resorts to polemic to try to stop the greater inclusiveness of people and ideas, to hold on to the status quo at whatever price, to protect unearned privilege.

At the same time, we have to face the painful truth that the critics of the politically correct do not lack examples of destructive, even ludicrous, extremism and zealotry on our campuses over the past decade or so. Political correctness is a real phenomenon. The left, like its rightward critics, exhibits its share of stridency, intolerance, and extremism. Proponents of politically correct views have taken strongly ideological stances and in some cases have attempted to constrain or eliminate entirely the expression of opposing viewpoints. While such foolish or destructive behavior is by no means rampant on our college campuses, those instances that have occurred have seriously undermined important academic values and served as a lightning rod for critics of academia. Thus, we should heed the basic message of those who criticize this new form of extremism on our campuses. What they are saying is that some in the academic community ideologically do not accept or have lost touch with our most fundamental missions and values. Their actions have struck a deep vein of public discontent with academia. Since the real issue concerns our commitment to our own values as teachers and scholars, it is on values that we must stand and debate with our academic colleagues and with our critics.

What Exactly Do the Critics Charge?

The term “political correctness” is just a code word for a range of concerns about the university:

The Insistence on “Correct” Language: Many on our campuses have argued that, as a supposedly civil and increasingly diverse community, we must strive to be aware of the preferences and sensitivities of those who have suffered from past exclusion and discrimination. Some urge that we regulate and enforce language codes. The fact remains that it is one thing to encourage people to be sensitive and considerate and quite another to require this behavior. The critics maintain that censoring speech, allowing or disallowing particular words or phrases, however well-intentioned, can have effects that range from truly damaging to merely embarrassing. There is a kind of sententious self-righteousness about much of the language policing that occurs on campuses, and this repulses people more than it persuades them.

Sensitivity Training: As a civil community, should we not try to be more sensitive to one another? Isn’t it reasonable that as we become more inclusive, we should learn more about one another and learn skills that will help us to work and live together? But here again, it is one thing to educate and quite another to impose a single “orthodox” point of view upon our students, faculty, and staff. The critics argue that as teachers and employers we can require certain standards of civil behavior, but we cannot require “right” thinking without compromising our own values.

Harassment: In a similar vein, there are critics who assail codes or policies that prohibit racial and sexual harassment. This particular criticism raises very difficult and volatile issues about which there is strongly divided opinion. There is no denying the potential for abuse of such policies any more than we can deny the abuses that led to the codes in the first place. Such harassment and intimidation cannot be understood outside of the historical framework of violence and fear that has surrounded racial prejudice and discrimination. What is merely intimidating to one group can be
experienced as a threat of violence by those who have been victimized by discrimination. Our best hope is to improve the campus climate to the point that the issue is moot.

Required Courses on Diversity: Many campuses have concluded that it is reasonable or even imperative that our students—and, of course, we ourselves—be educated about the culture and experience of other groups in our own pluralistic society and in an increasingly interdependent world. They believe it critical that all of us understand in some comparative perspective more about the nature of group relations and interactions in a world that is rampant with divisions of race, class, caste, belief, and nationality—divisions that affect all of us and threaten our very existence as a society. At the same time, there are many and various ways to provide education about diversity.

The critics rightly question whether academics can in good conscience require students to take any course that presents a single orthodox view of a subject, such as the value of diversity. Like many other important curriculum issues, these must be openly and widely debated. Fortunately, at Michigan we have a well-established framework and tradition of faculty autonomy for these faculty discussions. We have had many public debates that serve as models of the civility and intellectual seriousness that should surround such discussions and demonstrate that we can discuss these matters and make progress.

Censoring and Intimidating of Professors: Critics point to a dangerous form of intolerance in which professors who teach “incorrect” subjects, teach their subjects from an “incorrect point of view,” or do research in “incorrect” areas are intimidated by extremist groups. Clearly, it is important to challenge ideas with which we disagree, but can we ever tolerate intimidating attacks on those with whom we differ? To our discredit, intimidation and reckless charges seem to have been accepted by many of us at times on our campuses, by students and faculty alike, as appropriate behavior. We cannot accept those who would shut down a person or an idea or who think that opinions should be imposed on others by intimidation or that ideas should be judged by the number of their adherents rather than on whether or not they are worthwhile.

Perhaps in a more subtle form this intimidation includes attempts, however well meaning, to impose a test of political orthodoxy in grading or hiring and professional advancement decisions. It is clear that we in academia have no business in silencing any view or any person. The test of an idea must be on its merits, not who propounds it or whether we like it or agree with it or not.

Censorship of Campus Speakers or Groups and Individuals: Some members of our community have argued that given all of the potential for conflict and sensitivity, certain people or views should be declared off-limits, that certain controversial speakers should not be invited at all or at least should be prevented from being heard. Apparently these people seem to feel that free speech is for them, but not for those with whom they disagree. There is a certain irony to this behavior, since the surest way to call attention to individuals is to attempt to disrupt or prevent their presence on a university campus.

Curriculum “Correctness”: Universities are assailed from the right and the left by radical traditionalists and by radical radicals about curriculum reform. Some would confine our curriculum to a fixed and narrow set of “great books” that represent the great traditions of western civilization. Others would discount any work by “DWEMs”—dead white European males. Is it wrong to adapt our teaching to include a broader range of experience and expression from across time and around the world? Clearly, we must prepare our students to live in a world in which the majority of people come from very different backgrounds and beliefs. But does this have to mean that we abandon or denigrate the learning that is the foundation of our tradition? After all, many of our most profound concepts are derived from the heritage provided by western civilization: our faith in rationalism, in knowledge and science, and the notion of human progress itself. To abandon the study of the foundations of our culture is to abandon the understanding of what made us who and what we are.

Ethnic and Gender Studies: There are those who question the development of new academic programs such as ethnic and gender studies. Of course, a truly vigorous and rigorous scholarly institution will always give rise to new fields, new ideas and insights, and new paradigms along with the structures to accommodate them. That is one of the great virtues of the research
university. Fortunately, if traditional and rigorous academic standards are used, excesses or deficiencies that develop in any new fields will be scrutinized and substantively debated. From this perspective new ideas or fields are no more of a threat than entrenched ones. Neither should be exempt from the time-honored test of whether they are intellectually worthwhile, whether they help us to understand our world and ourselves.

Affirmative Action: Much of the criticism aimed at political correctness is actually aimed at affirmative action programs in our institutions. Critics claim that affirmative action actually promotes increased segregation, balkanization, and separate and unequal educational services. These programs are seen as undemocratic, divisive, and ultimately a disservice to those whom they are meant to serve. The key here is the concern raised about “preferential treatment” of groups who have historically been subjected to discrimination. Throughout our long history, one of the most important distinguishing characteristics of higher education has been our attempt to serve all of our society and to treat human characteristics such as race, gender, or socio-economic background as irrelevant to academic ability. It is my belief that affirmative action programs are important tools in achieving this goal. Having said this, it is important to state as well the importance of allowing the debate over the merits of affirmative action programs to be heard. We in higher education have a strong case to make, but it can only be heard in an open dialogue that tolerates all viewpoints. If there is a better way to achieve our goals, a more effective or a more just way for us to proceed, then we need to hear about it.

Adhering to Academic Values

As we consider the arguments of our critics, it becomes apparent that an important part of the criticism and counter-criticism of higher education is about the pace, scope, and direction of social and institutional change. Much of it is about the struggle for greater inclusiveness, for more openness to ideas and people. Much of it is about the intellectual challenge of what we have called the new age of knowledge that characterizes our time. We must not become overly reactive to what is superficial or transitory or opportunistic in the criticism at the expense of the more important continuing debate concerning fundamental issues of our future and a renewal of our mission and a response to change.

Today, our universities are attempting to deal with some of the most painful, persistent, and intractable problems in human experience. In our efforts to deal with racism and sexism, we are combating centuries of prejudice and discrimination that have robbed the world of precious cultural wisdom, human talent, and leadership. At the same time, we are contending with an intellectual revolution, striving to incorporate interdisciplinary, comparative and international perspectives and experiences into our intellectual framework. We are scrambling to keep up with the breathtaking advances in knowledge that are transforming the academy and our society.

To address the intellectual and practical issues of our time we must be open to new paradigms, new theories, new combinations of knowledge. While many in society may prefer to ignore or deny that changes are taking place, as teachers and scholars we cannot responsibly do so. The university frequently will be in the uncomfortable position of being a vanguard of change. Possibly, the intensified criticism swirling about universities these days is in part a manifestation of the age-old practice of blaming the messenger for the message. Some may actually hold us responsible for social transformation now underway. In a sense, I suppose, they are right. After all, we are educating our students for a changing world, and we are producing much of the knowledge that drives the change.

Little wonder then that some are threatened and that many are unsure and concerned. Little wonder that with our growing influence on society, we have become an arena of special interest conflict. We are riding the tiger of a profound transformation of our society.

We have touched on a number of forces at work that threaten our ability to debate important questions and that undermine our teaching and research mission. These pose dangers, but we are by no means helpless in the face of them. Our best protection lies in the centuries old traditions and values that preserved and extended the fundamental principles of free scholarly inquiry. Universities survive and they thrive because they represent the application of reason to human affairs and the free pursuit of truth through reasoned inquiry. These are the key principles upon which the university
can confidently stand.

Over the centuries we have found that our objective of seeking truth and our means for seeking it have stood the test. We have not achieved perfection, but we do have a way of considering questions and problems that yields insight and lights the way to new and better questions. What binds us together then is the search for truth, the tested methods, the principles and values of scholarship. Society supports these values because universities over the centuries and around the globe have managed to teach successive generations a respect for the pursuit of truth and an ability to take up the quest themselves. Our methods and principles have succeeded in increasing our store of knowledge and our understanding. Society has granted us our academic freedoms in recognition, however reluctant at times, of our essential role in society.

The most effective protection for all of academia in the face of critics is to be steadfast in guarding the integrity of our teaching and research. Our fidelity to this primary mission is our best defense against the critics. It is what we do best to serve humanity. In this regard one thing is certain and unchanging: We cannot perform our primary mission of teaching and research properly, we cannot produce what society most needs from us, without the freedom to pursue truth wherever it takes us. This is fundamental.

In summary, through my experience at Michigan I have become convinced that excellence and diversity are not only mutually compatible but also mutually reinforcing objectives for the 21st Century university. In an ever more diverse nation and world, the quality of a university’s academic programs—its very relevance to our society—will be greatly determined by the diversity of our campus communities. After all, our social contract is with all of the society that sustains and supports us, not just with the privileged few. Beyond our social obligation, it is also clear that diversity contributes directly to the intellectual vitality of our scholarship. Social diversity provides different ways of conceptualizing and addressing intellectual issues that give new vitality to our education, scholarship, and communal life.

Higher education in America is far more diverse today than it was fifty years ago or even ten years ago. Yet the university is not monolithic and neither is discrimi-
Social diversity has always been both a great asset, as well as a considerable challenge, for the United States. A nation built by wave after wave of diverse immigrant populations, from the early European settlers to African slaves and their descendants, Asian workers, and more recently dominated by immigrants from Latin America (both legal and illegal). With each migration, America has been reshaped in demographics and in culture, but always growing in prosperity and strength. In fact, the United States is today, and always has been, a nation of immigrants benefiting immensely from their energy, talents, and hope.

A personal comment is appropriate here. In case you might be wondering why your speaker, who is, after all, named after a German city, Duderstadt, is speaking in English, it is because I, like most Americans, am a mongrel when it comes to national heritage. Although my grandfather came from Germany (the Goslar region), the surnames of my other grandparents were Johnson, Bramhall, and McCleary – English and Irish! And that, of course, is the case of most Americans. Almost none of us have a pure national ancestry!

But this leads to another important characteristic of the United States today. At a time when aging populations, out-migration, and shrinking workforces are seriously challenging the productivity of developed economies throughout Europe and Asia, the United States stands apart because of immigration. Immigration is expected to drive continued growth in the U.S. population from 300 million today to over 450 million by 2050, augmenting our aging population and stimulating productivity with new and younger workers. In fact, over the past decade, immigration from Latin America and Asia contributed to 53% of the growth in the United States population.

As it has throughout our history, immigration continues to change the ethnic character of the United States. Demographers project that by 2050, America’s minority population will rise to 42% of our population. Already several of our states, including our largest state, California, no longer have a population with an ethnic majority. And this is likely to be the case for my nation in the later half of this century.

The increasing diversity of the American population with respect to race, ethnicity, and national origin has long been perceived as one of my nation’s greatest strengths. A diverse population gives us great vitality. A diversity of perspectives and experiences is also vital to sustaining an innovation-driven economy, perhaps the United States’ most significant core competency in a global, knowledge-driven economy. And, of course, such diversity helps us to relate to a highly diverse world. However, today it is also one of our most serious challenges as a nation since the challenge of increasing diversity is complicated by social and economic factors. Far from evolving toward one America, our society continues to be hindered by the segregation and non-assimilation of minority cultures, as well as a backlash against long-accepted programs designed to achieve social equity (e.g., affirmative action in college admissions).

Our schools, colleges, and universities have played a major role in assimilating each wave of immigrants. A distinguishing characteristic and great strength of American higher education is its growing commitment over time to serve all segments of our pluralistic society. Higher education’s broadening inclusion of talented students and faculty of diverse ethnic, racial, economic, social, political, national, or religious background, has allowed our academic institutions to draw
Addressing the rectors of German universities on diversity
on a broader and deeper pool of talent, experience, and ideas than more exclusive counterparts in other places and times. This diversity invigorates and renews teaching and scholarship in American universities, helping to challenge long-held assumptions, asking new questions, creating new areas and methods of inquiry, and generating new ideas for testing in scholarly discourse.

Our institutions have benefited immensely from their contributions, challenged by their needs and strengthened by their energy and talent. Indeed, the world-class leadership of United States research universities today is due in no small measure to the extraordinary talent of European refugees fleeing the persecution and conflict of the World Wars and later, the Cold War. But just like our nation, our universities have also faced very considerable challenge, both internally in developing mechanisms to achieve diverse campuses and externally in lack of public acceptance of their aspirations for diversity across a broad range of social characteristics.

For example, today, minorities comprise 44% of the Millennial generation of students entering our universities (those born between 1990 and 2003). Yet, the minorities comprising the most rapidly growing components of our population have traditionally had the lowest levels of college attainment, for example, Black and Latino students attain college degrees at only one-third of the rate of white and Asian students. Furthermore, since most current immigrants are arriving from developing nations (i.e., Latin America) with weak educational capacity, new pressures have been placed on U.S. schools for the remedial education of large numbers of non-English speaking students.

Clearly our schools, colleges, and universities will not only have to dedicate a much greater effort, but also develop new paradigms capable of serving rapidly growing ethnic minorities still burdened with inadequate K-12 preparation, impoverished backgrounds, and discrimination. American higher education will also have to face a changing political environment that increasingly is challenging in both the courts and through voter referendum long-accepted programs such as affirmative action and equal opportunity aimed at expanding access to higher education to underrepresented communities and diversifying our campuses.

My presentation this morning will review both the strategic issues and approaches used by American higher education and, more generally, address the challenges and opportunities presented by an increasingly diverse and rapidly changing society. It will also consider the manner in which these efforts are both demanded and challenged by society.

The Case for Diversity

In both the narrow and broader sense, it is important to set out a compelling rationale for seeking diversity in higher education. Of course, first and foremost, the case for diversity in higher education rests on moral responsibility and democratic ideals, based on our social contract with society. Furthermore, our campuses have a unique opportunity to offer positive social models and provide leadership in addressing one of the most persistent and seemingly intractable problems of human experience—overcoming the impulse to fear, reject, or harm the “other.”

Nevertheless, universities are social institutions of the mind, not of the heart. While there are compelling moral and civic reasons to seek diversity and social equity on our campuses, the most effective arguments in favor of diversity to a university community tend to be those related to academic quality.

1) Educational Quality

Perhaps most important in this regard is the role diversity plays in the education of our students. We have an obligation to create the best possible educational environment for the young adults whose lives are likely to be significantly changed during their years on our campuses. Their learning environment depends on the characteristics of the entire group of students who share a common educational experience. Students constantly learn from each other in the classroom and in extracurricular life. The more diverse the student cohort, the more opportunities for exposure to different ideas, perspectives and experiences and the more chances to interact, develop interpersonal skills, and form bonds that transcend differences.

There is ample research to suggest that diversity is a critical factor in creating the richly varied educa-
tional experience that helps students learn. Since stu-
dents in late adolescence and early adulthood are at
a crucial stage in their development, diversity (racial,
demographic, economic, and cultural) enables them to
become conscious learners and critical thinkers, and
prepares them to become active participants in a demo-
cratic society. Students educated in diverse settings are
more motivated and better able to participate in an in-
creasingly heterogeneous and complex democracy.

2) Intellectual Vitality

Diversity is similarly fundamental for the vigor and
breadth of scholarship. Unless we draw upon a greater
diversity of people as scholars and students, we can-
not hope to generate the intellectual vitality we need to
respond to a world characterized by profound change.
The burgeoning complexity and rapidly increasing rate
of change forces us to draw upon a broader breadth
and depth of human knowledge and understanding.
For universities to thrive in this age of complexity and
change, it is vital that we resist any tendency to elimi-
nate options. Only with a multiplicity of approaches,
opinions, and ways of seeing can we hope to solve the
problems we face. Universities, more than any other
institution in American society, have upheld the ideal
of intellectual freedom, open to diverse ideas that are
debated on their merits. We must continually struggle
to sustain this heritage and to become places open to a
myriad of experiences, cultures, and approaches.

In addition to these intellectual benefits, the inclu-
sion of underrepresented groups allows our institutions
to tap reservoirs of human talents and experiences from
which they have not yet fully drawn. Indeed, it seems
apparent that our universities could not sustain such
high distinctions in a pluralistic world society without
diversity and openness to new perspectives, experi-
ences, and talents. In the years ahead, we will need to
draw on the insights of many diverse perspectives to
understand and function effectively in our own as well
as in the national and world community.

3) Serving a Changing Society

Our nation’s ability to face the challenge of diversity
in the years ahead will determine our strength and vi-
tality. We must come to grips with the fact that those
groups we refer to today as minorities will become the
majority population of our nation in the century ahead,
just as they are today throughout the world. The truth,
too, is that most of us retain proud ties to our ethnic
roots, and this strong and fruitful identification must
coexist with—indeed enable—our ability to become
full participants in the economic and civic life of our
country. Pluralism poses a continuing challenge to our
nation and its institutions as we seek to build and main-
tain a fundamental common ground of civic values that
will inspire mutually beneficial cohesion and purpose
during this period of radical transformation of so many
aspects of our world.

4) Human Resources

Today, higher education’s capacity to serve the edu-
cational needs of a diverse population has become
even more important as our world has entered a period
of rapid and profound economic, social, and political
transformation driven by a hypercompetitive global
economy that depends upon the creation and appli-
cation of new knowledge and hence, upon educated
people and their ideas. It has become increasingly ap-
parent that the strength, prosperity, and welfare of a
nation in a global knowledge economy will demand a
highly educated citizenry enabled by development of a
strong system of tertiary education. It also requires in-
istitutions with the ability to discover new knowledge,
develop innovative applications of these discoveries,
and transfer them into the marketplace through entre-
preneurial activities.

The demographic trends we see in our future hold
some other significant implications for national eco-
monic and political life and especially for education.
Our clearly demonstrated need for an educated work-
force in the years ahead means that America can no
longer afford to waste the human potential, cultural
richness, and leadership represented by minorities and
women.

The Michigan Mandate

Although the University of Michigan sustained its
commitment to diversity throughout the 20th century,
its progress reflected many of the challenges facing our society during the years of discrimination based upon race, religion, and gender. Many were the times we took one step forward toward greater diversity, only to slide two steps back through later inattention. The student disruptions of the 1960s and 1970s triggered new efforts by the University to reaffirm its commitments to affirmative action and equal opportunity, but again progress was limited and a new wave of concern and protests hit the campus during the mid-1980s, just prior to the appointment of our administration.

By the late 1980s, it had become obvious that the University had made inadequate progress in its goal to reflect the rich diversity of our nation and our world among its faculty, students and staff. Of course, here we faced many challenges: prejudice and ignorance persist on our nation’s campuses, as they do throughout our society. American society today still faces high levels of racial segregation in housing and education in spite of decades of legislative efforts to reduce it. In an increasingly diverse country, deep divisions persist between Europeans, African-American, Hispanics, Native Americans, Asians, and other ethnic groups.

There is nothing natural about these divisions. They are not immutable facts of life. Rather, they are a consequence of a troubled and still unresolved past. Racial and ethnic groups remain separated by residence and education. There are unfortunately few places in American society where people of different backgrounds interact, learn from each other, and struggle to understand their differences and discover their commonality.

We also faced a particular challenge because of our geographic location. As a state university, we draw many of our students from the metropolitan Detroit area, a region with an unusually large black population (90% of Detroit public school students) resulting from the Great Migration of the descendents of slaves to the northern cities during the early 20th century. In fact, Detroit is the second most segregated metropolitan area in the country. Many suburban communities on the borders of Detroit have remained almost completely white despite their proximity to adjoining minority-dominated city neighborhoods. Drawing a significant fraction of our undergraduate enrollment from such a racially segregated environment presented a particularly serious challenge and responsibility for the University.

Yet, there are other significant ethnic challenges. Another Michigan community, Dearborn, has the highest concentration of Arab-Americans in the nation. At the same time, the historic openness of the University to Jewish students, particularly from large eastern cities such as New York, coupled with our institution’s size (42,000 full-time students), gives Michigan the largest enrollment of Jewish students in the nation. Hence, we also experience many of the ethnic tensions now characterizing the Middle East. And the list goes on…

It was apparent that although the University had approached the challenge of serving an increasingly diverse population with the best of intentions, it simply had not developed and executed a plan capable of achieving sustainable results. The University would have to leave behind many reactive and uncoordinated efforts that had characterized its past and move toward a more strategic approach designed to achieve long-term systemic change. Sacrifices would be necessary as traditional roles and privileges were challenged. In particular, we foresaw the limitations of focusing only on affirmative action; that is, on access, retention, and representation. We believed that without deeper, more fundamental institutional change these efforts by themselves would inevitably fail.

More significantly, we believed that achieving our goals for a diverse campus would require a very major change in the institution itself. Hence, we began to think of the challenge of diversity as, in reality, the challenge of changing an institution in a very fundamental way—not an easy challenge for university leaders in an institution where change tends to occur “one grave at a time!” Our diversity agenda would be, in fact, a major exercise in institutional transformation.

The challenge was to persuade the university community that there was a real stake for everyone in seizing the moment to chart a more diverse future. More people needed to believe that the gains to be achieved through diversity would more than compensate for the necessary sacrifices.

The first and most important step was to link diversity and excellence as the two most compelling goals before the institution, recognizing that these goals were not only complementary but would be tightly linked
in the multicultural society characterizing our nation and the world in the future. As we moved ahead, we began to refer to the plan as: The Michigan Mandate: A Strategic Linking of Academic Excellence and Social Diversity.

The mission and goals of the Michigan Mandate were stated quite simply:

1. To recognize that diversity and excellence are complementary and compelling goals for the University and to make a firm commitment to their achievement.

2. To commit to the recruitment, support, and success of members of historically underrepresented groups among our students, faculty, staff, and leadership.

3. To build on our campus an environment that seeks, nourishes, and sustains diversity and pluralism and that values and respects the dignity and worth of every individual.

A series of carefully focused strategic actions was developed to move the University toward these objectives. These strategic actions were framed by the values and traditions of the University, an understanding of our unique culture characterized by a high degree of faculty and unit freedom and autonomy, and animated by a highly competitive and entrepreneurial spirit. The strategy was both complex and all-pervasive, involving not only a considerable commitment of resources (e.g., fully-funding all financial aid for all minority graduate students) as well as some innovative programs.

A good example here was our Target of Opportunity program for recruiting minority faculty. Traditionally, the faculty appointments of American universities have been driven by a concern for academic specialization within their respective disciplines. Too often, in recent years, the University had seen faculty searches that were literally “replacement” searches rather than “enhancement” searches. To achieve the goals of the Michigan Mandate, the University had to free itself from the constraints of this traditional perspective.

Therefore, the central administration sent out the following message to the academic units: “Be vigorous and creative in identifying minority teachers/scholars who can enrich the activities of your unit. Do not be limited by concerns relating to narrow specialization; do not be concerned about the availability of a faculty slot within the unit. The principal criterion for the recruitment of a minority faculty member was whether the individual could enhance the department. If so, resources will be made available to recruit that person to the University of Michigan.”

Note there was another shoe to drop in this effort. Since we did not have any new resources to launch this program, instead we simply established a debt against future resources each time we authorized a new faculty hire under the Target of Opportunity program. At the end of the year, we would then add up these debts and subtract the total off the top of the next year’s budget, whatever the amount. In effect, this budget strategy amounted to shifting dollars away from those academic units that sat on their hands on diversity initiatives to reward those who embraced the goals (e.g., it took Internal Medicine several years to realize that their inactivity in recruiting diverse faculty candidates was transferring a chunk of their budget each year to aggressive programs such as English Language and Literature!).

Of course, because of the top-down management culture of American universities, we were also able to take a few actions that would not be possible in European universities. For example, we included diversity achievement (such as enrollments or graduation rates) as a factor in determining the salaries of our key academic leaders, deans and department chairs. Furthermore, on several occasions, we actually removed and replaced several senior officers who stubbornly resisted change (including our director of admissions).

The Michigan Mandate was one of those efforts that required leadership on the front lines by the president, since only by demonstrating commitment from the top could we demand and achieve the necessary commitments throughout the institution. During the startup phase, I met with hundreds of groups both on and off campus, not only giving speeches, but more importantly, listening carefully to their concerns and ideas. To encourage buy-in, every so often we would redraft and redistribute the documents describing the Michigan Mandate to demonstrate we were not only listening to
the campus community, but using their ideas in shaping the evolution of the effort. (I numbered these documents like computer software, e.g., 1.1, 1.2. There was never a final document. The last one I can recall was numbered 13.8!) (Web-links to the Michigan Mandate can be found at: http://milproj.dc.umich.edu/).

By 1995, Michigan could point to significant progress in achieving diversity. By every measure, the Michigan Mandate was a remarkable success, moving the University far beyond our original goals of a more diverse campus.

The representation of underrepresented students and faculty more than doubled over the decade of the effort. Minority student enrollments rose to one-third of our enrollments, reflecting levels in the more general American population. For example, increasing African-American student enrollments to 9.5%. In fact, when I stepped down as president, 5 of the University’s 10 executive officers were African American, including my successor.

But, perhaps more significantly, the success of underrepresented minorities at the University improved even more remarkably, with graduation rates rising to the highest among public universities, promotion and tenure success of minority faculty members becoming comparable to their majority colleagues, and a growing number of appointments of minorities to leadership positions in the University. The campus climate not only became far more accepting and supportive of diversity, but students and faculty began to come to Michigan because of its growing reputation for a diverse campus. And, perhaps most significantly, as the campus became more racially and ethnically diverse, the quality of the students, faculty, and academic programs of the University increased to the highest level in history. This latter fact seemed to reinforce our contention that the aspirations of diversity and excellence were not only compatible but, in fact, highly correlated.

Studies of the Impact of Diversity on the Educational Experience

Since Michigan has long had great strength in the quantitative social sciences, early in our efforts we began rigorous efforts to measure the impact of increasing diversity on the educational experience (The Michigan Student Study, 1994 to the present). For the past 25 years, we have accumulated data on student attitudes and experiences from entering students, graduating students, and alumni. In fact, this substantial project has led to nine PhD dissertations over the past two decades. This effort has not only been critical for guiding our diversity efforts in a changing world of legal challenges, ballot initiatives, budget crises, shifting demographics, and changing workforce needs, but it has also proved essential in defending diversity both in the courts (e.g., the Supreme Court cases) and to the body politic.

Some of the key conclusions from the studies have been: the majority of students agree with the key premises that social diversity creates a stimulating and challenging environment that benefits the learning of ALL students; that it prepares students for participation as citizens and leaders in our increasingly diverse nation and interconnected world; and that it fosters preparation for citizenship in our democratic society, a goal that is not irrelevant to our education goals! Most groups were also in support of the methods used to achieve diversity, including affirmative action (although interestingly enough, this support tended to decline as students moved through their academic programs and later life). There was also strong disagreement that the emphasis on diversity fosters division and disunity on campus but rather was a significant influential aspect of the college experience. Almost all alumni felt that the diversity on campus enhanced their ability to work effectively across racial and ethnic differences and to understand the multiple perspectives from which people view the world, skills that were viewed as essential to their later careers. Reports on the Michigan Student Study can be found at:

http://www.oami.umich.edu/mss/research/index.htm

The Michigan Agenda for Women

Even while pursuing the racial diversity goals of the Michigan Mandate, we realized we could not ignore another glaring inequity in campus life. If we meant to embrace diversity in its full meaning, we had to at-
tend to the long-standing concerns of women faculty, students, and staff. Here, once again, it took time—and considerable effort by many women colleagues (including my wife and daughters)—to educate me and the rest of my administration to the point where we began to understand that the university simply had not succeeded in including and empowering women as full and equal partners in all aspects of its life and leadership.

Many of our concerns derived from the extreme concentration of women in positions of lower status and power—as students, lower-pay staff, and junior faculty. The most effective lever for change might well be a rapid increase in the number of women holding positions of high status, visibility, and power. This would not only change the balance of power in decision-making, but it would also change the perception of who and what matters in the university. Finally, we needed to bring university policies and practices into better alignment with the needs and concerns of women students in a number of areas including campus safety, student housing, student life, financial aid, and childcare.

Like the Michigan Mandate, the vision was again simple, yet compelling: that by the year 2000 the university would become the leader among American universities in promoting and achieving the success of women as faculty, students, and staff. Again, as president, I took a highly personal role in this effort, meeting with hundreds of groups on and off campus, to listen to their concerns and invite their participation in the initiative. Rapidly, there was again significant progress on many fronts for women students, faculty, and staff, including the appointment of a number of senior women faculty and administrators as deans and executive officers, improvement in campus safety, and improvement of family care policies and childcare resources. Getting women into senior leadership positions was critical—appointing the first women deans of LS&A, Rackham, and the Vice Provost for Health Sciences, leading to the appointment of Michigan’s first woman provost and later its first woman president.

Other Areas of Diversity and Social Justice

The university also took steps to eliminate those factors that prevented other groups from participating fully in its activities. For example, we extended our anti-discrimination policies to encompass sexual orientation and extended staff benefits and housing opportunities to same-sex couples (and more recently, to transgender students). We had become convinced that the university had both a compelling interest in and responsibility to create a welcoming community, encouraging respect for diversity in all of the characteristics that can be used to describe humankind: age, race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, religious belief, sexual orientation, political beliefs, economic background, and geographical background.

The Battle Continues

1) Legal Challenges

But, of course, this story did not end with the successful achievements of the Michigan diversity efforts. Beginning first with litigation in Texas and then successful referendum efforts in California and Washington, conservative groups began to attack affirmative action policies, such as the use of race in college admissions. Perhaps because of Michigan’s success in the Michigan Mandate, the University soon became a target for those groups seeking to reverse affirmative action with two cases filed against the University in 1997, one challenging the admissions policies of undergraduates, and the second challenging those in our Law School.

Although I had stepped down as president by that time, I was still named personally as a defendant in one of the cases, although I had little influence on the strategies to defend both cases to the level of the Supreme Court, aside from giving several days of depositions and having all records of my presidency digitized, archived, and posted publicly by our university history library.

At Michigan, it was important that we “carry the water” for the rest of higher education to defend the value of diversity and the actions necessary to achieve it. Throughout our history, our university has been committed to extending more broadly educational opportunities to the working class, to women, to racial and ethnic minorities, and to students from every state and nation. It was natural for us to lead yet another battle for equity and social justice.

Although the Supreme Court decisions were split,
supporting the use of race in the admissions policies of our Law School and opposing the formula-based approach used for undergraduate admissions, the most important ruling in both cases was, in the words of the court:

“Student body diversity is a compelling state interest that can justify the use of race in university admission.”

“When race-based action is necessary to further a compelling governmental interest, such action does not violate the constitutional guarantee of equal protection so long as the narrow-tailoring requirement is also satisfied.”

Hence, the Supreme Court decisions on the Michigan cases reaffirmed those policies and practices long used by those selective colleges and universities throughout the United States. But more significantly, it reaffirmed both the importance of diversity in higher education and established the principle that, appropriately designed, race could be used as a factor in programs aimed at achieving diverse campuses. Hence, the importance of diversity in higher education and the affirmation of methods to achieve it was firmly established by the highest court of the land. We had won. Or so we thought…

Yet, while an important battle had been won with the Supreme Court ruling, we soon learned that the war for diversity in higher education was far from over. As university lawyers across the nation began to ponder the court ruling, they persuaded their institutions to accept a very narrow interpretation of the Supreme Court decisions as the safest course. Actually, this pattern began to appear at the University of Michigan during the early stages of the litigation process. Even as the university launched the expensive legal battle ($20 million) to defend the use of race in college admissions following my presidency, it throttled back many of the effective policies and programs created by the Michigan Mandate, in part out of concern these might complicate the litigation battle. As a consequence, the enrollment of underrepresented minorities began almost immediately to drop at Michigan, eventu-

ally declining from 1996 to 2002 by almost 25% overall and by as much as 50% in some of our professional schools (Law, Medicine, Business). Although there was an effort to rationalize this by suggesting that the publicity given the litigation over admissions policies was discouraging minority applicants, there is little doubt in my mind that it was the dismantling of the Michigan Mandate that really set us back.

Since the Supreme Court decision, many American universities have begun to back away from programs aimed at recruitment, financial aid, and academic enrichment for minority undergraduate students, either eliminating entirely such programs or opening them up to non-minority students from low-income households. Threats of further litigation by conservative groups have intensified this retrenchment. As a consequence, the enrollments of under-represented minorities are dropping again in many universities across the nation (including Michigan).

I must say that after the years of effort in building a diverse campus at Michigan and successfully defending our actions all the way to the Supreme Court, it would be tragic indeed if the decisions in the Michigan case caused more harm than benefit to the cause of diversity. Imagine our frustration in fearing that rather than advancing the cause of social justice, our efforts have simply empowered the lawyers on our campuses to block effective efforts to broaden educational opportunity.

2) Voter Action

A different challenge first appeared in California with the passage of a public referendum banning affirmative action. The groups pushing the California ban soon broadened to attack diversity policies in other states. In 2006, Michigan voters approved a constitutional referendum to ban the use of affirmative action in public institutions similar to that of California’s Proposition 209. This referendum prevents Michigan colleges and universities from using the narrowly tailored prescriptions of the 2003 Supreme Court decision.

3) Financial Shifts

In the United States, the primary responsibility for
providing educational opportunities to the nation’s diverse population has rested with the public universities supported by state governments. In fact, it has been the strong support of the state universities through tax revenues that has enabled their capacity to enroll students of modest economic means and underrepresented minority populations. Yet today, as the global recession has deepened, state after state began to project tax revenue declines and warn their public universities of deep budget cuts in the range up to 20% to 30%. This retrenchment is on top of two decades of eroding tax support of public universities as the states have struggled with the shifting priorities of aging populations. We now have at least two decades of experience that would suggest the states are simply not able—or willing—to provide the resources to sustain growth in public higher education, at least at the rate experienced in the decades following World War II. In many parts of the nation, states will be hard pressed to even sustain the present capacity and quality of their institutions.

There is a growing sense that the balanced financial model that has sustained American higher education for the past several decades is beginning to fray. Traditionally, the support of American higher education has involved a partnership among states, the federal government, and private citizens (the marketplace). In the past, the states have shouldered the lion’s share of the costs of public higher education through subsidies, which keep tuition low for students, enabling access while the federal government has taken on the role of providing need-based aid and loan subsidies. As state support has declined, public universities have not only become increasingly dependent upon student fees (tuition) but furthermore, they have enrolled increasing numbers of out-of-state or international students subject to much higher tuition. For example, at both the University of California and the University of Michigan, in-state students now pay tuition of $12,000 a year while out-of-state students pay $36,000 a year, essentially the tuition characterizing private institutions. And the result has been a sharp decline in both the economic and ethnic diversity of the students enrolling in these public institutions. It has become painfully clear that without strong state support, the achievement of diversity will require a new paradigm for financing public higher education.

The Road Ahead

The key device many institutions have utilized to achieve diversity is “affirmative action”, that is, giving a slight edge to minorities in key university decisions—student admission, staff hiring, faculty promotion. (In the case of racial diversity, this is sometimes relabeled as “racial preference”!) Yet, it is clearly the case that many today believe that despite the importance of diversity, racial preferences are contrary to American values of individual rights and the policy of color-blindness that animated the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Richard Atkinson, former president of the University of California, suggests that we need a new strategy that recognizes the continuing corrosive force of racial and ethnic inequality but does not stop there. We need a strategy grounded in the broad American tradition of opportunity because this is a value that Americans understand and support. Put another way, we need to shift to strategies and methods that make it clear that all of society has a stake in ensuring that every American has an opportunity to succeed.

Let me suggest two such themes that might suggest such a strategy.

1) Lifelong Learning as a Civil Right

As noted earlier, today we have entered an age of knowledge in a global economy, in which educated people, the knowledge they produce, and the innovation and entrepreneurial skills they possess have become the keys to economic prosperity, social-well being, and national security. Moreover, education, knowledge, innovation, and entrepreneurial skills have also become the primary determinants of one’s personal standard of living and quality of life.

Hence, one can argue that today, democratic societies—and state and federal governments—must accept the responsibility to provide all of their citizens with the educational and training opportunities they need, throughout their lives, whenever, wherever, and however they need it, at high quality and at affordable prices. Hence, we could include diversity as a key to achieving a vision for the nation’s future that provides citizens with the lifelong learning opportunities and skills they need to live prosperous, rewarding, and se-
cure lives in this world. The theme would be a universal life-long educational opportunity as a fundamental right – a CIVIL right – to all Americans, not a privilege for the fortunate few.

Actually, several years ago, we managed to persuade our colleagues on the Spellings Commission to include this as one of our major recommendations. But the Bush administration largely ignored it. Fortunately, the Obama administration seems more inclined to pay attention!

2) Innovation and Creativity

There is a growing recognition in our country that the United States’ most important competitive advantage in the global, knowledge-driven economy may, in fact, be its social diversity. As the noted columnist Tom Friedman puts it, “We live in an age when the most valuable asset any economy can have is the ability to be creative — to spark and imagine new ideas, be they Broadway tunes, great books, iPads or new cancer drugs. And where does creativity come from? To be creative requires divergent thinking (generating many unique ideas) and then convergent thinking (combining those ideas into the best result). And where does divergent thinking come from? It comes from being exposed to divergent ideas. It comes from the sheer creative energy that comes when you mix all our diverse people and cultures together.”

Friedman also cautions that, “the resistance to diversity is not something we want to emulate. Countries that choke themselves off from exposure to different cultures, faiths and ideas will never invent the next Google or a cancer cure, let alone export a musical or a body of literature that would bring enjoyment to children everywhere.”

Lessons Learned

At the University of Michigan, we remain absolutely convinced that there is a very strong linkage between academic excellence and social diversity. We have both demonstrated and fought to sustain this principle. A similar conclusion can be suggested for the dependence of a nation’s prosperity and security upon social diversity and broad representation in all aspects of American life in a global, knowledge-driven world. Indeed, in an increasingly inter-dependent and diverse world, it is hard to imagine how a nation can flourish without tapping the talent, the wisdom, the experience, and the cultures of all of our citizens.

However, the achievement of diversity in higher education requires major institutional change – indeed, it is a major exercise in university transformation.

As with any major change in higher education, there will be strong resistance from within. But it will also face significant resistance from outside, both through public acceptance and political reaction. Hence, this requires both a comprehensive strategic plan and sustained effort over an extended period.

Yet, speaking as a former leader of diversity efforts in a major university, let me caution that defending principles such as diversity, equity, and social justice can be hazardous to one’s health, not to mention one’s career. Not only are they usually controversial, but they also frequently demand strong leadership at the helm of the institution. This is one of the efforts that not only requires strong and determined leadership, but it requires leading the troops into battle, rather than issuing orders far behind the front lines. This is perhaps the reason why so few institutions make progress in complex areas such as social diversity.

My own experience suggests that the political threats to being a leader in diversity can be challenging, such as when our state’s conservative political party attempt to target me for removal because of the Michigan Mandate. Or when our state’s governor and legislature tried to deduct from our funding an amount corresponding to the funds we were spending to provide health-care to the partners of same-sex university couples. (In this case, we ever so politely filed suit against state government to demonstrate that our constitutional autonomy prohibited this funding cut. Actually, throughout our history, our University has sued state government rather frequently to protect our autonomy.) One can even find oneself as a defendant before the Supreme Court in a landmark case on diversity and social justice.

There is an old saying among university presidents cautioning them to take great care in choosing the ditch where they fight from, since that battle may be their last. Yet, I also believe today that I would choose to fight in this ditch again, even knowing the likely per-
sonal toll it would take. There are few causes that are clearly worthy of such sacrifices. Diversity, equity, and social justice are certainly among them.
UM Ann Arbor Minority Enrollments

Total Enrollments
From 1975 to 2013

A Graphical Presentation
UM Ann Arbor Minority Enrollments

Enrollments by School and College
From 1975 to 2013

A Graphical Presentation