Report of the MLA Task Force on Evaluating Scholarship for Tenure and Promotion

MLA Task Force on Evaluating Scholarship for Tenure and Promotion

December 2006

Profession 2007

Report of the MLA Task Force on Evaluating Scholarship for Tenure and Promotion

Executive Summary

In 2004 the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association of America created a task force to examine current standards and emerging trends in publication requirements for tenure and promotion in English and foreign language departments in the United States. The council's action came in response to widespread anxiety in the profession about ever-rising demands for research productivity and shrinking humanities lists by academic publishers, worries that forms of scholarship other than single-authored books were not being properly recognized, and fears that a generation of junior scholars would have a significantly reduced chance of being tenured. The task force was charged with investigating the factual basis behind such concerns and making recommendations to address the changing environment in which scholarship is being evaluated in tenure and promotion decisions.

To fulfill its charge, the task force reviewed numerous studies, reports, and documents; surveyed department chairs; interviewed deans and other senior administrators; solicited written comments from association members; and consulted with other committees and organizations. The most significant data-gathering instrument was a spring 2005 online survey of 1,339 departments in 734 institutions across the United States covering a range of doctorate, master's, and baccalaureate institutions. The response rate to the survey (51% of all departments and 67% of all institutions) provided a solid basis for the task force's analysis and recommendations.

The information gathered by the task force substantiates some worries and mitigates others. The results of the MLA survey, which covered the academic years from 1994–95 to 2003–04, initially seemed reassuring,

since they suggested that there has been no perceptible lowering of tenure rates among those in the final stages of the tenure process, where the denial rate seems to be around 10%. But further research presented a more complex picture. The MLA survey showed that well over 20% of tenure-track faculty members leave the departments that originally hired them before they come up for tenure. Data from studies conducted by other groups suggest that fewer than 40% of the PhD recipients who make up the pool of applicants for tenure-track positions obtain such positions and go through the tenure process at the institutions where they are initially hired, and a somewhat larger number of modern language doctorate recipients—more than 40%—never obtain tenure-track appointments. In the aggregate, then, PhDs in the fields represented by the MLA appear to have about a 35% chance of getting tenure.

The MLA survey further documents that the demands placed on candidates for tenure, especially demands for publication, have been expanding in kind and increasing in quantity. While rising expectations have been driven by the nation's most prestigious research universities, the effects ripple throughout all sectors of higher education, where greater emphasis has been placed on publication in tenure and promotion decisions even at institutions that assign heavy teaching loads. Over 62% of all departments report that publication has increased in importance in tenure decisions over the last ten years. The percentage of departments ranking scholarship of primary importance (over teaching) has more than doubled since the last comparable survey, conducted by Thomas Wilcox in 1968: from 35.4% to 75.7% (*Comprehensive Survey* 36).

Judging from the MLA's survey findings, junior faculty members are meeting these ever-growing demands even though this is a time when universities have lowered or eliminated subsidies for scholarly presses and libraries have dramatically reduced their purchases of books in the humanities. And despite a worsening climate for book publication, the monograph has become increasingly important in comparison with other forms of publication. Indeed, 88.9% of departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting, 44.4% in Carnegie Master's, and 48% in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions now rank publication of a monograph "very important" or "important" for tenure. The status of the monograph as a gold standard is confirmed by the expectation in almost one-third of all departments surveyed (32.9%) of progress toward completion of a second book for tenure. This expectation is even higher in doctorate-granting institutions, where 49.8% of departments now demand progress toward a second book.

While publication expectations for tenure and promotion have increased, the value that departments place on scholarly activity outside

monograph publication remains within a fairly restricted range. Refereed journal articles continue to be valued in tenure evaluations; only 1.6% of responding departments rated refereed journal articles "not important" in tenure and promotion decisions. Other activities were more widely devalued. Translations were rated "not important" by 30.4% of departments (including 31.3% of foreign language departments), as were textbooks by 28.9% of departments, bibliographic scholarship by 28.8% of departments, scholarly editions by 20% of departments, and editing a scholarly journal by 20.7% of departments. Even more troubling is the state of evaluation for digital scholarship, now an extensively used resource for scholars across the humanities: 40.8% of departments in doctorate-granting institutions report no experience evaluating refereed articles in electronic format, and 65.7% report no experience evaluating monographs in electronic format.

Given the trends the task force has identified, we offer the following recommendations to address this complex situation before it becomes a crisis.

1. Departments and institutions should practice and promote transparency throughout the tenuring process.
2. Departments and institutions should calibrate expectations for achieving tenure and promotion with institutional values, mission, and practice.
3. The profession as a whole should develop a more capacious conception of scholarship by rethinking the dominance of the monograph, promoting the scholarly essay, establishing multiple pathways to tenure, and using scholarly portfolios.
4. Departments and institutions should recognize the legitimacy of scholarship produced in new media, whether by individuals or in collaboration, and create procedures for evaluating these forms of scholarship.
5. Departments should devise a letter of understanding that makes the expectations for new faculty members explicit. The letter should state what previous scholarship will count toward tenure and how evaluation of joint appointments will take place between departments or programs.
6. Departments and institutions should provide support commensurate with expectations for achieving tenure and promotion (start-up funds, subventions, research leaves, and so forth).
7. Departments and institutions should establish mentoring structures that provide guidance to new faculty members on scholarship and on the optimal balance of publication, teaching, and service.
8. Department chairs should receive guidance on the proper preparation of a tenure dossier.
9. Departments and institutions should construct and implement models for intermediate reviews that precede tenure reviews.
10. Departments should conduct an in-depth evaluation of candidates' dossiers for tenure or promotion at the departmental level. Presses or outside referees should not be the main arbiters in tenure cases.
11. Scholarship, teaching, and service should be the three criteria for tenure. Those responsible for tenure reviews should not include collegiality as an additional criterion for tenure.

12. Departments and institutions should limit the number of outside letters (in general, to no more than six). Scholars should be chosen to write letters based primarily on their knowledge of the candidate's field(s). Letters should be limited to evaluating scholarly work. Candidates should participate in selecting (or rejecting) some of their potential reviewers.
13. The profession as a whole should encourage scholars at all levels to write substantive book reviews.
14. Departments and institutions should facilitate collaboration among scholars and evaluate it fairly.
15. The task force encourages further study of the unfulfilled parts of its charge with respect to multiple submissions of manuscripts and comparisons of the number of books published by university presses between 1999 and 2005.
16. The task force recommends establishing concrete measures to support university presses.
17. The task force recognizes that work needs to be done on several questions not asked in its survey: salaries of junior and recently tenured faculty members, the role of unions, tenure appeals processes, and the lengthening of the pretenure period.
18. The task force recommends that a study of faculty members of color be conducted.
19. The task force encourages discussion of the current form of the dissertation (as a monograph-in-progress) and of the current trends in the graduate curriculum.
20. Departments should undertake a comprehensive review to ensure that their expectations for tenure are consistent with their institutions' values and mission and that each step in the process is fair and transparent.

Task Force Report

Preamble

". . . How can ever-increasing demands for publication as a qualification for tenure and promotion be sustained when scholars find it harder and harder to publish their books? On a broader level . . . how [will the] shifts in academic publishing . . . affect our scholarship, as well as the profession as a whole?" (MLA Ad Hoc Committee 176). These questions defined the primary concerns of the 2002 report of the MLA Ad Hoc Committee on the Future of Scholarly Publishing, chaired by Judith Ryan. The report delineated a "current crisis" (182) in the profession, exacerbated by a perceived disjunction between what tenure committees value—the scholarly monograph—and what they reportedly devalue—editions, collections of essays, anthologies, and textbooks—scholarship that is "forming a larger and larger part of what scholarly presses wish to publish." The possibility that "younger scholars may well be increasingly edged out of the publishing process" (177), as the report concluded, led the MLA Executive Council

and its then president, Stephen Greenblatt, to write an open letter to the members of the association, outlining a "systemic, structural, and at base economic" problem: because of departments' insistence "that only books and more books will do" to measure scholarly achievement, even as university presses cut back on the number of books they publish annually in certain fields, "higher education stands to lose, or at least severely to damage, a generation of junior scholars." The ideas that Greenblatt and the Executive Council solicited from MLA members—specific ways to ease this complex and self-defeating situation largely by changing expectations for tenure—generated an outpouring of responses. The Executive Council thus decided to create a task force in 2004 to continue analyzing these issues. This report summarizes the deliberations and findings of the task force.

The MLA Executive Council wished to address not only the concerns in the committee's report and the Greenblatt letter and responses to that letter but also, and more broadly, the general anxiety that appears to exist in the profession about ever-rising demands on the scholarship, teaching, and service of junior faculty members coming up for tenure; the dismay over the reduced output from or, in some cases, the phasing out of the humanities lists of academic presses; the worry that forms of scholarship other than the monograph are not properly recognized or evaluated, especially when they come in electronic form; and ultimately, because of this confluence of factors, the fear that a generation of junior scholars will have a markedly reduced chance of being tenured. The council was alarmed, then, that a disjunction existed between rising expectations for tenure and diminishing availability of publishing outlets in the fields represented by the MLA. It was concerned about the narrowing definitions of what constitutes scholarship for tenure and promotion, about the exclusion of new, alternative forms of scholarship, and about the failure to take account of the full range of practices that now constitute the system of scholarly exchange. Finally, the council believed there was a need to revise procedures for evaluating scholarship to achieve equity and fairness throughout the tenuring process. To address this set of issues, the Executive Council charged the Task Force on Evaluating Scholarship for Tenure and Promotion first and foremost "with examining the procedures used to evaluate scholarly publications for tenure and promotion." In addition:

> The task force will consider the effects of the widely discussed crisis in scholarly publishing (and the multiple forms that scholarly publishing now takes) on the criteria used to assess scholarly work in tenure reviews. The task force will review the guidelines and documents that the MLA has issued in the past on matters relevant to its charge (e.g., recommendations on outside evaluation letters for tenure cases). The task force will acquire

> specific information from department chairs, deans of humanities, and fac-
> ulty members recently reviewed for tenure about the requirements for ten-
> ure—and the outcome of tenure cases—in research institutions as well as
> liberal arts colleges and other kinds of postsecondary schools for the period
> 1999–2004. For the same period, the task force will compare the number
> of books (volumes) in the fields represented by the MLA published by aca-
> demic presses. The task force will also discuss the issue of subventions and
> of multiple submissions of manuscripts to presses.   ("Meeting" 280–82)

In striving to fulfill its charge, the task force reviewed numerous
MLA studies, reports, documents, and statements and discussed a num-
ber of readings on topics related to our concerns; they will be referenced
throughout this report (see the works-cited list). We also interviewed
deans and other administrators; we published an item in the *MLA News-
letter* asking recently hired and recently tenured members of our pro-
fession to comment on the tenure process at their institutions and on
their own experiences with this process; and we consulted with various
MLA committees (Committee on the Status of Women in the Profes-
sion, Committee on Information Technology, Committee on the Litera-
tures of People of Color in the United States and Canada, Committee
on Scholarly Editions) and held a meeting with the Council of Editors of
Learned Journals. Several members of the task force presented some of
our preliminary findings at the 2005 MLA Annual Convention.

The task force took seriously the charge to "acquire specific informa-
tion from department chairs," and we requested that the MLA conduct
a substantial survey to determine as precisely as possible how expecta-
tions for achievements in scholarship, teaching, and service had evolved
from 1995 to 2004 and what rates of granting tenure were realized during
this period. It seemed crucial to the task force that statistical information
replace the anecdotes about heightened tenure criteria and diminishing
tenure rates that have circulated in the profession and contributed to the
belief in the often-mentioned crisis. The knowledge that chairs have of
their departments' practices and their institutions' procedures and values
needed to be described as concretely as possible.

The Executive Council approved funding for this survey, which was
conducted in spring 2005 and based on a questionnaire drafted by mem-
bers of the task force and the MLA staff and designed for Web-based
administration. The MLA's file of department administrators was used to
define a universe of 4,138 modern language departments in 1,365 four-year,
degree-granting, Title IV–participating Carnegie Doctorate-granting,
Master's, and Baccalaureate institutions in the continental United States.
Of these 4,138 departments, a subset of 1,339 departments in 734 institu-

tions was contacted by e-mail and invited to complete the survey online. These 1,339 academic units included 596 English departments, 647 foreign language departments, and 96 departments that encompass both English and foreign languages. Data collection took place between March and May 2005. Of the 1,339 departments, 686 (51.2%) responded, representing 490 institutions; at least one department responded in 67% of the 734 institutions housing the entire set of 1,339 units canvassed in the survey.

The findings and analysis of the survey, which appear in this report, are based on responses from 671 departments in 476 institutions that reported having a tenure system: 324 of the 331 responding English departments and 347 of the 355 foreign language or combined departments. While these departments and institutions do not constitute a sample representative of all four-year United States colleges and universities, their answers nonetheless afford insight into practices and standards for tenure in English and other modern language departments across a significant swath of United States higher education.

In the interpretation of survey findings, the distribution of tenure-track faculty members across the different types of four-year institutions differs from the distribution of the institutions. Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions constitute 18.1% of four-year institutions covered in the United States Department of Education's Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) but 49% of the tenure-track faculty members employed in four-year institutions. Carnegie Master's institutions constitute 41.8% of the four-year institutions in the IPEDS but employ 36.8% of tenure-track faculty members. Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions constitute 40.1% of the four-year institutions but employ 14.2% of tenure-track faculty members.[1] The large population of tenure-track faculty members in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions means that practices in the doctoral sector have an impact that goes far beyond the number of institutions represented.[2]

1. A Critical Time, a New Conjuncture

Any serious attempt to understand the issues surrounding the evaluation of scholarship for tenure and promotion today must first take into account the shifting nature of academic work over the past decades; the changes in the resources for disseminating scholarship, including the condition of university presses; and the significant changes in educational policies—all of which have increased pressure on the tenure system. Because of factors identified in our report, this conjuncture may well represent a threshold moment with large effects and consequences in the future.

First, we are seeing the effects of the cuts in funding for higher education at both the federal and the state levels. The subvention of substantial portions

of the costs of education for undergraduate and graduate students, what the MLA Committee on Professional Employment's report calls "the social and financial compact," existed for decades but began to erode with the end of the cold war (1163). And as Phyllis Franklin noted in 1997, citing from the report of the Council for Aid to Education, "Breaking the Social Contract":

> [T]he cost of educating college students grew by "more than sixfold between 1961 and 1995, much faster than inflation, as measured by the Consumer Price Index."
>   . . . [B]oth federal and state governments have underfunded higher education since the mid-1970s because entitlement programs like Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid have required an increasingly large proportion of public funds. . . . Thus, while the cost of educating a student increased, funding from the public sector decreased. By the year 2015, the [CAE] report concludes, "the higher education sector will face a funding shortfall of about $38 billion [in 1995 dollars]—almost a quarter of what it will need." (5)

This underfunding has occurred at a moment of marked growth in the student body and in administrations of higher education institutions (Schuster and Finkelstein 92). Indeed, the labor sector that has been most downsized and underfunded in recent history is the faculty.

Insufficient funding has gone hand in hand with—and is partly the result of—the corporatization of the university, which promotes a managerial-corporate culture that relies on the market to determine priorities and to value products and services to clients (Rice and Sorcinelli 105). The adoption of business models that champion performance accountability and greater efficiency (MLA Committee on Professional Employment 1155) casts faculty members as productivity managers, in contrast to their traditional role as stewards of the educational mission of their institution, and undermines the commitment of academic administrations to what R. Eugene Rice and Mary Deane Sorcinelli call a prestige economy (105). For the faculty, this new economy means that the quantity of research takes on greater prominence. In many colleges and universities, the managerial-corporate culture has led to a work speedup that equates more publication with greater productivity and productivity with accountability.

As the MLA Committee on Professional Employment's report points out, the tension in this country between increasing access to education and the expanding research mission of higher education was managed fairly well while resources were expanding in the 1960s. With structural expansion, the increase in undergraduate enrollments created a need for more campuses and thus more career faculty lines. In turn, the number of graduate students working toward the doctoral degree also increased;

in the fifteen academic years between 1958 and 1973, the expansion of graduate education led to an extraordinary rise in the number of PhDs. A limit on the capacity to fund new positions for faculty members was inevitably reached, however, and the market became saturated in the early 1970s. Since then, PhDs "have faced an academic marketplace where, with one brief, modest exception in the late 1980s, qualified candidates seeking careers in tenure-track positions far outnumber available positions" (MLA Committee on Professional Employment 1165).

In the period from 1994–95 to 2003–04, the overall number of PhD recipients declined (by about 10%, as reported in the annual Survey of Earned Doctorates for those years). There has also been a general improvement in the placement of PhDs to tenure-track positions and a decrease in placements to non-tenure-track (NTT) positions, both full-time and part-time, particularly for graduates in English. In the last three MLA surveys of PhD placement, placements to tenure-track positions for graduates in English increased from 35% in 1996–97 to 42.9% in 2000–01 to 49.7% in 2003–04. Placements of English graduates to NTT full-time positions declined from 24.7% to 20.2% to 20%, whereas placements to NTT part-time positions declined from 13% to 9.6% to 5.6%. The pattern is similar, although less clear-cut, for graduates in foreign languages. In 1996–97 40.1% of foreign language doctorate recipients were placed in tenure-track positions; tenure-track placements fell to 38.5% in 2000–01 but rose to 45.5% in 2003–04. Placement of foreign language graduates to NTT full-time positions declined from 25.9% in 1996–97 to 17.5% in 2000–01 but increased to 26.4% in 2003–04. Placement to NTT part-time positions declined from 8.5% to 6.1% to 5% (Laurence and Steward).[3]

2. The Shifting Composition of the Faculty and the Shifting Nature of Academic Work

The decrease in the number of faculty members gaining full-time tenure-track positions in language and literature during a period in which the number of undergraduate students increased means that full-time faculty members had a significantly heavier workload in the 1990s than they did in the 1970s. As Jack H. Schuster and Martin J. Finkelstein point out, the weekly work effort of faculty members across institutional types increased from 40 hours per week in 1972 to 48.6 hours in 1998, and it increased most dramatically, to 50.6 hours, at research universities, where the faculty has been subjected to both increasing instructional demands and increasing research demands (79). Across the board the proportion of faculty members working more than 50 hours a week has doubled since 1972, rising from a significant minority (23.2%) in 1972 to nearly 40% in 1998.

Even more important, however, Schuster and Finkelstein's study concludes that we are witnessing a reshaping of the faculty by academic function to an extent not seen since the emergence of graduate education in the nineteenth century (107). Most notable is the dramatic increase since the 1970s in the use of full-time and part-time NTT faculty members, what has been called the casualization of the academic workforce.[4] This casualization puts enormous pressure on the tenure system. As tenure-track jobs have declined relative to all faculty positions since the 1970s and as the number of students has grown considerably, part-time and full-time NTT academic labor has increased throughout the academy. In the 1970s, according to a study led by Margaret Cahalan, 22% of the faculty nationwide consisted of part-time employees; by 1993, part-time employees constituted 40% of the faculty (Cahalan et al. 24–25). The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) has noted that "through the 1990s, in all types of institutions, three out of four new faculty members were appointed to non-tenure-track positions." More recent studies suggest that the rate of casualization has only increased. A 2005 article in *Inside Higher Ed*, reporting on a document released in May 2005 by the National Center for Education Statistics, stated that "between 2001 and 2003, the number of full-time faculty jobs at degree-granting institutions rose to 630,419 from 617, 868—a gain of 12,551 jobs. But the number of part-time jobs rose to 543,137, up from 495,315—a gain of 47,822 jobs. And as a percentage of faculty jobs at degree-granting institutions, part-time positions increased to 46 percent, from 44 percent, over those two years" (Jaschik).

Using figures derived from the *2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty* (Cataldi et al.), a survey of a sample of postsecondary faculty members conducted by the United States Department of Education at five-year intervals, the AAUP produced a chart showing that over 40% of faculty members in foreign language departments and over 50% of faculty members in the field of English and literature are part-time. Because the AAUP does not disaggregate four-year and two-year institutions (where there are large numbers of faculty members working part-time), the aggregate percentages mask the large disparity between two- and four-year sectors. When the figures for English and literature are combined with those in foreign languages and are disaggregated by Carnegie type of institution, the number of part-time faculty members is 29.5% in Doctorate-granting, 33.6% in Baccalaureate, 45% in Master's, and 69.5% in Associate's institutions (i.e., two-year colleges that grant associate degrees).

The figures for full-time NTT relative to part-time NTT reveal important differences by type of institution. Of the NTT faculty members at doctoral institutions, 47.3% are full-time and 52.7% are part-time; at

master's, 22.3% are full-time and 77.7% are part-time; at baccalaureate, 40.7% are full-time and 59.3% are part-time; and at associate's, 13.0% are full-time and 87.1% are part-time. In other words, in all institutional sectors, the percentage of part-time NTT faculty members is greater than the percentage of full-time NTT faculty members.[5] According to Schuster and Finkelstein, the prevalence of part-time NTT faculty members is more pronounced in English composition, foreign languages, mathematics, and business than in all other academic fields.

In Schuster and Finkelstein's view, full-time NTT appointments, which usually have term limits, have "become the model type of full-time appointment for new entrants to academic careers." There is "considerable permeability" between "off the tenure track" and "on track" full-time appointments, especially among those who have the doctorate; and men are more likely to move onto this track than women (219). Moreover, NTT faculty members appear satisfied with some aspects of their jobs, especially their workload and the level of control over their professional time, which seem to compensate partially for dissatisfaction with their organizational status, perquisites, and future prospects (230–31). For Schuster and Finkelstein, the emergence of full-time NTT faculty members has been less visible in the faculty's structural evolution in the past two decades than the growth in part-time NTT faculty members, but they claim that this phenomenon "marks a seismic shift in the types of faculty appointments being made" and in the definition of the faculty's function (215).

The multitiered faculty structure in higher education, which is not likely to change in the foreseeable future, has direct implications for tenure. The dramatic increase in the number of part-time NTT faculty members and in the number of term-limited full-time NTT faculty members puts increased demands and pressure on all full-time tenure-track and tenured faculty members in many areas for which the casualized work force is not—and should not be—responsible: service on department committees and in departmental governance; student advising; teaching upper-level undergraduate and graduate courses; directing dissertations; and, less concretely but no less importantly, contributing to intellectual community building in the department and outside it, in the college and the university (see MLA Committee on Professional Employment 9–10; Schuster and Finkelstein 104–05).[6]

3. *The Condition of University Presses and of Humanities Lists*

The corporatization of the university and the imposition of business models of efficiency and output have affected not only the structure of the faculty but also the primary source for the dissemination of academic

scholarship in the humanities and social sciences: university presses. As Phil Pochada has pointed out, these presses have increasingly been asked to operate as businesses that must cover their costs and have lost or had sharply reduced their subsidies from the institution (qtd. in MLA Ad Hoc Committee 173).[7] They have reacted to—and accommodated—this new situation in part by discontinuing publication in certain humanities subjects altogether, such as the series in contemporary poetry at Oxford University Press and the series in French studies at Cambridge University Press (MLA Ad Hoc Committee 175), or by reducing the humanities list (as Stanford University Press has done) and the number of translations published (as Northwestern University Press has done). This narrowing of publishing possibilities, especially in fields viewed as marginal, may not have bottomed out but may in fact become more acute in years to come.

To be sure, some presses are now exploring the use of digital technology and collaborating with their campus libraries to find alternative ways to deliver humanities content, in a few cases restoring previously discontinued series.[8] University presses have pursued further adjustments to the current situation. They have also learned to manage their inventories and distribution more effectively to ensure more efficient sales and fewer returns. They maintain their humanities lists—indeed, often subsidize them—by publishing marketable regional fiction, guides to wildlife and cooking, and encyclopedias of states; reference books, which can command high prices; and volumes for nonuniversity readers, such as midlist books that trade publishers are now less likely to produce. Presses are thus devoting substantial editorial resources to finding and promoting profitable books that can keep the entire press enterprise afloat and, more pertinent to this report, that can sustain publication in the fields represented by the MLA.

The plight of humanities publishing lists is a direct result of a lack of sales of new hardcover books from university presses. We frequently hear publishers describe a downward trend of monograph sales to libraries, from as many as 600–1,000 clothbound copies for the initial printing to around 250 today. Accordingly, university presses have seen the unit cost of their titles increase markedly: in a study of 60 libraries conducted by the Association of Research Libraries (ARL), the median cost of a monograph was $28.99 in 1986 and $51.19 in 2004 (an increase of 77%). The drop in humanities books is particularly evident for sales to college and university libraries, the primary outlet for monographs. Even where library budgets have grown, purchases of books in the humanities have not increased. Libraries have scaled back on these purchases as costs of subscriptions to major scientific journals have skyrocketed; some subscription rates are in the thousands of dollars.[9] The ARL study

found that, from 1986 to 2004, library expenditures for serials rose 273%, whereas expenditures on monographs rose 63% ("Monograph and Serial Expenditures"); there was an increase of 42% in the number of serials purchased, but a 9% decrease in the number of monographs purchased.[10] Furthermore, investment in electronic journal subscriptions, such as the indispensable JSTOR, has reduced budgets for humanities monographs. As a result, "automatic buy lists"—agreements between libraries and leading university presses that ensure the purchase of a press's entire list of new books—have largely become a thing of the past.

A corollary consideration by many editors concerns the extent to which books are being purchased and read by faculty members and students in the language and literature disciplines. If the sale of monographs is a rough indicator of readership (and, of course, it is a very rough measure given the availability of photocopying, course packs, the system of interlibrary loans, and, most recently, texts online), then the editors of presses conclude that the monographs they publish are being read by fewer and fewer scholars. Even if this is true, the decline in readership can be attributed only in part to the rising cost of books. It is possible that the accumulated volume of scholarship in book form is increasingly difficult to master and that scholars tend to read monographs in very restricted contexts: in relation to their own research, requests for reviews, teaching, and the evaluation of tenure and promotion cases. Thus editors express concern that too few monographs draw a readership across different fields in language and literature and between these fields and the social and applied sciences.

Some scholars have suggested that online publishing would help resolve the problem of the increased cost of books. However, as Jennifer Crewe of Columbia University Press has pointed out, only part of the cost of producing new books would be reduced by online publication, since the costs of editing and refereeing remain the same in either medium and keeping up with new developments in technology represents added costs (Crewe 28; see also MLA Ad Hoc Committee 180). Online publication by itself is therefore not likely to solve the problems underlying the financial difficulties faced by libraries and presses.

4. Changes in Educational Policy and Practices

Over and beyond the different factors that we have enumerated—the problems of academic presses in publishing books in the humanities, the altered structure of the faculty, a dominance of casualized part-time NTT and full-time term NTT faculty positions, and the reduced funding for hiring faculty members and for supporting higher education in general in the past three decades—there have also been significant shifts

in educational policy and, as a result, in educational practices. These shifts have produced revised criteria for determining what faculty members must do to be tenured and promoted.

In 1990, Ernest Boyer published *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate*, an enormously influential book that attempted to reframe the discussion of the nature and function of scholarship and to challenge the traditional dichotomy between scholarship and teaching and thus between content and process. Boyer embraced an expanded view of scholarly work that highlighted teaching, engagement, integration, and discovery. Based on a 1988 inquiry sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Scholarship Reconsidered* led to conceptualizing teaching as a scholarly enterprise in the 1990s. There was an outpouring of pedagogical colloquiums, teaching circles, and the production of teaching portfolios, a practice that has become widely used in tenure and promotion cases. Advocates of Boyer's views went on to form the Carnegie Academy for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning and created a national network of institutions with teaching academies (see Rice and Sorcinelli 107–09).

Moreover, as the notion of a scholarship of engagement suggests, Boyer and his followers believed that scholars should learn from and involve members of the community and apply their scholarship to the nation's critical societal issues. The scholarship of integration was designed to combat fragmentation and alienation in the academy, to promote collaborative work, and to reach across disciplinary boundaries, not only connecting the usual disciplines but also achieving what David Scott calls "transdisciplinarity" (49), an ideal that is both invoked and underfunded on college and university campuses. Boyer's fourth category, the scholarship of discovery, the traditional goal of scholarship, was cast in scientific terms that had little to do with the humanities and, in general, seemed to be undervalued in his efforts to forge a more inclusive conception of scholarship that embraced teaching, application, and cross-disciplinarity. The faculty's intellectual and scholarly interests were depicted as narrow and in need of infusion, or replacement, by civic values—if not depicted by Boyer himself then by his followers, by higher education administrators, and by governmental voices in higher education reform who have been calling for a reorientation of faculty work.

The considerable amount of work required to implement the goals of *Scholarship Reconsidered* has been evaluated (see Rice and Sorcinelli 107–22), and its impact on institutional policy and practice has also been examined. KerryAnn O'Meara and Rice's *Faculty Priorities Reconsidered: Rewarding Multiple Forms of Scholarship* features essays about the ideas of *Scholarship*

Reconsidered, reports from nine campuses on how they have revised tenure and promotion policies, and a national survey of chief academic officers at four-year institutions on concrete ways in which their institutions changed in the decade following the publication of Boyer's work. The essays reveal that many institutions did revise their tenure and promotion policies in keeping with Boyer's views, most notably in the area of the scholarship of teaching and learning, spurred by public concern about the faculty's commitment to the education of undergraduate students. Yet in "Scholarship Reconsidered: Barriers to Change," Robert M. Diamond observes that "many faculty members in key leadership roles were comfortable with the status quo and were reluctant to change reward structures or definitions of scholarly work that had worked so well for them" (57). He concludes that there are several ways to overcome "potential barriers" to change: ensure top leadership support, select the leaders of the initiative with care, institutionalize the process, reinforce new policies and procedures as they are approved, and ensure that communications are open and that the entire faculty has the opportunity for input (58–59).

The findings of the national survey of chief academic officers reported in *Faculty Priorities Reconsidered* reveal that the primary change in the decade following the publication of *Scholarship Reconsidered* consisted of heightened demands that faculty members excel in every area, principally "publication productivity" (51% of the chief academic officers surveyed said that it "counts more"). Even more notable, the officers who classified theirs as "reform" institutions, that is, those that were changing tenure and promotion policies, as compared with "traditional" institutions, those that were not changing policies, reported that "emphasis has increased" in all areas surveyed: in publication productivity (54%), teaching (39%), engagement and professional service (39%), service to the institution (23%), and service to the profession (23%). In "traditional" institutions, the figures for increased emphasis were lower in all these categories: 45% in publication, 26% in teaching, 12% in engagement, 9% in service to the institution, and 10% in service to the profession. Even those institutions that are not engaged in reforming their policies have increased expectations in all areas (O'Meara and Rice 320).

This startling conclusion seriously concerns the task force. Change in favor of a more capacious conception of scholarship, which we strongly endorse, should not mean ever-wider demands on faculty members, most especially those coming up for tenure and promotion. We endorse the specific ways in which Diamond suggests that change can be effected within an institution to combat the predominant satisfaction with the status quo that we found in our survey. In the same vein, we endorse most

of O'Meara's principles for "encouraging multiple forms of scholarship in policy and practice" (290): prepare students in graduate school for the variety of roles and types of scholarship in which they will engage; socialize new faculty members to the broader institutional definition of scholarship; present clear expectations for scholarship in promotion and tenure guidelines; do not expect or reward the "overloaded plate"; provide useful feedback to faculty members during their evaluations; support pioneers with resources—structural and financial, training and development, political and symbolic; define and emphasize scholarship in the context of institutional mission; and resist increasing research expectations to enhance institutional prestige (293–300).

It would appear that the decline in the importance of teaching, highlighted in *Scholarship Reconsidered*, has been followed by an increased emphasis on teaching since the mid-1990s, at least according to Schuster and Finkelstein's findings. This increase is accompanied by a consistent, modest increase in emphasis on research spread throughout the higher education landscape (89–90). The findings of our survey confirm the conclusions of Schuster and Finkelstein. Of the three criteria for tenure and promotion—scholarship, teaching, and service—teaching is the criterion where there is the least variation among the departments we surveyed (monograph publication has the most variation). Teaching was rated "very important" for tenure by 74.6% of departments in the doctoral institutions, 94% of the master's, and 97.4% of the baccalaureate, in contrast to the monograph, which was ranked "very important" by 62% of departments in the doctoral institutions but by only 12.5% of the baccalaureate and 8.6% of the master's, and in further contrast to publication in general, which was ranked as "very important" by 98.3% of the doctoral institutions, 59.9% of the baccalaureate, and 58.2% of the master's. Overall, however, only 24.6% of departments report that teaching has increased in importance (far fewer than the 62.1% that report publication increased in importance and the 30% that report monograph publication has increased in importance). Indeed, teaching increased most in importance in departments in doctoral institutions (36.2%), as compared with 18.4% of baccalaureate and 14.2% of master's institutions, where, presumably, teaching has always been considered important. That publication increased in importance most in baccalaureate institutions confirms the notion of increased demands for both teaching and publication throughout the Carnegie system of institutions. (Of the three traditional areas of faculty activity, service showed the lowest percentage increase in importance—17.3% across all sectors—and the highest decrease in importance—11.2%.)

5. *Teaching and Service as Forms of Scholarship; A Provisional Definition of Scholarship*

Although it is not the primary focus of this report, the task force wants to emphasize, along with Boyer and others, the importance of teaching as a form of scholarship, indeed, as a venue for making scholarship public. As John Guillory (a member of the task force) has written, most of us know "important teachers," brilliant scholars whose scholarship went into the classroom and not onto the page (26). Charles E. Glassic and his coauthors have rightly criticized the failure of the profession to devise ways to recognize this kind of scholarly achievement. Similarly, service, traditionally viewed in research institutions as the least significant of the scholarship, teaching, and service triad, should be seen as a crucial part of faculty work that overlaps with—and involves—both other elements. The 1996 report of the MLA Commission on Professional Service rejects the old "unwieldy, confused category, encompassing almost any faculty work that falls outside research and scholarship or teaching" (170) in favor of the categories intellectual work and academic and professional citizenship (162), which can occur at a number of "sites," including classrooms, committee meetings, the Internet, scholarly conventions, journals, and community boards (163). In this schema, intellectual work "is not restricted to research and scholarship but is also a component of teaching and service," and citizenship, which "encompasses the activities required to create, maintain, and improve the infrastructure that sustains the academy as a societal institution," comprises aspects of research and scholarship, such as participating in promotion and tenure reviews, evaluating manuscripts, and serving on committees in professional organizations or on task forces in one's field (162, 163). The applied work of citizenship makes knowledge available to government, industry, the law, the arts, and nongovernmental organizations; examples include "serving on a state or local humanities council, helping a school system revamp its curriculum, working on a community literacy project, writing a script for public television, and consulting on expert testimony for Congress" (164). Visual grids in the MLA report on professional service convincingly show the overlapping, ambiguous, and connected activities in various faculty work efforts and among sites and serve as a model for rethinking the conventional triad of faculty work (see also Stanton).

This more complex and expanded view of the sites of scholarship is subsumed in our understanding, influenced by the work of Guillory, that scholarship in the humanities constellates three activities: research, interpretation, and reflection. Research is not to be equated with scholarship; it is a component of scholarship that, in the fields represented by the

MLA (and more broadly, the humanities), can include archival, artifactual, or textual objects that essentially involve human matters. Scholarship in our field requires (re)interpretation, an analysis or critique that calls for a revision or reconfiguring of what has previously been thought—what Paul Armstrong calls "the subtle altering of opinion about ideas long and securely held, . . . a more effective explanation and dissemination of concepts, interpretations, and information that originated with other scholars" (ADE Ad Hoc Committee 87)—and that enters into conversation with those other scholars and interpretations. But as Guillory emphasizes, any serious work of scholarship in our field also demands a moment of reflection (or theorization), "a continuous examination of concepts and arguments as they arise from and are altered by the practices of interpretation and research" (30), and a self-consciousness about the method appropriate to the object of study. This constellation of research, interpretation, and reflection can produce knowledge that makes sense of complex states of affairs in the human world or complex states as objectified in human artifacts. Furthermore, scholarship should not be equated with publication, which is, at bottom, a means to make scholarship public, just as teaching, service, and other activities are directed toward different audiences. Publication is not the raison d'être of scholarship; scholarship should be the raison d'être of publication.
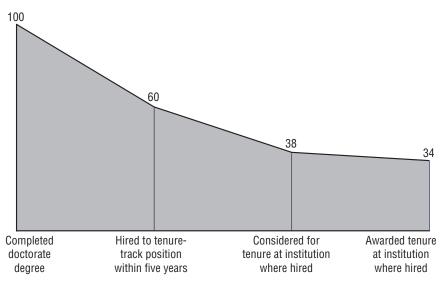
Although the working definition of scholarship that we have adopted differs from that of Boyer and his followers, our task force report certainly takes up some of his recommendations and, even more pertinently, those of the report from the MLA Ad Hoc Committee on the Future of Scholarly Publishing, with which we began. As the following pages show, our task force report shares the committee's view that the goals of scholarship in the fields represented by the MLA would be better served if the monographic book were not so broadly required or considered the gold standard for tenure and promotion, as it is in a growing percentage of institutions; that journal publication should continue to be a primary venue for the advancement of knowledge in our field; that we need to be open to a variety of models and other forms of expression to do better justice to different kinds of scholarly projects and alternative conceptions of the body of work; and that we always need to value quality over quantity (MLA Ad Hoc Committee 179).

6. Preliminary Findings and Conclusions

We are living through profound changes in the academy that should compel us to reexamine our ways of evaluating scholarship for tenure and promotion. These profound changes provide the context and the lens through

which the principal findings of the MLA survey need to be understood. We can report that our survey of 1,339 department chairs does not reveal a considerable lowering of tenure rates. Our survey does reveal, however, the increased demands, particularly for publication, placed on candidates for tenure. While this development has been driven by Carnegie Research I institutions, its effects ripple through all the Carnegie sectors, thereby placing greater emphasis on publication in tenure and promotion decisions. Yet our data reveal that junior faculty members have risen to meet these ever-growing demands. The chairs responding to the MLA survey indicate that until 2004, candidates for tenure in their departments had not suffered for lack of publishing venues; and, in general, these chairs support the status quo regarding demands for tenure and the relative emphasis on scholarship over teaching and service in their departments and institutions.

Thus we can state that faculty members hired to tenure-track appointments over the last ten years have been tenured in ways—and at rates—similar to their predecessors. There has, to date, been no "lost generation of scholars" from the tenure track. Universities have lowered or eliminated subsidies for scholarly presses, and libraries have dramatically reduced the purchase of books in the humanities, thereby weakening the market for monographs, a trend that may not yet have peaked. Nonetheless, up to 2004, these developments had not resulted in substantially increased tenure denials or substantially decreased rates of tenuring, at least in terms of the candidates who came up for tenure and promotion. Non-tenure-track appointments continue to constitute well over half of all faculty positions in four-year institutions for those whose principal teaching fields are English and foreign languages. And available data suggest that 40% or more of graduates who receive doctorates in English and foreign languages remain in NTT positions or leave the academy for employment elsewhere three to five years after receiving their degrees. Further, findings from the MLA survey, along with data from the 2003 National Survey of College Graduates (available from Scientists and Engineers Statistical Data System [www.sestat.nsf.gov]) about the employment situations of those holding doctorates in English and foreign languages, indicate that substantial numbers of junior scholars—from 20% to 30%—leave the institution before their final review for tenure begins. (The MLA survey indicates that the largest number leave one tenure-track appointment for another. We have no way of tracking tenure outcomes for these junior faculty members.) By our best estimate, then, only about 38% of modern language doctorate recipients obtain a tenure-track position and go through the tenure process at the institution where they were hired (see fig. "Estimated Percentage").

Estimated Percentage of English and Foreign Languages Doctorate Recipients Who Become Tenure-Track Faculty Members and Achieve Tenure at the Institution Where Hired

Completed doctorate degree	Hired to tenure-track position within five years	Considered for tenure at institution where hired	Awarded tenure at institution where hired
100	60	38	34

The task force believes that the declining number of tenure-track positions in relation to the total number of positions accounts in large measure for the widespread anxiety in the profession about standards for tenure and promotion. This anxiety may also be understood as un-ease about the continued escalation of quantitative demands for schol-arly production, the extension of such demands to a widening circle of institutions of higher learning, and the harm being done to scholars and scholarship as demands increase. As a result of our survey of 1,339 depart-ment chairs, we clearly see increasing pressure on the system of scholarly production and the mechanics of its evaluation. Scholars and institutions have adapted to changing circumstances over the years as requirements for tenure have expanded and demands have been increased throughout the profession. But the results have taken their toll on individual scholars and institutions—and on the academy's infrastructure as a whole—and strained the profession in ways that are intensely serious but not yet well understood or articulated.

Our report aims to address this complex, critical situation before it becomes a crisis. The new conjuncture, born of emergent historical, edu-cational, economic, and professional conditions, demands new thinking, new flexibility and openness, and new solutions. We are living through profound changes in the academy that require our ways of evaluating

scholarship for tenure and promotion to undergo serious reexamination. The task force concludes that we in the fields represented by the MLA need to change our conception of what scholarship includes and excludes; that institutions should calibrate their demands for tenure to their particular mission and values and devise requirements that are appropriate to their own academic contexts; and that the profession as a whole should reconsider the processes used in evaluating scholarship for tenure in the interest of fostering all the forms of scholarly exchange in which scholars engage and in the name of fairness and transparency throughout the process of evaluation, principles that should exemplify the highest standards of equity for our profession.

Part I: Revising the Meaning of Scholarship

1. The Dominance of the Monograph; Increased Publication Demands for Tenure
The monograph lies at the nexus of a number of crucial issues: it represents a historical matter concerning changes in requirements for tenure, a practical matter involving the extension of the requirement of a tenure monograph beyond doctoral institutions to master's and baccalaureate institutions, and a policy matter regarding its proper role in promoting research and scholarship and their dissemination in our fields.

Few concrete longitudinal data exist on when and where the publication of a scholarly monograph emerged as the chief requisite, the gold standard, for tenure. One survey from the late 1960s, conducted jointly by the National Council of Teachers of English and the MLA, with support from a grant from the then United States Office of Education, provides some answers. Designed to produce systematic information about English departments, the survey, which was administered to a sample of 300 departments in four-year institutions and received a remarkable 94.6% response, included questions about criteria and procedures governing tenure and promotion. According to the findings of the survey, which was prepared by Thomas Wilcox of the University of Connecticut,[11] before 1968 neither the monograph nor other kinds of publication were regarded as a principal requirement for tenure. Asked to list in order of importance the criteria used to decide tenure and promotion, only 35.4% of Wilcox's respondents ranked published scholarship of any kind, including the monograph, first or second. By contrast, in the new MLA survey, 75.8% of respondents rank publication "very important" for earning tenure in their departments. More specifically, publication of a monograph is now "very important" in 32.3% of all departments in four-

year institutions and in 62% of Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions. These data document the change that has occurred in requirements for tenure and promotion and confirm beyond doubt that for the majority of institutions where the monograph became routine, it did so after 1968. Although requiring publication of a monograph remains a practice concentrated in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions, the findings of the MLA survey also make clear that publication of a monograph is now generally regarded as desirable and considered a reasonable demand at four-year colleges and universities throughout the United States.

The MLA survey findings also indicate that the monograph has become increasingly important in comparison with other forms of publication, a fact confirmed by the requirement in many institutions of "progress toward the completion of a second book," that is, a second monograph for tenure. A total of 32.9% of responding departments consider "progress toward the completion of a second book" "important" or "very important" for tenure. Among Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions, 49.8% of respondents say that progress toward the publication of a second monograph is "very important" or "important"; 24.4%, or about half of the 49.8%, indicate that emphasis on this requirement has increased over the past decade, and 23.3% indicate that it has remained about the same. These figures show that progress toward a second monograph was already well established ten years ago. In fact, 62.1% of all departments surveyed report that publication has increased in importance over the last ten years, a figure that attests to the growing significance of publication in master's and baccalaureate institutions. Baccalaureate institutions rank the monograph even more important than do master's (48% versus 44.4%); the difference reflects the tenure criteria of selective private institutions in the baccalaureate sector.

This dramatic change in the requirements for tenure—specifically, the rise of what we might call the tenure monograph—is a direct result of the abrupt collapse of employment opportunities for new PhDs in the academy, as Wilcox observed in the early 1970s. A buyers' market thus emerged in the early 1970s, which made it possible for hiring departments to demand more of candidates seeking entry-level jobs, particularly evidence of scholarly potential. Often today, Carnegie Doctorate-granting departments expect that graduate students will already have published one or more articles by the time they graduate; these institutions expect the same of the junior faculty members they hire. Such increased demands on graduate students exerted pressure on programs to adjust their curricula; as they did so, the dissertation was reconceived as the first draft of a publishable book. The appearance of the tenure monograph was thus

linked to a reconceptualization of the dissertation. In turn, the expectation that the dissertation would be published after revision made it easier for departments to demand a monograph of tenure candidates.

In addition to the buyers' market, two other dramatic shifts in the culture and demographics of the university, in the period after 1968, made it possible and even routine for departments to demand more of candidates for both hiring and promotion. First, the number of women entering the profession increased greatly (women are now a numerical majority in the fields of language and literature)[12] and further enlarged the available pool of academic labor. Second, the field of literary study was shaken—some would say, transformed—by the emergence of theory, which provoked ideological factionalism in some, perhaps many, departments. These factors, along with the effort after 1968 to democratize academic structures, meant that the authority for tenure decisions was largely removed from the office of the chair, where, according to the Wilcox survey, it had resided in the majority of institutions. Responses to that survey indicate that tenure decisions were made by the chair alone in 42.8% of the departments; in an additional 21%, tenure decisions were made "by the chairman and an advisory committee appointed by him" (32–33). Findings about promotion decisions matched those for tenure: in 44.6% of the departments, decisions about promotion were made by the chair alone; in 22.7%, they were made by the chair and a committee appointed by the chair (33). These statistics from the 1960s describe key points of the old-boy system—Wilcox called the concentration of power in the chair "this most autocratic, least democratic procedure" (33)—that over the following decades was swept away. In its place, ad hoc department committees and outside letters of reference emerged as a fairer and more objective modus operandi. The new emphasis on publication and other criteria for tenure was an expression, then, not only of the higher demands created by a buyers' market but also of the search for safeguards against the possible arbitrariness or bias of chairs and of department factions unsympathetic to the new demographics of the profession and to new developments in literary study.

In certain respects, the emergence of expectations oriented more toward publication than toward teaching in the period between 1968 and 1995 corrected a system of promotion and reward that had few procedures of accountability. It could thus be argued that the buyers' market made procedures of evaluation fairer throughout the profession, possibly even improving the general quality of the professoriat. What emerged after 1968 is a system of bureaucratic equity, the core principle of which is that personnel actions are to enact (or at least appear to enact) institutional rules and procedures rather than personal inclinations and biases.

2. The Rates of Tenuring, 1994–2004; Gender Difference in Tenure Rates

The increasingly prevalent demand for a tenure monograph, and some-times a portion of a second monograph, along with the current problems that university presses are facing, has produced concerns throughout our profession about a possible decline in the rate of tenure. A narrow major-ity of respondents (51.6%) agrees or strongly agrees that tenure prospects for junior faculty members in the humanities are at risk because of the financial difficulties university presses face (37.6% agree and 14% strongly agree). But less than a quarter of respondents (23.1%) affirm that the ten-ure prospects of one or more junior faculty members in their own depart-ments are at risk (17% agree and 6.1% strongly agree), and three-fifths (60.6%) of respondents disagree that prospects for junior faculty members in their departments are at risk (18.6% strongly disagree and 42% dis-agree). A substantial group of respondents stated that they did not have enough information to adopt a position about the prospects of junior fac-ulty members, either generally (15.8%) or in their departments (16.2%).

The MLA survey, however, indicates that, at least up to 2005, anxiety about the future tenuring of young scholars had not yet become mani-fest as reality. Asked whether any candidates in their departments had been denied tenure because of the limitations that university presses have placed on monograph publication, 93.3% of respondents said, "No"; only 1% said, "Yes, definitely," and 3%, "Yes, possibly." But 30.3% express con-cern that there may be such an effect in the future, and 26% are unsure but think such problems likely in the future. Our data cannot describe sit-uations that are in the making, but there are reasons to believe that there may be a narrowing of publishing opportunities in the future that can have a negative impact on tenure reviews. (Once again, the survey yields information about completed tenure reviews through 2003–04 and does not predict outcomes for junior professors now in pretenure positions.)

As we indicated in the preamble, the tenure rate for candidates whom responding departments considered for tenure in the period 1994–2004 needs to be understood in the context of the current academic job market, where an estimated 40% of all those who receive doctoral degrees do not obtain tenure-track positions. For graduates who began tenure-track ap-pointments, findings from the MLA survey indicate that well over 20% leave their positions before being considered for tenure, some for tenure-track or non-tenure-track appointments at other institutions, some for pursuits outside college and university teaching. For junior faculty mem-bers who completed their probationary period and came up for tenure, respondents reported a tenure rate averaging around 90%, with a slightly

lower rate of about 84% for Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions.[13] The tenure rate did not vary between the two five-year periods the MLA examined—1994–95 to 1998–99 and 1999–2000 to 2003–04.

Taken together, information from the MLA survey and other sources suggests that about 55% to 60% of the tenure-track assistant professors hired to a tenure-track position actually go through the tenure process and receive tenure at the institution where they held their original appointment. A recent study of tenure rates in the Penn State University system, presented by Michael Dooris and Marianne Guidos, found that "[i]n the 2004–05 academic year, 86 percent to 96 percent of the second-, fourth-, and sixth-year cases reviewed at the college level resulted in recommendations for continuation or early tenure" and went on to note that "similar studies have clearly shown that the approval percentage at the university level has almost always been over 90 percent" (6). Dooris and Guidos also found that, in the Penn State system, where outcomes are examined from the point of hiring to a tenure-track position, "[f]or the last nine entering cohorts—that is, those beginning [as newly hired tenure-track appointees] in 1990 through 1998—55 percent of new entrants had received tenure by the end of their seventh year on the tenure track" (4). The success rate for junior faculty members formally considered for tenure masks the actual number of those who held a tenure-track position but did not come up for consideration at the institution that initially hired them.[14]

The MLA study suggests that great demands have been made on the junior professoriat in the last several decades and that, by and large, the junior scholars who completed their probationary period have risen to meet these demands. The heightened demands for the monograph and other forms of scholarship, coupled with the increased demands for teaching and service (which also have strong scholarly aspects), have not, in fact, depressed the tenure rate. Yet when there are few tenure-track jobs available, department chairs and committees must work particularly hard to ensure that the faculty members hired will be strong candidates for tenure, since the failure to be approved at college committee and administrative levels can sometimes result in negative consequences for the department, such as losing the faculty line. A more worrisome possibility is that the need to try to ensure from the outset that the junior faculty member hired will be qualified to receive tenure may discourage hiring committees from taking risks on scholars who do not fit a narrow academic profile and on work that is not perceived to be mainstream. But it is also reasonable to infer that departments are being highly selective and taking advantage of a pool of well-qualified applicants in a buyers' market for tenure-track positions.

Within the group of tenure candidates counted in the MLA study, there are important gender differences. Across all institutional categories, women consistently outnumber men in the pools of candidates considered for tenure and the number of candidates awarded tenure (in the candidate pools, 55% are women and 45% are men). The difference between the numbers of men and women considered for tenure is smallest in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions (where 53.6% are women) and largest in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions (where 57.5% are women) in the period from 1999–2000 to 2003–04. For this same period, overall tenure rates for men and women are comparable: 90.1% for women, 91.8% for men. Tenure rates for women are lower than for men in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions (86.8% for women, 90.2% for men), whereas tenure rates for men in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions are lower than for women (91.9% for men, 96.4% for women).

Almost all the differences between tenure rates for men and women can be traced to differences in tenure rates in foreign language departments. For the period from 1999–2000 to 2003–04, the tenure rate for men was 92% versus 91.2% for women in English; but in foreign languages, it was 92.1% for men versus 88.7% for women. The tenure rate for women for this five-year period is markedly lower in doctorate-granting foreign language departments: 92.3% for men versus 79.8% for women. Such differences also emerge in master's-granting foreign language departments: 93.6% for men versus 86.4% for women. In baccalaureate-granting foreign language departments, this trend is reversed: 90.8% for men versus 95.5% for women. By comparison, the figures for various degree-granting types of English departments are: for doctorate-granting institutions, 88.2% for men versus 88.1% for women; for master's institutions, 97.5% for men versus 94.5% for women; and for baccalaureate institutions, 94.2% for men versus 94.7% for women.[15]

The analysis of exit rates (cases where faculty members left a department before being formally considered for tenure) also reveals gender differences. Women have an exit rate slightly higher than men (22.8% versus 20.1%), with the largest difference in departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions—23.6% for women versus 19.1% for men. Exit rates after the third-year review, however, are higher for men than for women: 2.7% versus 2.2%—more specifically, 2.3% for men versus 2% for women in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions; 2.5% for men versus 2% for women in Carnegie Master's institutions; and 4.6% for men versus 3.2% for women in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions. The salient exception to this trend is for departments in institutions with the smallest tenured and tenure-track faculties, where there is a significantly higher exit rate for women as compared with men: 32.1% versus 24.7%.

3. Favoring the Status Quo

The tenure rate that emerges from the MLA survey thus suggests that over the last decade the increasing demands for scholarly publication have not noticeably harmed the tenure rate of junior scholars. This finding counters some prevailing opinions about an inverse relation between demands and the percentage of junior scholars tenured and promoted. Nevertheless, there are still compelling reasons to be concerned about the dominance of the tenure monograph in the system of evaluation. There is, inevitably, the worry that in a buyers' market demands will continue to be raised, beyond those currently prevalent, although it is difficult to imagine that even more publication could be expected of candidates coming up for tenure than is already required. Nevertheless, department chairs do not express concern about the current level of demands for tenure; on the contrary, they seem to approve of the status quo. Only 12.7% of respondents overall agree or strongly agree that the tenure and promotion process in their institutions overemphasizes book-length monographs and gives too little credit to refereed journal articles—although 24.4% of respondents in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions see too much emphasis on monograph publication and too little credit for articles, as compared with 4.3% of respondents in Carnegie Master's and 3.3% in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions.

Responses to several survey items that explored attitudes toward teaching and publication in tenure and promotion processes reveal the broad-based support that continues to exist for both current publication requirements and the current balance between publication and teaching across departments in different institutional sectors. More than 70% of all respondents disagree or strongly disagree that accomplishment in teaching should count more than it does in their institutions' tenure and promotion decisions, and variation among departments in different institutional types is modest: 67.9% of departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions disagree or strongly disagree that teaching should count for more, compared with 71.6% of departments in Carnegie Master's and 75.7% in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions. Survey findings also indicate respondents' broad-based support for the current emphasis on monograph publication in their institutions. When respondents were asked whether they agree or disagree that the tenure and promotion process in their institutions emphasizes monograph publication too much and gives too little credit to refereed journal articles, 72.8% of respondents in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions disagreed or strongly disagreed, as did 92.2% in Carnegie Master's institutions and 94.1%

in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions. Even in the subset of Carnegie Doctorate-granting departments where monograph publication is either very important or important to earning tenure, only 27.5% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that publication of a monograph is emphasized too much and refereed journal articles too little.

An even larger majority of respondents (73.2%) reports that refereed journal articles can suffice to earn tenure in the respondent's institution and disagrees that monographs are overemphasized. Broken down by sector, the figures are 51.9% of respondents in Carnegie Doctorate-granting, 88.8% in Carnegie Master's, and 89.5% in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions. An additional 18.8% of the respondents in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions disagree or strongly disagree that refereed journal articles can suffice to earn tenure in their institutions, but they also disagree or strongly disagree that journal articles are credited too little and monographs emphasized too much—that is, they are both subject to and support the monograph standard, at least for their departments and institutions. Respondents who are both subject to the monograph standard and inclined to question it are limited to a group of 15.3% respondents in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions. (These are respondents in the Carnegie Doctorate-granting sector who agree or strongly agree that there is too much emphasis on monograph publication and who also disagree or strongly disagree that publication of journal articles can suffice to earn tenure in their institution; outside the Carnegie Doctorate-granting sector, only two respondents agreed both that monographs are emphasized too much in their institutions and that articles cannot suffice to earn tenure, one respondent each from a Carnegie Master's and a Carnegie Baccalaureate institution.)

This series of cross-tabulations suggests that chairs in a majority of departments surveyed and across all types of four-year colleges and universities regard the practice on their campuses and in their departments as sufficient. Even in the subset of 241 departments where respondents agree or strongly agree with the statement that candidates are unlikely to earn tenure without the publication of a book, almost two-thirds disagree or strongly disagree (64.7%) that monograph publication is emphasized too much and refereed journal articles credited too little. When this subset of respondents is further limited to the 183 respondents in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions, 51.9% disagree and 8.2% strongly disagree that monograph publication is emphasized too much and journal articles credited too little (a total of 60.1%), whereas 32.2% agree and 4.4% strongly agree that monograph publication is emphasized too much and journal articles credited too little (a total of 36.6%).

Examining responses for the entire group of 671 departments included in the survey reveals the lack of consensus and the division of outlook among the 287 respondents in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions as compared with respondents in other sectors. Of the 287 respondents in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions, 38.3% agree or strongly agree that in their institutions candidates are unlikely to earn tenure without publication of a book but disagree or strongly disagree that in their institutions there is too much emphasis on monograph publication and too little credit for articles in refereed journals—that is, they appear to support the monograph standard; 34.1% disagree or strongly disagree that in their institutions candidates are unlikely to earn tenure without publication of a book and also disagree or strongly disagree that in their institutions there is too much emphasis on monograph publication and too little credit for articles in refereed journals—that is, they appear to some degree not to be subject to the monograph standard; and 23.3% agree or strongly agree that in their institutions candidates are unlikely to earn tenure without publication of a book and also agree or strongly agree that in their institutions there is too much emphasis on monograph publication and too little credit for articles in refereed journals—that is, they appear ready to question the monograph standard.

Responses from those in Carnegie Master's and Baccalaureate institutions show a far higher level of consensus: 82.3% of respondents in Carnegie Master's and 77.6% of respondents in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions disagree or strongly disagree that in their institutions candidates are unlikely to earn tenure without publication of a book and also disagree or strongly disagree that in their institutions there is too much emphasis on monograph publication and too little credit for articles in refereed journals—that is, they report that their institutions' processes for tenure and promotion are not governed by a monograph standard.

4. The Extension of the Monograph Requirement; Rethinking the Preeminence of the Monograph; Revaluing the Essay

The survey findings reveal the manifest extension of the monograph requirement to master's and baccalaureate institutions, especially those where the teaching load is heavier than in the Carnegie Doctorate-granting system. The findings confirm the pressure of the doctoral system on all other types of higher education institutions and, conversely, the attempt of those other types to emulate the doctoral system. To be sure, this extension or pressure may devolve from the desire of non-doctorate-granting administrations—deans, provosts, and presidents—to improve their national standing in the eyes of their prospective students, donors,

and state legislatures. The extension of Carnegie Doctorate-granting demands to those who teach 3-2 or 3-3 course loads in a given year, rather than 2-2 and even less (common in research universities), and to those who are expected to have excellent teaching evaluations, in addition to numerous service and extracurricular requirements, seems excessive and unfair. The task force strongly recommends that non-doctorate-granting departments resist the temptation to model tenure standards on the practices of Research I institutions.

Even if the prevalence of the monograph as the chief tenure requisite in a significant minority of institutions is deeply established and growing, the task force believes it is crucial to evaluate the status of the monograph as a tenure requirement more critically than our profession has done to date (irrespective of the situation of university presses). Among the topics in such an evaluation, we believe that it is critical to consider whether, in the words of Lindsay Waters, there is a "tyranny of the monograph" ("Rescue"); to evaluate how the tenure monograph has changed the profession as a whole; and to imagine alternatives to this kind of scholarly text.

The high esteem given to monograph publication should not mean that the monograph is the only—or the best—form of scholarly communication. The complaint occasionally heard today, and sometimes voiced by university press editors, that many monographs are really "articles on steroids" raises a serious question about how the demand for a book affects the quality of scholarship—and quality should be the first argument in favor of a tenure case. If, as the phrase "articles on steroids" implies, some books should more properly be articles, it could be argued that they do not take that form because of the tenure system's demand for the monograph.

Departments should be wary of reflexively equating the publication of a monograph with the achievement of quality sufficient to merit tenure and with the "sole model for mature scholarship" (Damrosch 180). This idea seems to confuse scholarship's substance with its form and to ignore changes in the practices of dissemination and publication over time.[16] As David Damrosch has argued, books and articles stood at relative parity in many fields in the early 1960s, but the proliferation of journals, which outpaced the growth in university presses, had the "unintended effect of lowering the value of articles relative to books" (180–81). Because articles could be published more readily, their prestige was reduced, as was their impact, since a smaller proportion of scholars in a particular field would see a particular journal (181–82). In Damrosch's view, in recent years there has been a lessening of competition between journals and books; in fact, presses benefit if parts of a book first appear in various journals. Moreover, because of costs, there is a premium today on short books,

which reduces the difference in scale between the essay and the book (182–83).[17] And Damrosch rightly concludes that "we need not choose between these two forms" (184).

The constraints on university presses make this a timely moment for us in the fields represented by the MLA to reaffirm that the monograph is not the only form in which scholarship can be produced and that there is value in books of linked essays as well as in the stand-alone essay (that is, the journal article that is not a book chapter). If journal publication is to be sustained as an independent venue of scholarship, then stronger arguments must be made in tenure cases for such articles in all institutional sectors, notably in Carnegie Research I institutions, which seem to be driving the definition of tenure requirements throughout the system. This revalorization would raise the possibility that the contribution of important articles might be equal to—or greater than—the contribution of some books. Indeed, for the profession as a whole, a renewed emphasis on the value of the essay can open up fresh possibilities for the production of knowledge and for intellectual exchange that are not constrained by the book. Scholarly journals have an advantage that books—with their longer lead time to publication—lack: they provide a forum for new ideas and research and for a timely exchange of argument.

5. Expanding the Definition of Scholarship and the Body of Work to Be Evaluated for Tenure

The task force urges department tenure and promotion committees, department chairs, and other administrators and administrative bodies to rank the monograph equally with other forms of peer-reviewed scholarship and other professionally significant work. We oppose the preference for the monograph over all other contributions and its elevation to the gold standard based on the purely formal character of the book as book. The monograph has increasingly displaced other forms of scholarship and has become the sine qua non for achieving tenure and promotion, especially in those institutions regarded as the most prestigious. We further oppose the extension of this standard to other institutions in the Carnegie system. We urge the members of the MLA and of the wider academic community to recognize—and to act on the recognition—that valuable and important scholarship can take multiple forms and that requirements for tenure and promotion should be tailored to the mission of the institution. In our view, a body of essays or articles in peer-reviewed journals can demonstrate the quality of scholarly work as well as or, in some cases, better than a monograph of similar length. Moreover, edited collections of articles, critical editions, annotated translations of important primary texts, essays written

for a general audience, trade books, textbooks, and pedagogically useful monographs, as well as publications or other professional work in electronic form, may contribute to a body of scholarly and professional work that can meet the highest standards of scholarship in the tenure-review process.

Our analysis of respondents' assessments of how activities count in their institutions' processes of evaluation for tenure points to the need for a more capacious notion of scholarship. Our survey findings generally show that the value department chairs place on different types of scholarly activity falls within a fairly restricted range. (It should be emphasized that respondents were asked how various activities do count, not how they ought to count.) Most revealing are comparisons of the percentages of departments rating different items "not important." The item that the lowest percentage of responding departments rated "not important" (1.6%) was refereed journal articles; the item that the highest percentage of responding departments rated "not important" was articles for a general audience (54.8%). This item was followed closely by a radio or television broadcast—rated "not important" by 52.8% of departments—and books for a general audience—rated "not important" by 49.2% of departments.

Items at the next level were rated "not important" by respondents in 25% to 30% of departments and represent the categories where reconsideration is most needed, in our view. These include:

- translations, rated "not important" by 30.4% of all responding departments and by 31.3% of foreign language departments
- textbooks, rated "not important" by 28.9% of departments
- bibliographic scholarship, rated "not important" by 28.8% of departments
- books and articles oriented to classroom practice, rated "not important" by 28.5% and 25.7% of departments, respectively.

The next group, rated "not important" by respondents in 20% to 25% percent of departments, includes scholarly editions, rated "not important" by 20%, and editing a scholarly journal, rated "not important" by 20.7%. This last item seems highly undervalued[18] when we consider that editors disseminate new scholarship and further the arts, stimulate and direct inquiry in their fields of study, help produce new knowledge, and create communities for discussion and debate within and among disciplines. Undoubtedly, editors play a critical role in shaping their disciplines. Indeed, the existence of a journal on campus can have the same impact on intellectual community building as the creation of an institute: both can be focal points of intellectual ferment and excitement and centers for the scholarly education and development of students at all levels, but especially for junior scholars.

Publication of a scholarly print monograph was rated "not important" by 10.3% of responding departments but by only 0.7% of departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions (versus 19.4% and 14.5% of departments in Carnegie Master's and Baccalaureate institutions, respectively). Examples of other activities with pronounced differences between institutional sectors are:

- translations, rated "not important" by 47.4% of foreign language departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions but by 14.5% and 16.7% of those in Carnegie Master's and Baccalaureate institutions, respectively;
- textbooks, rated "not important" by 39.7% of departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions but by 19.4% and 23% of departments in Carnegie Master's and Baccalaureate institutions, respectively;
- books oriented to classroom practice, rated "not important" by 41.5% of departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions but by 17.2% and 21.1% of departments in Carnegie Master's and Baccalaureate institutions, respectively;
- articles oriented to classroom practice, rated "not important" by 39.9% of departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions but by 13.8% and 17.1% of departments in Carnegie Master's and Baccalaureate institutions, respectively;
- bibliographic scholarship, rated "not important" by 35.5% of departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions but by 23.8% and 23.7% of departments in Carnegie Master's and Baccalaureate institutions, respectively.

These and other items can constitute valuable parts of a candidate's scholarly portfolio. Such portfolios will necessarily—and happily—be diverse, in keeping both with the interests and talents of the junior scholar and, once again, with the mission of the institution and the ways it values faculty labor in scholarship, teaching, and service.[19]

6. Scholarship in New Media

Digital scholarship is becoming pervasive in the humanities and must be recognized as a legitimate scholarly endeavor to which appropriate standards, practices, and modes of evaluation are already being applied. The rapid expansion of digital technology has been fundamentally transforming the production and distribution of humanities scholarship, generating not only new forms of publication and dissemination—ranging from Web sites and e-journals to print-on-demand books—but also significant new modes of scholarship, including digital archives and humanities databases. Large-scale digital archives, for example, are contributing substantially to the development of standard forms of editing, reproduction, cataloging, and reference that facilitate the archives' entry into research libraries. Indeed, such libraries are intensively engaged in solving the problems of collecting digital works.

As recent studies have revealed, scholars across the humanities now make regular use of electronic resources, and, as the report from the MLA Ad Hoc Committee on the Future of Scholarly Publishing indicates, "online journals are already being used by many scholars in our fields, and this use is likely to increase" (180). The availability of major journals in both print and digital formats only emphasizes the two forms' increasing interdependence;[20] in fact, the distinction between them is beginning to disintegrate. Scholarship in new media, much of it supported by research universities, granting agencies, learned societies, and foundations (among them the NEH, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Getty Fund, and the American Council of Learned Societies), has resulted in the formation of international alliances, such as the Digital Library Federation; standards organizations, such as the Text Encoding Initiative; and discipline-based consortia, such as the Networked Interface for Nineteenth-Century Electronic Scholarship (NINES). The MLA Committee on Scholarly Editions recently revised its guidelines to address electronic as well as printed editions in one set of recommendations, and in 2006 the MLA published *Electronic Textual Editing*, its first book devoted to electronic editing (Burnard, O'Brien O'Keeffe, and Unsworth).[21]

The report of the MLA Ad Hoc Committee on the Future of Scholarly Publishing recognizes that digital publication raises many issues, including the need to construct viable business models for launching and sustaining electronic publications, to establish standardized practices and adequate peer-review procedures, and to develop reliable preservation strategies. Senior faculty members, outside reviewers, and administrative committees often share these anxieties, in part because the new technologies are rapidly evolving and some scholars have had little experience in using or evaluating them.

In our survey, from 35% to over 50% of department chairs report that they have had no experience evaluating scholarly work produced in these new forms by candidates for tenure and promotion; departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions consistently reported the highest percentages of inexperience. Among the various forms of digital scholarship, experience evaluating refereed articles in electronic format is most widespread. Even so, 36.5% of the responding departments indicate they have as yet had no experience with them: specifically, 40.8% of departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions, 29.3% of departments in Carnegie Master's institutions, and 39.5% of departments in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions. Asked about inexperience in evaluating scholarly monographs in electronic format, 65.7% of departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions report that they have no experience, as

compared with 38.4% of departments in Carnegie Master's and 47.4% of departments in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions. Overall, 52.1% of respondents report having no experience with evaluating monographs in digital form. As Jennifer Howard notes in "Gutenberg-e Lets Historians Present Research in Nontraditional Ways," monographs published digitally in the Gutenberg-e project have been considered positively in tenure cases, although the officers of the American Historical Association, which collaborates with Columbia University Press on the initiative, had to send letters to department chairs to disseminate information that would help legitimize this new form of monograph publication.

More positively, higher percentages of departments across the institutional board regard work in digital forms as "important" rather than "not important" in evaluation for tenure and promotion. That is, most respondents who report evaluating digital forms of scholarship see the work as creditable—although sizable (if lower) percentages of respondents still consider digital work "not important" in their institutions' assessment of candidates for tenure and promotion. Refereed articles published in electronic form are regarded as "important" for earning tenure and promotion in 38.9% of departments and "not important" in 16.7%; 28.1% of respondents indicate that monographs in electronic form count as "important" in their processes of evaluation, whereas 17.8% say they are "not important." Given the current rarity of digital monographs, it is, in fact, surprising that so high a percentage of department chairs state that such work counts in their institutions—an indication perhaps of willingness to recognize such work, were examples to be forthcoming.

The survey findings document the comparatively limited place and value that processes of evaluation give scholarship that appears in electronic formats. In part, this limitation reflects the significant proportion of departments that as yet have no experience with scholarship in digital forms. But the cause-and-effect relations work in both directions here: probationary faculty members will be reluctant to risk publishing in electronic formats unless they see clear evidence that such work can count positively in evaluation for tenure and promotion. The survey findings suggest that work presented in electronic formats is still in the process of gaining the recognition necessary for it to fulfill expectations and requirements for tenure and promotion. Refereed articles in digital media count for tenure and promotion in less than half as many departments as refereed articles in print; print articles count in some fashion in 97.9% of departments, as compared with 46.8% for articles in electronic form. Monographs in electronic formats have a place in the evaluation of scholarship for tenure and promotion in only about one-third as

many departments as print monographs—30.1% as compared with 87.6%. Scholarship in electronic formats seems to be recognized when done in addition to work in print formats but may place a candidate at risk if presented as the sole or primary scholarly basis for consideration for tenure.

It is clear, however, that electronic journals are increasingly run by editorial boards committed to peer review and that major forms of digital scholarship can fully support the modes of review previously associated only with print publication. Although digital forms of scholarship increasingly pervade academic life, work in this area has not yet received proper recognition when candidates are evaluated for promotion and tenure. We consider it essential that tenure committees continue to learn about digital scholarship. The MLA has produced formal guidelines that spell out the responsibilities of candidates and of committees for preparing and evaluating digital scholarship: "The principle . . . is that when institutions seek work with digital media and faculty members express interest in it, the institution must give full regard to this work when faculty members are hired or considered for reappointment, tenure, and promotion" (MLA Committee on Information Technology). We should recognize that, while new media and the infrastructure that will support them are evolving in tandem under considerable internal and external pressure, the evolution of the two cannot be perfectly coordinated. Nevertheless, in evaluating scholarship for tenure and promotion, committees and administrators must take responsibility for becoming fully aware both of the mechanisms of oversight and assessment that already govern the production of a great deal of digital scholarship and of the well-established role of new media in humanities research. It is of course convenient when electronic scholarly editing and writing are clearly analogous to their print counterparts. But when new media make new forms of scholarship possible, those forms can be assessed with the same rigor used to judge scholarly quality in print media.[22] We must have the flexibility to ensure that as new sources and instruments for knowing develop, the meaning of scholarship can expand and remain relevant to our changing times.

Part II: The Responsibilities of Hiring Institutions in the Tenure Process

In a job system that has tenure-track positions for slightly more than half of those who earn a PhD, departments can afford to be highly selective in the hiring process. But even in a buyers' market, departments must maintain their professional and ethical responsibilities to the junior faculty members they hire. The time to initiate communications about tenure expectations is

at the point of hiring. This initial set of communications should be the beginning of a clearly articulated, transparent tenure process, which will benefit not only the department's faculty members but also the entire institution.

1. Written Expectations and Conditions of Employment and of Tenure

To ensure transparency, departments should enter into discussions with new faculty members and state clearly the conditions of employment and the requirements for tenure in the letter of hire or in a supplementary written document. The task force recognizes that departments hire untenured faculty members at different stages, with differing levels of experience and varying records of scholarly achievement, which may accrue from work they produced while at different institutions. And as we have already noted, many graduate students now have publication records at the time they enter the job market. The status of this work and the degree to which it will be recognized in the tenure process need to be stated and agreed on by the new faculty member, the department chair, and the dean.

Departments evaluate the scholarship of newly hired faculty members in various ways. Some may disregard all previous scholarship and count for tenure only the body of work done once the faculty member has arrived, although this practice strikes us as ungenerous and unproductive, since scholarly achievements are not erased when one joins a new institution. Others may give full credit to the work done at previous institutions as part of scholarly requirements for tenure. The decision about how much previous scholarly work counts toward tenure is often a function of the number of years that the new faculty member serves before being considered for tenure. Candidates who have spent a number of years at another institution and who are to be considered for tenure after one year of service at the new institution should be judged predominantly on the basis of their record before they were hired, whereas candidates hired after a year or two at another institution and given reasonable time at the new institution may not always have their earlier work considered in the tenure dossier. It is critical to give careful consideration to the relation between the candidate's previous work and the timetable for making the tenure decision. Faculty members have a right to know from the outset what the institution's policies and practices are, and institutions have an obligation to provide this information in clear terms at the time of hire.

The task force therefore recommends that departments explicitly state in writing the timetable for the tenure period and what parts of the already completed scholarly work of all newly hired faculty members will count in the tenure decision. Such a letter or supplementary memo should also outline how various previous and future professional activities will count

and thus what the department's expectations of the newly hired faculty member are.[23] The letter should be reviewed and updated periodically throughout the pretenure period to reflect any changes in expectations or assigned responsibilities, such as substantial new administrative tasks that the junior faculty member might be asked to assume during the pretenure period. This written statement, which should be included in the tenure dossier, will clarify the department's goals for new faculty members and, in turn, help them devise a schedule for their scholarly and professional work. It will also help protect faculty members from the declaration of new expectations by a new chair or tenure committee and serve to promote transparency, a value that should characterize the entire pretenure period.

2. *Joint Appointments*

The interests of transparency and fairness demand that special attention be paid to joint appointments (appointments in more than one department or program) and that their conditions be clearly stated at the moment of hire. Such appointments have become more frequent in recent years in keeping with the growing commitment to interdisciplinary work in the humanities. Typically, joint appointments in the humanities designate a home department paired with either a program or another department, and the home department makes the decision recommending the candidate's tenure. The other department or program, which sometimes lacks the power to grant tenure, often has minimal representation—and minimal say. Such joint appointments are not truly joint when the interdisciplinary appointment becomes principally, if not exclusively, subject to disciplinary evaluation. The department that recommends the tenure decision will understandably receive the bulk of the candidate's time and attention. This disciplinary imperative will tend to influence the scholarship of junior scholars to make it more acceptable to the tenure-granting department and less faithful to the interdisciplinary spirit of their appointment and their own scholarly interests. If they remain true to the terms of the joint appointment, they will risk alienating certain department faculty members.

The task force recommends that both units involved in a joint appointment participate equally in the tenure review process from beginning to end. Ideally, the two units should share the hiring decision, draft the hiring letter and supplementary memo together, and then collaborate throughout the period leading up to the tenure recommendation—a recommendation that they should also make together. In institutions that do not allow this kind of collaboration between the two—or conceivably three—units, a transparent process that is fair to jointly appointed candidates needs to be articulated from the beginning of their appointment to

the institution. Where the institution does permit this kind of collaboration, we recommend that the two units:

- together formulate the workload that the candidate will carry in both teaching and service to make sure that the demands from each side add up to a fair and manageable amount in conjunction with expectations for scholarship. Because service in two units can pose particularly heavy demands on junior faculty members, the letter or memo should indicate precisely how much service the joint appointee is expected to perform in each unit.
- together mentor the junior faculty member in the areas of teaching, scholarship, and service (see section 4).
- together assess and evaluate the candidate's scholarship, teaching, and service through an intermediate review at the least but, preferably, more frequently during the pretenure years. As with faculty members with single appointments, intermediate evaluations of jointly appointed faculty members should be in writing and followed up by meetings in person (see section 4).
- together make the recommendation regarding tenure and promotion through a specially formed tenure and promotion subcommittee on which the two departments or programs have equal representation. Should there be disagreements between the two units on a personnel decision, the committee should produce a majority and a minority report.

Other arrangements for interdisciplinary joint appointments exist, including uneven divisions of the faculty member's time. In keeping with the recommendations made above, the task force proposes that the same basic arrangements obtain for an uneven joint appointment as for an even one, with the important exception of the composition of the tenure and promotion subcommittee, where the primary unit could have proportionately greater representation.

The need for special attention to joint appointments is not only a matter of fairness to junior colleagues. The task force's recommendations are also designed to make the commitment to interdisciplinarity more than a valued but abstract ideal, as it often is in United States colleges and universities today; it should be embodied in the concrete practices of the institution.

3. Start-Up Funds, Subventions, Research Funds, and Leaves

To assemble the necessary elements of a scholarly and professional dossier for tenure and promotion, faculty members in the humanities should benefit from institutional support of the kind routinely provided to the sciences. These can include start-up packages, summer or other research funds, subventions for accepted manuscripts, and one-semester and full-year paid leaves.

Start-up funds for faculty members in the humanities have become fairly common in both private and public institutions. They are widely available

in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions, where 80% of the departments surveyed reported offering them to some or all junior faculty members, but are unusual in Carnegie Master's institutions, where a third or fewer departments say that a start-up package is available to some or all junior faculty members. In the 348 departments in our survey that provided information about the date they began to offer them, start-up packages have been available since before 1994 in 42.7% of Carnegie Doctorate-granting, 38.7% of Master's, and 54.5% of Baccalaureate institutions; from 1999 to 2004, an additional 30.5% of Carnegie Doctorate-granting, 38.7% of Master's, and 28.8% of Baccalaureate institutions established start-up packages. These packages are a way of recognizing that the scholarship of language and literature professors carries with it costs that may not be as visible to the institution as they are in the sciences (laboratories, research assistants, and so forth) but that this work is no less important. Institutions that expect humanities faculty members to produce significant scholarship have a duty to provide the conditions and financial resources to make this accomplishment possible throughout the entire probationary period and beyond.

While it would be difficult to generalize about the dollar amount of start-up funds, a range of $5,000 to $20,000 seems appropriate to the task force. In the MLA survey, however, the average maximum amount was $7,056 in Carnegie Doctorate-granting, $2,973 in Carnegie Master's, and $3,335 in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions. These stipends seem low considering that they need to help cover the expense of books and other materials; computing equipment and software; research assistance; travel to do research and to participate in conferences; institutional library acquisitions; permissions, translations, and other costs related to publication; and training, consulting, and other educational and professional advancement opportunities.

At institutions with high scholarly demands, release time from teaching and paid leaves of absence from the campus are often built into initial faculty appointments. One-semester paid leaves are available to some or all junior faculty members in almost two-thirds of departments in private Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions but in less than two-fifths of departments in public Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions and in only 14% of departments in Carnegie Master's institutions. Full-year paid leaves are unusual—overall fewer than one in ten departments say they are available, and they are almost unknown in Carnegie Master's institutions, where 1.3% of departments report offering them. Summer and other research leaves are well established and have been available since before the 1994–95 academic year in close to three-quarters of the departments that offer them (500 offer summer leave, 573 report offering other types of research leave).

Subventions for book publication often play a role in the support offered to faculty members when they are hired. They may be part of the start-up funds or be separate from them. Some institutions distribute subvention funds on a limited, competitive basis (a pool of scholars apply for grants, and not all projects are funded). A common practice is to restrict the use of such subventions to not-for-profit publishers that use stringent peer-review processes. The MLA survey indicates that 280 (or 41.7%) of the reporting departments offer them. Of the 268 departments that provided more detailed information, 61.6% in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions started offering subventions before 1994, while 50% in Carnegie Master's and 68.1% in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions did so. The period 1999–2004 saw departments in another 25.3% of Carnegie Doctorate-granting, 30.0% of Carnegie Master's, and 23.6% of Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions offer subventions. Survey respondents cite very modest figures for the subventions they offer, with average maximums ranging from $2,776 at Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions to $2,435 at Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions to $1,531 at Carnegie Master's institutions.

Many university presses have come to expect scholars to seek subventions for the publication of monographs, especially for those works that have limited sales potential. Editors say that the presence or absence of a subvention is never the determining factor in considering a manuscript for publication. Nevertheless, once a book is accepted, a stipulation for a subvention often figures in the contract. Presses assume that subventions will come from university research funds, scholars' start-up funds, or foundations. In the current climate, university and other scholarly presses cannot afford to publish all the manuscripts they wish to accept—particularly first books—without subventions. Universities that place a high value on published research and scholarship from their faculty members should be prepared to provide funding for publication. Some institutions will be more able than others to subsidize faculty research, but expectations should be commensurate with the ability to provide the means to achieve them.

4. Intermediate Reviews; Mentoring

From the time junior faculty members are hired at an institution, it is imperative that they receive professional advice from the department chair and from colleagues about teaching, scholarship and publication, and service. As we have already emphasized, chairs and administrators should make tenure and promotion expectations, in writing and in person, as transparent as possible to their junior colleagues from the beginning. Moreover, the task force believes it is critical to have a third-year or intermediate review—some institutions conduct multiple reviews before a

candidate comes up for tenure—with procedures, expectations, and goals for each review clearly outlined to the junior faculty member and carried out by a departmental committee (or a bi- or multidisciplinary committee for joint appointments or for work that goes beyond disciplinary boundaries). We oppose soliciting external letters for this intermediate review.

Following an open and thorough intermediate review process, the department chair and the members of the review committee should have frank discussions with their junior colleague about the strengths and weaknesses of the emerging dossier for tenure; the completed and future projects of scholarship and publication; the teaching portfolio; and the record of service to the institution, the profession, and the community. This constructive feedback will give junior scholars time to strengthen their tenure profiles. Mentoring should also include practical advice on how best to construct a tenure file that will demonstrate the candidate's strengths when she or he approaches the tenure and promotion review process.

Appropriate mentoring will facilitate and enhance the candidate's journey from the point of hire to the tenure decision. A successful mentoring relationship does not simply concern the practicalities of the tenure process; it often touches on issues as far-ranging as time management, selecting an appropriate journal or press for publication, choosing service and teaching assignments carefully, and developing productive ties with colleagues and administrators.[24] Senior colleagues should make themselves available to read junior colleagues' scholarship and should make constructive comments to facilitate its publication. The best mentoring relationships are sensitive to the many differences in our professional and personal lives, including differences in ethnicity, gender, age, sexuality, and familial responsibilities. Junior faculty members also have responsibilities, however, in seeking appropriate mentor relationships, asking for clarification if any confusion remains about professional expectations, and examining carefully the advice that they receive from outside as well as inside the department. Mentoring relationships help prepare a junior faculty member not only for tenure and promotion but also for a long, vibrant, and productive career that recognizes in turn the value of collegiality and the ethics of responsibility toward junior scholars.

Part III: The Mechanics of the Tenure Review

1. Proper Preparation of the Tenure Dossier by the Chair and the Department

The evaluation process that we recommend will be meaningless if a positive recommendation for tenure and promotion is accompanied by a poorly crafted and weakly made case presented to division, college-wide, and university administrators and committees. Inevitably, these commit-

tees involve faculty members, administrators, and staff from nonhumanist disciplines who will not be familiar with the candidate's disciplinary or interdisciplinary field(s) of specialization. The person who prepares the dossier, typically the department chair, should function as the advocate for the candidate's promotion on behalf of the department that is recommending tenure and promotion. Thus the chair should make the case for the significance to the humanities at large of the candidate's scholarship (broadly defined) and publications and of the foci and critical approaches in his or her work. The chair should foresee and respond in advance to questions or concerns that the committee reading the dossier may have— for instance, why the press publishing work in a recently emerging field does not come from the North American institutions deemed the most prestigious and whether criticisms made by external referees are justified. Finally, it is important for the chair to comment on the significance of the candidate's work and on his or her potential as a scholar, teacher, and contributor to the department, the institution, and the humanities.

The success of the tenure and promotion dossier should not depend on the chair's skills at making a persuasive case. Rather, it should rest on the merits of the candidate. It is incumbent on institutions to train incoming chairs in the preparation of a properly documented dossier, perhaps through workshops where outstanding and successful dossiers can be held up as models. In fact, the dean should return for revision those dossiers that do not do justice to the candidate's scholarship, teaching, and service or that do not make an informed case for the candidate to colleagues from other fields, notably fields outside the humanities.

2. Who Does the Reviewing—Academic Presses or Internal and External Referees?

Lindsay Waters has observed that in the current system of tenure and promotion at research universities, humanities departments "outsource" the substantive review of the scholarly work of their junior colleagues to university press readers (*Enemies* 25). As he points out, this process of external review serves to obviate the process of internal review: departmental committees behave as if they cannot or should not determine the value of their junior colleagues' work unless university presses deemed sufficiently prestigious have determined the value of that scholarship for them (35). In fact, this practice of relying on university press readers continues today as if there were no systemic problems in scholarly publishing, even in fields (medieval studies, for example, or literatures in languages other than English) in which there are fewer venues for monograph publication and in which university presses have been scaling back production.

This disturbing overreliance on university press readers is not identical to the system of peer review, which depends chiefly on external referees chosen from a list of scholars in a candidate's field of study. There are good reasons why the system of external peer review was established and why it should be maintained. As Christopher Jencks and David Reisman argued in *The Academic Revolution*, the development of external peer review freed individual scholars from the vertical—and sometimes parochial and territorial—evaluation of their work by local college deans and upper-level administrators. And as Jonathan Culler pointed out in *Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Institutions*, the external review process enabled the rise of many forms of innovative and even controversial work in the humanities. Nonetheless, this apparatus of external peer review also created the conditions whereby individual departments can practically abdicate their responsibility to review the scholarly work of the very colleagues they have appointed to tenure-track positions.

If internal review is to be a meaningful part of the tenure process, it cannot be used as a fallback mechanism when a junior scholar's manuscript has not yet been accepted by a university press. Rather, internal review should be as rigorous and as substantive as external review. Department heads (and advisory or executive committees, where appropriate) must ensure that the fairness of the internal review is not compromised by departmental or intradisciplinary factionalism.[25] The only matter at issue should be the quality of the candidate's dossier in scholarship, teaching, and service. This means that the candidate's perceived collegiality should not be at issue. The task force agrees with the AAUP's argument ("On Collegiality") against the inclusion of collegiality as "a criterion for faculty evaluation" and tenure, almost as "a fourth criterion" beyond scholarship, teaching, and service. To be sure, as the AAUP observed, collegiality, "in the sense of collaboration and constructive cooperation, identifies important aspects of a faculty member's overall performance . . . not a distinct capacity . . . rather a quality . . . expressed in the successful execution" of the three functions. It thus recommended that the virtues of collegiality be reflected in the department's and the institution's definitions of scholarship, teaching, and service. Like the AAUP, this MLA task force opposes practices that exclude faculty members on the basis of their difference from a perceived professorial norm. The charge of uncollegiality may also threaten academic freedom when collegiality is confused with the expectation that faculty members display deference to administrative or faculty decisions and help ensure internal harmony. At the risk of stating the obvious, criticism and dissent do not necessarily conflict with the substantive virtues of collegiality.[26]

The task force recognizes that internal reviews may often be undertaken by scholars who are not specialists in the tenure candidate's field of expertise. In small departments, this situation is frequently the case, but even large departments may not always be able to assign the work of a junior scholar to senior faculty members who are familiar with the candidate's area of study. We believe nonetheless that any department capable of hiring a junior scholar must be capable of reviewing the work of that scholar for tenure and promotion. Senior scholars whose research lies outside the tenure candidate's area of expertise are still able to discern the quality of the conceptual framework, the scholarly apparatus and documentation, the writing, and the impact of the candidate's work on other scholars. Internal review by nonspecialists and external reviews by specialists should be regarded as complementary parts of the whole tenure review process.

3. External Letters: Their Number and Form and the Reviewer's Institution

Judging from the findings of our survey, practices involving external reviewers vary widely from institution to institution. Overall, 419 (62.4%) of the 671 departments that responded to the MLA survey reported that their institutions require them to seek letters from outside referees as part of the process of review for tenure and promotion. Of the 287 responding departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions, 269 (93.7%) said that they are required to seek outside letters, in contrast to only 71 (30.6%) of the 232 departments in Carnegie Master's and 79 (52%) of the 152 departments in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions. Over half of the departments in Carnegie Master's (55.2%), nearly a third of the departments in Carnegie Baccalaureate (32.9%), but only 3.5% of the departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions reported that neither are they required to seek outside letters nor do they seek them of their own volition.

Of the responding departments required to solicit outside letters, 398 provided information about the number of letters they must seek. Departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions require the greatest number of external referees for tenure decisions—71.8% of these departments must seek four or more letters, compared with 36.6% and 32.8% of departments in Carnegie Baccalaureate and Carnegie Master's institutions, respectively. Among departments in Carnegie Baccalaureate institutions, 63.4% report that they must seek one to three letters. Over two-thirds (67.2%) of Carnegie Master's institutions report the same requirement. By contrast, 38.7% of departments in Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions are required to seek six or more letters, and a handful of institutions require an astounding twelve, fourteen, and

sixteen letters (one case each). Nine or more letters were required for 18 (4.5%) of the 398 departments that provided answers to this question.[27]

It is nearly impossible to suggest best practices that will cover all institutions and all forms of external review. Nonetheless, the task force developed guidelines for conducting external reviews. In ordinary circumstances, six external letters should be sufficient testimony to the value of a candidate's scholarship.[28] Larger numbers inevitably add to the workload of leading senior scholars in a field, particularly in small subfields, where the same senior names come up again and again as potential reviewers. The crushing number of reviews some senior scholars are asked to do may negatively affect the quality of the individual letter, and the demand for a large number of letters is sometimes harmful to candidates as well, since some departments and colleges count it against candidates when potential referees decline to review their work. Indeed, extrapolating from our survey data, specifically from the number of candidates our responding departments considered for tenure over five years—1999–2000 to 2003–04—we can say that 800 letters were solicited per year; and since our sample represents 16% of the 2,000 departments in the MLA database that we assume seek letters (or 50% of the 4,000 departments in the database), then something on the order of 5,000 letters are sought annually.

In an effort to ensure the highest standards for external reviews, we recommend that the following procedures be adopted:

- Departments should solicit letters from the most knowledgeable reviewers in a candidate's field, regardless of the perceived status of the reviewers' institutions. Some college and university guidelines urge department heads to seek reviewers exclusively from colleges and universities viewed as more prestigious than their own, even though there may be no reason to believe that the most knowledgeable reviewers will come from those institutions. Specialists in some fields, particularly emerging fields, may be affiliated with all types of institutions, and it is the job of the department head or the departmental committee that prepares the tenure dossier to explain to deans and provosts why a candidate's referees are qualified to conduct a tenure review even when they do not come from institutions that equal or exceed the perceived prestige of the candidate's own.
- Candidates should have the privilege and the responsibility of naming some of their potential reviewers (we recommend half) and excluding one or two figures in their field who they believe, for various professional reasons, would be inappropriate referees.
- External referees should be remunerated. We recognize that many department budgets are already strained. But refereeing is one of the most important evaluative mechanisms in the profession, and institutions should make funds available for external reviewers as a form of recognition for their work, along the lines of the $100–$200 offered by most university presses. While this is

hardly adequate compensation for the task, it does recognize refereeing as scholarly labor rather than as an obligation attendant on scholarly achievement (see "MLA Recommendations on Extramural Evaluations").

- When approached for external evaluations months before the deadline, referees should respond promptly, particularly if they believe they will be unable to conduct the review. When they agree to conduct a review, referees should complete their work in a timely and responsible fashion that includes a careful, lengthy assessment of the candidate's primary works of scholarship and his or her potential to contribute to the field in the future. The review should present a critical evaluation of the work, not a list of superlatives for fear that anything more nuanced will be used against the candidate. Referees should not be asked to judge the quality of teaching and service to the institution, which they have no way of evaluating.

- Departments should request evaluations by means of a form letter to ensure consistency and thus equity. Although there are potentially as many such letters as there are departments, we strongly recommend that the form letter *not* ask referees to indicate whether the candidate would receive tenure at their own institution. Different institutions have different needs and expectations, and letters should not presume that one tenure standard fits all. In fact, the form letter should not ask the referee to adjudicate the question of tenure at all; rather, it should focus solely on evaluating the scholarly merit of the candidate's work, leaving the tenure determination to the candidate's department and institution.

The task force believes that it is incumbent on all departments and institutions to make their own substantive determinations about the quality of candidates' scholarship, regardless of the venue in which it appears and even when some part of it has not been publicly disseminated at the time of the tenure review. External reviews and press readers' reports are undeniably important to the tenure process, but they must be accompanied by rigorous and fair internal evaluation.

4. Reviews of Scholarly Books

The book review plays an essential role in humanities scholarship, disseminating information about new works, critically evaluating them, and engaging them in often pointed debate. As such, the best published reviews constitute an important scholarly activity that helps direct, alter, and sustain ongoing conversations in the field. While book reviews should be an important element of tenure evaluations, their special role in disciplinary and interdisciplinary conversations should be recognized and should not be confused or conflated with other forms of review, including internal and external evaluations and reader reports from presses. In fact, the growing emphasis placed on book reviews in tenure evaluations may have had a deleterious effect on this kind of scholarly forum, dampening

disagreements and transforming critical interrogation into a standard-
ized summation. Many senior scholars, faced with evaluating a number
of tenure dossiers, lack the time to write book reviews, and some journal
editors have begun to reduce the amount of space dedicated to reviews,
whereas others increasingly turn the task over to graduate students or
junior scholars in the field, who may not be sufficiently specialized in the
subject or treatment of the book to draft anything other than a summary.
Such reviews have little value as part of a tenure dossier.

In response to this many-faceted issue, we offer the following recom-
mendations:

- Tenure committees and senior administrators need to understand the nature
  of the humanities book review so that its generic distinction from other forms
  of peer evaluation can be recognized. A hostile or barbed review, for instance,
  should not necessarily be seen as an indication that the book is of poor quality.
  Reviews can often be explicit in their disagreements and aggressive in their
  critique of a line of argument or mode of interpretation because they are tak-
  ing a position within particular disciplinary debates.
- Senior scholars should write book reviews to model this critical genre for
  younger scholars and to help identify significant new work.
- Journal editors should cultivate a more critical culture of reviewing, seeking
  out well-qualified evaluators and asking tenured scholars, in particular, to
  make regular contributions.
- New forums should be developed for the circulation of reviews in the hu-
  manities, since they have diminished or even disappeared from many schol-
  arly journals. We applaud the publication of state-of-the-field review essays in
  such journals a**s** *Signs* and *PMLA*.

5. Evaluating Collaboration

Solitary scholarship, the paradigm of one-author–one-work, is deeply em-
bedded in the practices of humanities scholarship, including the processes
of evaluation for tenure and promotion. Collaboration, however, offers
significant opportunities for enterprising, untenured scholars to tackle
problems or interdisciplinary topics too formidable in scale or scope for
an individual. Sometimes collaboration simply offers the most satisfying
way to approach an issue or problem in an article or a monograph. In
fact, recent technological advances have made collaboration with distant
colleagues easier, faster, and more efficient. And the special challenges
involved in creating digital scholarship have led to new forms of collabo-
ration in that arena as well.[29]

Such opportunities to collaborate should be welcomed rather than
treated with suspicion because of traditional prejudices or the difficulty
of assigning credit. After all, academic disciplines in the sciences and so-

cial sciences have worked out rigorous systems for evaluating articles with multiple authors and research projects with multiple collaborators. We need to devise a system of evaluation for collaborative work that is appropriate to research in the humanities and that resolves questions of credit in our discipline as in others. The guiding rule, once again, should be to evaluate the quality of the results.

Going Forward

It is a truism that one report begs for—and begets—other reports. This report is no exception. The questions and issues that the task force has considered, including the survey findings and the legitimate concerns of all faculty members (junior and senior, tenure-track and non-tenure-track), chairs, and administrators in language and literature programs as well as in other academic fields, have in no way been exhausted by this report.

To begin with, there were aspects of our charge that we did not fulfill. In our discussion of publication practices, we decided not to examine the issue of multiple submissions and to defer, for the time being, to the MLA's current statement, outlined in "Advice for Authors, Reviewers, Publishers, and Editors of Scholarly Books and Articles" (MLA Committee on Academic Freedom). This document states that publishers "should make available to prospective authors clear statements about editorial policies . . . and of procedures for the submission and review of manuscripts" but that, barring explicit strictures, an author could submit the prospectus of a book or monograph to several presses simultaneously. When a publisher asks to see the entire manuscript, however, the author should "inform the publisher if the manuscript has been submitted elsewhere" (108). On the submission of articles and essays, the MLA's current position is that "an author submitting a manuscript to two or more journals simultaneously should notify each editor concerned," although some journals, including *PMLA*, do not allow multiple submissions because they "often create unnecessary work for reviewers and editors" (110).

It should be noted that strictures against multiple submissions of book manuscripts are peculiar to academic presses; in trade publishing, multiple—and competitive—submissions are the norm, although trade editors do not usually commission peer reviews. The current MLA recommendation states that "if, after four months, a press that requires exclusive examination rights is unable to decide on acceptance or rejection and the publisher and author cannot agree on a reasonable timetable, the author may submit the manuscript elsewhere after writing to notify the publisher" (109). Since publishers rely on peers from the field to assist

in evaluating manuscripts, scholars who agree to write reviews should comply rigorously with the agreed schedule for completion. All too often, however, as many of us have experienced or heard from younger colleagues, presses and journals delay decisions for a year or even more, thus restricting the options of junior faculty members who need multiple publications before the tenure process formally begins. Given the realities of tenure demands and, as our report confirms, the raised and rising requirements for scholarly production from junior scholars, the task force urges all parties involved in the review process—authors, editors, and reviewers—to refrain from significant delays, especially for the untenured. We further recommend that the MLA undertake a reexamination of its current policies on multiple submissions for books and articles.

Aside from the issue of multiple submissions, we were not able to compare the number of books published by university presses in the fields represented by the MLA between 1999 and 2005, as the council charged the task force, because, as Peter Givler of the Association of American University Presses informed us, presses do not share a standard way of codifying those fields. Further, Givler doubted that a comparison between only two points in time (only a few years apart) would lead to significant conclusions; a much broader study of trends would be preferable, though even more difficult to conduct. In this interdisciplinary age, presses list books under multiple rubrics, in part to increase the books' sales potential. To obtain quantitative information about the number of books published in the fields represented by the MLA, we would have to conduct a systematic survey of university press directors, which would be costly and time-consuming. The task force thus concluded that the MLA's funds should be used for a different survey, one that engaged the primary concerns of our charge.

As we reported, our survey did not confirm the existence of a crisis of publication in the humanities, at least as late as 2004, although there are reasons to believe that publishing opportunities may be narrowing further. The troubling signals we noted give us, teacher-scholars in language and literature departments, ample reason for taking simple and constructive measures to support university presses on our campuses. We can become members of a permanent library committee and try to get our libraries to increase the size of their humanities budgets for books, reference works, and journals, and we can also offer to serve as members of press boards to affect publishing priorities and financial allocations (see also MLA Ad Hoc Committee 184). Moreover, we should urge our administrators to subsidize our academic presses and to earmark portions of the current or the next capital campaign for enlarging humanities li-

brary collections. The press is crucial to the mission of the university: the production of knowledge for society at large would be seriously compromised without the presses' dissemination of innovative academic research and rigorous scholarship, on which policy makers, opinion leaders, and authors of works for the general public constantly draw.

In retrospect, our survey questionnaire did not investigate several topics and areas that warrant further consideration. For instance, we did not ask department chairs to report on the salaries of their junior or recently tenured faculty members. We also did not inquire how unions at public institutions influence the evaluation of scholarship, even though they sometimes play an important role in establishing and defending procedural norms and rights in cases of tenure and promotion. Further, we did not ask about existing appeals processes when tenure is not recommended at the department level or is denied at a higher administrative level—an area that certainly merits further study. And finally, the survey did not pose questions about lengthening the time to tenure or the probationary period before tenure to eight or nine years, which some institutions are now recommending.[30]

Within the purview of our survey findings, it is clear that issues related to faculty members of color (hiring, exiting, promoting, and tenuring) need further study and more precise documentation. The number of departments that reported cases of junior faculty members other than non-Hispanic whites coming up for tenure is small, in some categories fewer than a dozen; indeed, the number is too small to allow for significant inferences. For instance, only 65 of the 324 English departments that responded to the survey (or 20.1%) reported on the 90 cases of African American candidates who came up for tenure between 1999–2000 and 2003–04. Over the most recent five-year period covered in the survey (1999–2000 to 2003–04), non-Hispanic whites made up 76.7% of the candidates considered for tenure in English departments that answered questions about their candidates' race and ethnicity and 79.7% of those awarded tenure. On the foreign language side, 173 departments reported on 323 non-Hispanic white candidates, but only 10 departments reported on 12 African American candidates for tenure over the five-year period between 1999–2000 and 2003–04. Fifty to 60 departments reported on 106 Hispanic candidates who made up 17.3% of foreign language department candidates. Because the small numbers make it difficult to discern general patterns, we urge the MLA to undertake further analysis of the exit and tenure rates of academic populations other than non-Hispanic whites. And we further urge the MLA to study, through both quantitative and qualitative methods, the career paths of faculty members of color.

More broadly, the small number of departments reporting figures about faculty members of color who were considered for tenure is symptomatic of the minimal presence of diverse races and ethnicities in the United States system of higher education. Although this issue is beyond the task force's purview, we feel compelled to emphasize the importance of increasing diversity in the pool of doctorates in the fields of the modern languages and thus in the pool of applicants for academic positions and for tenure and promotion. We hope that our emphasis is not simply dismissed as a tropism and that MLA members will urge their faculty and administration colleagues to undertake a campuswide study of faculty diversity, an essential component of a good education in the twenty-first century, and to try to find concrete ways of grappling contextually with the historical, ideological, economic, political, and educational causes of this complex problem.

Our findings regarding the "tyranny of the monograph," as it applies to a very influential sector of the Carnegie institutions that we surveyed, led us to conclude that this is the moment to ask whether the needs of the profession—and of graduate students in the fields represented by the MLA—are best served by the current idea of the dissertation as a book-in-progress. To be sure, we are not the first to raise this question. In *We Scholars: Changing the Culture of the University*, David Damrosch lamented the hegemony of the book-length dissertation in the modern languages and its contribution to the overproduction of monographs. He asked, "Why should the dissertation be presumed to be a protobook rather than a series of articles, each produced independently, sharing a common general theme or approach rather than developing a single argument?" (162). He argued that a series of articles might well be as valuable a form of scholarship as a single book, without ruling out the possibility that the work of some graduate students might best take shape as a book. Damrosch's idea that dissertations could take the form of linked articles rather than a single monograph is even more timely now than a decade ago because boundaries of disciplinary inquiry have been significantly altered by multi- and interdisciplinary work.

A shift in the conception and structure of the modern language dissertation is one valid option for creating a more capacious understanding of scholarship. The monograph as the gold standard for tenure dossiers is a relatively recent development, and rigorous quality standards for scholarship are not tied directly to monograph production. For example, in departments of philosophy, as well as in most departments in the social sciences, faculty members uphold the essay as the fundamental unit of scholarly production. If departments of English and other modern lan-

guages were to encourage new structures for the dissertations required of their doctoral candidates, then deans and provosts would support such a change, in our view, because experts in the field had determined the validity and the value of such a change. Indeed, if the institutions perceived as the most prestigious thought anew about the various ways and forms in which advanced graduate students in the humanities demonstrate that they are able to conduct sustained original scholarly inquiry, these universities would open the door to a long overdue reconsideration of the dissertation across the spectrum of graduate education programs in the United States.

Of necessity, the relation of the dissertation to the monograph will have to be reconsidered as dissertations are made accessible in electronic form through institutional repositories, multischool consortia, or commercial distributors.[31] Advocates regard making dissertations available electronically as a logical and desirable replacement for dissertation abstracts and the microfilm or microform system. They consider it retrograde to continue using nineteenth-century technologies and modes of dissemination and to deny academics and others access to new research and scholarship.[32]

More pertinent to our purposes in this report is the impact of the potential shift to the electronic dissertation on the process of evaluating scholarship for tenure and promotion. For if dissertations are so freely and widely accessible that they are in effect published, the typical route of the revised dissertation to a first book will need to be fundamentally rethought. University presses could well decide that there would virtually be no sales of the printed form of a dissertation, even after it was revised. Is it possible, however, as advocates of electronic dissemination claim, that those dissertations that generate interest online will make publication more attractive? Perhaps, but the widely circulated electronic dissertation can create yet another level of increased expectations for writing and publication from nontenured members of the profession, who could be asked to produce an entirely new book-length manuscript in the postdoctoral pretenure years. To prevent a further escalation of demands on young faculty members, institutions could protect their students' dissertations for three to five years before the dissertations are posted on university library sites and give students the right to decide the year in which their dissertations become electronically available.[33] This delay may only be a temporary measure if, as some advocates predict, all faculty work will eventually be uploaded and disseminated freely through library servers instead of taking the form of print books and journals; such an open archive system, which is currently the subject of

considerable discussion within the research library community, would constitute a radical change in the ways in which scholarly communication functions.[34]

It seems clear to the task force that our profession and the academy as a whole need to rethink not only the conception of the dissertation as a larval monograph but also, and more broadly, the entire graduate curriculum for students confronting a particular conjuncture of intellectual, academic, technological, and economic circumstances today. It is equally clear that the institutions perceived as the most prestigious in our fields will need to initiate such an effort if there is eventually to be a reconceptualization of the culminating piece of scholarship for the doctoral degree. But, in keeping with a principle that runs throughout this report, it is incumbent on each institution to define what type of final scholarly production is appropriate for its specific educational mission and for the kinds of academic positions that its PhD recipients are likely to have, positions that may be very different from those of its own tenured senior faculty members. Here again, we believe that the MLA can act as a catalyst for this national conversation.

Indeed, if there is a final recommendation that the task force would make, it is this: discussions of the issues we have raised must begin in departments and institutions that have not yet undertaken them and must continue in departments and institutions that have already begun them. Our survey suggests that such deliberations are in fact going on in a substantial number—if not a majority—of the responding departments and thus in their institutions. Asked whether their institution is reviewing its processes and reconsidering its criteria for tenure and promotion, 308 (45.9%) departments said no in 2005. But 119 (17.7%) said that their institution had completed such a review in the past three years, 128 (19.1%) that such a review was in progress, and 116 (17.3%) that such a review was under discussion. We advocate that discussions not be an end in themselves but that they result in a genuine, comprehensive review. Institutions should rethink on a regular basis their requirements for tenure and the process by which they evaluate the ways in which junior faculty members have met those requirements. For, as this report has tried to show, the meanings and functions of scholarship and scholarly exchange are historical phenomena. The criteria for tenure and the processes of evaluation have shifted over the last few decades and will undoubtedly shift again. It is up to us, then, the teacher-scholars of the MLA, to become agents in our academic systems and effect changes that reflect and instantiate appropriate standards of scholarly production and equity and transparency for our colleagues, our institutions, and our society.

Summary Recommendations

1. Departments and institutions should practice and promote transparency throughout the tenuring process.
2. Departments and institutions should calibrate expectations for achieving tenure and promotion with institutional values, mission, and practice.
3. The profession as a whole should develop a more capacious conception of scholarship by rethinking the dominance of the monograph, promoting the scholarly essay, establishing multiple pathways to tenure, and using scholarly portfolios.
4. Departments and institutions should recognize the legitimacy of scholarship produced in new media, whether by individuals or in collaboration, and create procedures for evaluating these forms of scholarship.
5. Departments should devise a letter of understanding that makes the expectations for new faculty members explicit. The letter should state what previous scholarship will count toward tenure and how evaluation of joint appointments will take place between departments or programs.
6. Departments and institutions should provide support commensurate with expectations for achieving tenure and promotion (start-up funds, subventions, research leaves, and so forth).
7. Departments and institutions should establish mentoring structures that provide guidance to new faculty members on scholarship and on the optimal balance of publication, teaching, and service.
8. Department chairs should receive guidance on the proper preparation of a tenure dossier.
9. Departments and institutions should construct and implement models for intermediate reviews that precede tenure reviews.
10. Departments should conduct an in-depth evaluation of candidates' dossiers for tenure or promotion at the departmental level. Presses or outside referees should not be the main arbiters in tenure cases.
11. Scholarship, teaching, and service should be the three criteria for tenure. Those responsible for tenure reviews should not include collegiality as an additional criterion for tenure.
12. Departments and institutions should limit the number of outside letters (in general, to no more than six). Scholars should be chosen to write letters based primarily on their knowledge of the candidate's field(s). Letters should be limited to evaluating scholarly work. Candidates should participate in selecting (or rejecting) some of their potential reviewers.
13. The profession as a whole should encourage scholars at all levels to write substantive book reviews.
14. Departments and institutions should facilitate collaboration among scholars and evaluate it fairly.
15. The task force encourages further study of the unfulfilled parts of its charge with respect to multiple submissions of manuscripts and comparisons of the number of books published by university presses between 1999 and 2005.
16. The task force recommends establishing concrete measures to support university presses.
17. The task force recognizes that work needs to be done on several questions not asked in its survey: salaries of junior and recently tenured faculty

members, the role of unions, tenure appeals processes, and the lengthening of the pretenure period.

18. The task force recommends that a study of faculty members of color be conducted.

19. The task force encourages discussion of the current form of the dissertation (as a monograph in progress) and of the current trends in the graduate curriculum.

20. Departments should undertake a comprehensive review to ensure that their expectations for tenure are consistent with their institutions' values and mission and that each step in the process is fair and transparent.

Domna C. Stanton, Graduate Center, City University of New York (chair)
Michael Bérubé, Penn State University, University Park
Leonard Cassuto, Fordham University, Lincoln Center
Morris Eaves, University of Rochester
John Guillory, New York University
Donald E. Hall, West Virginia University, Morgantown
Sean Latham, University of Tulsa

NOTES

1. These percentages are derived from two IPEDS components: the 2004 Institutional Characteristics file, which provides a systematic count of institutions covered in the IPEDS, and the 2004 Employees by Assigned Position file, which counts the employees in various categories that institutions have on their payrolls as of 1 November of the given survey year. Each data set was queried for degree-granting, Title IV–participating, Carnegie Doctorate-granting, Master's, and Baccalaureate institutions in the fifty states and the District of Columbia.

2. Our survey used the 2000 Carnegie classifications, not the new Carnegie classifications announced in 2005. A comparative analysis of the 2005 and the 2000 classifications shows that more than 95% of the institutions in the 2000 classification that classify groups as Carnegie Doctorate-granting institutions remain in one of the three new categories—RU/VH: Research Universities (very high research activity), RU/H: Research Universities (high research activity), or DRU: Doctoral/Research Universities. More than 90% of the institutions in the 2000 classification that our survey grouped as Carnegie Master's institutions remain in one of the three categories of Master's Colleges and Universities in the 2005 classification. Three and a half percent of the institutions classified as Carnegie Master's institutions in 2000 are classified in 2005 as Research Universities or Doctoral/Research Universities. The remaining institutions are classified as Master's institutions in 2000 and placed in the Baccalaureate Colleges categories in 2005. Just over 85% of the institutions classified as Baccalaureate Colleges in 2000 are placed in one of the Baccalaureate Colleges categories in 2005. Most of the remainder (12.2%) are institutions classified as Master's institutions in 2005. We can safely state that the new classifications, while they allow for finer-grained analysis in some respects, affect the analysis of the survey findings only marginally.

3. The remaining percentage of PhD recipients—ranging from 39% to 24%—represent the following categories: non-tenure-track full-time or part-time unknown;

higher education, appointment type not specified; postdoctoral fellowships; academic administration; secondary and elementary school teaching; business, government, and not-for-profit organizations; self-employed; not employed seeking employment; and not seeking employment.

4. Different types of faculty members can be classified under "full-time non-tenure-track." These include, as we see in the "Statement on Non-Tenure-Track Faculty Members," approved by the Executive Council of the MLA in 2003 and endorsed by the Delegate Assembly in December 2003, "external postdoctoral fellows, internal postdoctoral fellows, and more permanent NTTs [non-tenure-track faculty members], the last of whom go by almost as many names as there are institutions."

5. The percentages for full-time and part-time faculty members in English and foreign languages were calculated 8 July 2006 using the United States Department of Education DAS-T online data analysis system, http://nces.ed.gov/das.

6. Some would argue that tenure-track faculty members have benefited from the large presence of NTT colleagues because they are relieved from teaching lower-division courses. But it could also be argued that such purported relief increases the destructive consequences of departmental hierarchies and undermines the value of the tenure-track faculty in the eyes of administrations focused on the bottom line.

7. We are not suggesting that universities are asking their presses to become profit centers and sources of revenue to subsidize other parts of the institution, as the term "for-profit" business might imply, but we are emphasizing a new unwillingness to subsidize the not-for-profit university press.

8. Penn State University Press has revived its Romance Studies monograph series (http://romancestudies.psu.edu/) in collaboration with the Penn State University Libraries, the Department of French and Francophone Studies, and the Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese; monographs are offered in a free online version and for purchase in print. The University of California Press is publishing monograph series online in collaboration with the California Digital Library (http://www.ucpress.edu/digpub/). And Oxford University Press plans to sell licenses of its humanities list to libraries. In an e-mail message to David Nicholls, director of MLA book publications, Sanford Thatcher, director of the Penn State University Press, reported that the press is reviving a series in Romance studies suspended several years ago by getting library support on the technical side (the press is becoming part of the library administratively). The program offers older titles in the discontinued series (then called Penn State Studies in Romance Literatures) online and for Print on Demand (POD). It also publishes new titles in Romance Studies (the new title of the series) in the same format; for new titles, the press expects sales of POD copies in the range of 100 to 150 to libraries and 100 to 150 to individuals. In an e-mail message to David Nicholls, Lynne Withey, director of the University of California Press, indicated that the press is also experimenting with monographs that faculty series editors select; the staff then posts the texts online in the institutional repository maintained by the California Digital Library and produces print copies on demand. In the series in science and in linguistics that the University of California Press has launched, the press is selling 250 to 300 copies per series, which allows it to continue publishing specialized work. The press is about to announce a series in literature. Both of these instances, which revive publication in the fields represented by the MLA, confirm yet again the crucial importance of digital technology to the future of scholarship and publication in the humanities.

9. In "Journals in the Time of Google," Lee C. Van Orsdel and Kathleen Born cite average prices per journal title in 2004: whereas in chemistry it is $2,845 and in physics, $2,538, in language and literature it is $153.

10. Lindsay Waters writes that in 1980, 65% of the acquisitions budget in the University of California library system went for books, 35% for journals. In the early 2000s, these percentages changed dramatically: 20% went for books, 80% for journals (*Enemies* 37).

11. Wilcox's *A Comprehensive Survey* represents the report to the Office of Education in the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which provided the grant to support the survey, initiated as a project of the College Section of the National Council of Teachers of English in 1965. The project was subsequently endorsed by the MLA and the ADE, which participated in the advisory committee that was formed to oversee the project; Wilcox was the survey's director. The survey was mailed to a random sample of 300 departments, which received the questionnaire in 1967 (the survey asked questions about the academic year 1966–67); 284 of the 300 departments (94.6%) returned questionnaires. Wilcox's *The Anatomy of College English* drew on the survey but is not a report of the survey findings.

12. Women continue to be underrepresented, however, at the highest rank; according to the *2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty*, women make up 38% of full-time tenured faculty members in English and foreign languages at the rank of professor. More encouraging, they make up 50.6% of full-time tenured faculty members in these fields at the rank of associate professor (Cataldi et al.).

13. Findings about tenure rates from other recent surveys are comparable with those reported in the MLA study. A survey conducted by the American Historical Association in fall 2003 (Townsend) found that of the 910 faculty members that the history programs surveyed had considered for tenure in the preceding five years, 856 received tenure, a 94.1% success rate across the range of institutions (not including two-year colleges). Tenure rates at doctoral and research institutions and in PhD programs were only slightly below this average at 92.3%, and, when broken down by region, history programs in the Midwest, which accounted for a quarter of the history faculty members who came up for tenure, reported a 98.3% rate, whereas the other regions were all close to the 94.1% average.

14. The 20% exit rate among those hired between 1994 and 2004 was calculated from a base number that includes persons hired between 1999 and 2004, most of whom would not as yet have been considered for tenure and who would be the least likely to have left the departments that hired them for any reason. The percentage of exits would doubtless be significantly higher, and the implied tenure rate lower, were the base number limited to cohorts of assistant professors whose members either had already been considered for tenure by 2005 or who would have been had they not left before their cases could be sent forward for review. We have no way of tracking persons in the 20% who were hired at other institutions and eventually received tenure, those in the percentage who went on to NTT positions, or those who left the profession. The discrepancy implied by the difference between Dooris and Guidos's 55% success rate and the MLA's estimated 20% exit rate suggests the degree to which the MLA exit rate is lowered because, unlike Dooris and Guidos's study, it is calculated from a base that includes recently hired persons who are just beginning their probationary appointments.

15. There are also gender differences in the tenure rate according to the field. Thus film and media studies have tenured more men than women; literary studies and creative writing have tenured about the same number of men and women; and rhetoric and composition, applied linguistics, and language learning and acquisition have tenured more women than men. It is, of course, difficult to know the historical and intellectual community factors that account for these differences among the fields represented by the MLA.

16. To cite an obvious example, publication provides a poor framework for evaluating scholarship in digital form, including "print" books and articles aggregated in major databases, such as Project MUSE.

17. Digital repositories in libraries and at other sites may further diminish the distinction between the essay and the book.

18. See "The Contributions of Journal Editors to the Scholarly Community" (Council), which also urges recognition of editorial experience in hiring, tenure, and promotion. As this document argues, the conceptualization and execution of special issues of a journal are often commensurate with editing a collection of essays in book form. Thus special issues are often subsequently published as books.

19. This acceptance of diversity should also hold true for scholarship published abroad, where journal and press editors sometimes serve as the peer-review body and readers' reports may be unavailable. Tenure review committees should always judge the merit of the scholarship itself, while understanding that international communities have different vetting processes for academic publishing.

20. Increasingly, many journals possess a significant digital component and place electronic versions of print articles in repositories, such as Project MUSE and JSTOR; this is the case with *PMLA*. However, in "A CELJ Snapshot of Learned Journals and E-Publication in 2004," based on the responses of 190 member journals (out of 350 to whom the questionnaire had been sent), Elizabeth Haluska-Rausch and Bonnie Wheeler found "*no immediate compulsion* to add or change to an electronic format" among their respondents (2). Indeed, the respondents did not see an intellectual need to "go digital," since they viewed the digital revolution as "market and consumer driven" (5). Editors also reported that for journals with print-only subscriptions or with both formats there was no evidence of decline in print sales due to electronic availability and that much of the evidence of decreased sales is anecdotal.

21. The *MLA International Bibliography* has been updated to provide links to digital materials of indexed items.

22. The task force thus supports the recommendation of the ACLS Commission on Cyberinfrastructure for the Humanities and Social Sciences that "policies for tenure and promotion . . . recognize and reward digital scholarship and scholarly communication; recognition should be given not only to scholarship that uses the humanities and social science infrastructure but also to scholarship that contributes to its design, construction, and growth."

23. This letter might include, for instance, how work with digital media in research, as well as in teaching and service, will be evaluated and credited. See "Guidelines for Evaluating Work with Digital Media in the Modern Languages" (MLA Committee on Information Technology).

24. This mentoring process should include initiation into the workings and the policy statements of the faculty member's professional organizations. See, for

instance, "Advice for Authors, Reviewers, Publishers, and Editors of Scholarly Books and Articles" (MLA Committee on Academic Freedom) on issues of multiple submissions, appropriate time of response for submissions, and so on, as well as the "MLA Statement of Professional Ethics."

25. This view is consistent with the provisions of the "MLA Statement of Professional Ethics" for external and internal reviews: "A scholar who has any conflict of interest or is so out of sympathy with the [colleague's work] as to be unable to judge its merits without prejudice must decline to serve as referee or reviewer."

26. See Heather Dubrow's introduction to the special topic on collegiality in *Profession*. She notes factors that cause a lack of collegiality in departments today: the job market, changes in career patterns, increased diversity within departments, changes in family patterns, and the influence of business models on the academy.

27. A significant, but puzzling, difference in tenure rates for women and men emerges in relation to the number of outside letters departments are required to solicit: women have a lower tenure rate than men in departments required to solicit the largest number of letters (6 or more). For the years 1999–2000 and 2003–04, the figures show that when 6 or more outside letters are required, 87.6% of men versus 81.1% of women are tenured; when 4 or 5 letters are required, 93.4% of men versus 90.7% of women are tenured; with 1 to 3 letters, 90% of men versus 90.1% of women are tenured; and when letters are not required, 94.3% of men versus 95.2% of women are tenured.

28. In MLA documents, the number of outside letters recommended ranges from 2 to 6. The "ADE and ADFL Statement on the Use of Outside Reviewers" recommends 2 to 4 letters; the "MLA Recommendations on Extramural Evaluations," which was endorsed by the MLA Delegate Assembly in 1994 and the MLA Executive Council at its February 1995 meeting, recommends up to 6 letters. In extraordinary circumstances, when there is substantial disagreement about a candidate or when a candidate's work does not fit neatly into one disciplinary specialty, a dean or department head might ask for additional letters to supplement those of external referees who were already named or whose reviews were received.

29. See Damrosch's argument for collaboration as opposed to the idea of the isolated, individual scholar (188–91).

30. Under the 1940 "Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure," the AAUP stipulated that "this period may not exceed seven years." The association's 2001 "Statement of Principles on Family Responsibilities and Academic Work," however, said that "a faculty member [can] be entitled to stop the clock or extend the probationary period, with or without taking a full or partial leave of absence, if the faculty member . . . is a primary or coequal caregiver of newborn or newly adopted children," that "institutions [can] allow the tenure clock to be stopped for up to one year for each child, and . . . that faculty [can] be allowed to stop the clock only twice, resulting in no more than two one-year extensions of the probationary period" (n1). In our view, it would also be appropriate to stop the clock or extend the probationary period for primary care of significant others, infirm parents, or relatives.

31. Making dissertations available in electronic form as an institutional requirement has elicited considerable comment at several universities, including Ohio State University, Columbus, especially from graduate students, who have expressed concern that their manuscripts may not be published in print form if they have already appeared on the Web. Because of such opposition, Ohio State allows students a delay

of one to three years in releasing their dissertations in electronic form, and the administration is considering a five-year delay to allow PhD recipients more time to publish their work (Carlson).

32. ProQuest/UMI receives dissertations electronically, prints them out, and then microfilms them to create an archival copy. Thus this company still considers the "retrograde" microfilm or microform system the most reliable way to create an archive of electronic texts.

33. This move raises the thorny issue of who owns the rights to the intellectual content of the dissertation, the author or the university?

34. See the final draft report from the ACLS Commission on Cyberinfrastructure for the Humanities and Social Sciences, chaired by John Unsworth.

WORKS CITED

ACLS Commission on Cyberinfrastructure for the Humanities and Social Sciences. *Our Cultural Commonwealth*. 29 July 2006 <http://www.acls.org/cyberinfrastructure/cyber.htm>.

"ADE and ADFL Statement on the Use of Outside Reviewers." *ADE Bulletin* 132 (2002): 88. <http://www.adfl.org/resources/resources_statement.htm>.

ADE Ad Hoc Committee on Changes in the Profession: Teaching and Research. "ADE Statement of Good Practice: Teaching, Evaluation, and Scholarship." *ADE Bulletin* 132 (2002): 85–87. <http://www.ade.org/policy/index.htm>.

American Association of University Professors. "The Devaluing of Higher Education: The Annual Report on the Economic Status of the Profession, 2005–06." *Academe* Mar.-Apr. 2006: 25–50.

Boyer, Ernest L. *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate*. Princeton: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1990.

Burnard, Lou, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, and John Unsworth, eds. *Electronic Textual Editing*. New York: MLA, 2006.

Cahalan, Margaret, et al. *Fall Staff in Postsecondary Institutions, 1993*. NCES 96-323. Washington: GPO, 1996.

Carlson, Scott. "Students Oppose Ohio State's Plan to Put Dissertations Online." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 30 May 2003: A33. <http://chronicle.com/temp/email2.php?id=pMDvbzdcjcqpRD6kzmyntB4yHSdJjhJX>.

Cataldi, Emily Forrest, et al. *2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty*. NCES 2005-172. Washington: GPO, 2005.

Council of Editors of Learned Journals. "The Contributions of Journal Editors to the Scholarly Community." 20 Oct. 2004. <http://www.celj.org/news.html#october202004>.

Crewe, Jennifer. "Scholarly Publishing: Why Our Business Is Your Business Too." *Profession 2002*. New York: MLA, 2002. 25–31.

Culler, Jonathan. *Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Institutions*. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1988.

Damrosch, David. *We Scholars: Changing the Culture of the University*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1995.

Diamond, Robert M. "Scholarship Reconsidered: Barriers to Change." O'Meara and Rice 56–59.

Dooris, Michael J., and Marianne Guidos. "Tenure Achievement Rates at Research Universities." Annual Forum of Association for Institutional Research. Sheraton Chicago Hotel and Towers. 17 May 2006. <http://www.epi.elps.vt.edu/Perspectives/TenureFlow.pdf>.

Dubrow, Heather. Introduction. "Collegiality." *Profession 2006*. New York: MLA, 2006. 48–59.

Franklin, Phyllis. "The Debate over College Costs." *MLA Newsletter* 29.3 (1997): 5–6.

Givler, Peter. E-mail to David Nicholls. 8 Aug. 2006.

Glassic, Charles E., Mary Taylor Huber, and Gene I. Maeroff. *Scholarship Assessed: Evaluation of the Professoriate*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1997.

Greenblatt, Stephen. "Call for Action on Problems in Scholarly Book Publishing." *Modern Language Association*. 28 May 2002. 27 Nov. 2006 <http://www.mla.org/rep_scholarly_pub>.

Guillory, John. "Evaluating Scholarship in the Humanities: Principles and Procedures." *ADE Bulletin* 137 (2005): 18–35.

Haluska-Rausch, Elizabeth, and Bonnie Wheeler. "A CELJ Snapshot of Learned Journals and E-Publication in 2004." *CELJ*. 15 Feb. 2005. 27 Nov. 2006 <http://www.celj.org/news.html>.

Howard, Jennifer. "Gutenberg-e Lets Historians Present Research in Nontraditional Ways." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 7 July 2006. <http://chronicle.com/weekly/v52/i44/44a02001.htm>.

Jaschik, Scott. "The Shrinking Tenure Track." *Inside Higher Ed* 19 May 2005. 5 Dec. 2006 <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2005/05/19/data>.

Jencks, Christopher, and David Reisman. *The Academic Revolution*. New York: Doubleday, 1968.

Laurence, David, and Doug Steward. "Placement Outcomes for Modern Language PhDs: Findings from the MLA's Surveys of PhD Placement." *ADE Bulletin* 138–39 (2005–06): 103–22.

"Meeting of the MLA Executive Council." *PMLA* 120 (2005): 276–84.

MLA Ad Hoc Committee on the Future of Scholarly Publishing. "The Future of Scholarly Publishing." *Profession 2002*. New York: MLA, 2002. 172–86.

MLA Commission on Professional Service. "Making Faculty Work Visible: Reinterpreting Professional Service, Teaching, and Research in the Fields of Language and Literature." *Profession 1996*. New York: MLA, 1996. 161–216. <http://www.mla.org/resources/documents/rep_facultyvis>.

MLA Committee on Academic Freedom and Professional Rights and Responsibilities. "Advice for Authors, Reviewers, Publishers, and Editors of Scholarly Books and Articles." *ADE Bulletin* 132 (2002): 107–11.

MLA Committee on Information Technology. "Guidelines for Evaluating Work with Digital Media in the Modern Languages." 20 May 2000. *ADE Bulletin* 132 (2002): 94–95. <http://www.mla.org/guidelines_evaluation_digital>.

MLA Committee on Professional Employment. "Final Report." *PMLA* 113 (1998): 1154–77. <http://www.mla.org/prof_employment>.

MLA Committee on Scholarly Editions. "Guidelines for Editors of Scholarly Editions." Burnard, O'Brien O'Keeffe, and Unsworth 23–46. <http://www.mla.org/resources/documents/rep_scholarly/cse_guidelines>.

"MLA Recommendations on Extramural Evaluations." *ADE Bulletin* 132 (2002): 89. <http://www.mla.org/pdf/extramural_evaluation.pdf>.

"MLA Statement of Professional Ethics." *ADE Bulletin* 132 (2002): 69–72. <http://www.mla.org/repview_profethics>.

"Monograph and Serial Expenditures in ARL Libraries, 1986–2004." *ARL Statistics 2003–04*. Washington: Assn. of Research Libs., 2005. <http://www.arl.org/stats/arlstat/graphs/2004/monser04.pdf>.

O'Meara, KerryAnn. "Principles of Good Practice: Encouraging Multiple Forms of Scholarship in Policy and Practice." O'Meara and Rice 290–302.

O'Meara, KerryAnn, and R. Eugene Rice, eds. *Faculty Priorities Reconsidered: Rewarding Multiple Forms of Scholarship*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2005.

"On Collegiality as a Criterion for Faculty Evaluation." *American Association of University Professors*. Nov. 1999. 27 Nov. 2006 <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/collegiality.htm>.

Rice, R. Eugene, and Mary Deane Sorcinelli. "Can the Tenure Process Be Improved?" *The Questions of Tenure*. Ed. Richard P. Chait. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2002. 101–24.

Schuster, Jack H., and Martin J. Finkelstein. With Jesus Francisco Galaz-Fontes and Mandy Liu. *The American Faculty: The Restructuring of Academic Work and Careers*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2006.

Scott, David K. "The Scholarship of Integration." O'Meara and Rice 47–54.

Stanton, Domna C. "The Labor of Service." *MLA Newsletter* 37.3 (2005): 3–4.

"Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure." *American Association of University Professors*. Jan. 1990. 27 Nov. 2006 <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/1940statement.htm>.

"Statement of Principles on Family Responsibilities and Academic Work." *American Association of University Professors*. Nov. 2001. 27 Nov. 2006 <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/workfam-stmt.htm>.

"Statement on Non-Tenure-Track Faculty Members." 2003. *Profession 2004*. New York: MLA, 2004. 218–22. <http://www.mla.org/statement_on_nonten>.

Thatcher, Sanford. E-mail to David Nicholls. 24 May 2006.

Townsend, Robert B. "A Survey of Tenure Practices in History: Departments Indicate Books Are Key and Success Rates for Tenure High." *Perspectives* 42.2 (2004). <http://www.historians.org/Perspectives/Issues/2004/0402/0402new1.cfm?pv=y>.

Van Orsdel, Lee C., and Kathleen Born. "Journals in the Time of Google—Periodical Price Survey 2006." *Library Journal* 15 Apr. 2006. 7 Aug. 2006 <http://www.libraryjournal.com/article/CA6321722.html>.

Waters, Lindsay. *Enemies of Promise: Publishing, Perishing, and the Eclipse of Scholarship*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm, 2004.

———. "Rescue Tenure from the Tyranny of the Monograph." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 20 Apr. 2001: B7–9.

Wilcox, Thomas W. *The Anatomy of College English*. New York: Wiley, 1973.

———. *A Comprehensive Survey of Undergraduate Programs in English in the United States*. ED 044 422. 14 May 1970.

Withey, Lynne. E-mail to David Nicholls. 24 May 2006.