Spotlight on Doctoral Education #1

Center for Innovation and Research in Graduate Education

Findings from Social Science PhDs—Five+ Years Out National Survey

Finally Equal Footing for Women in Social Science Careers?*

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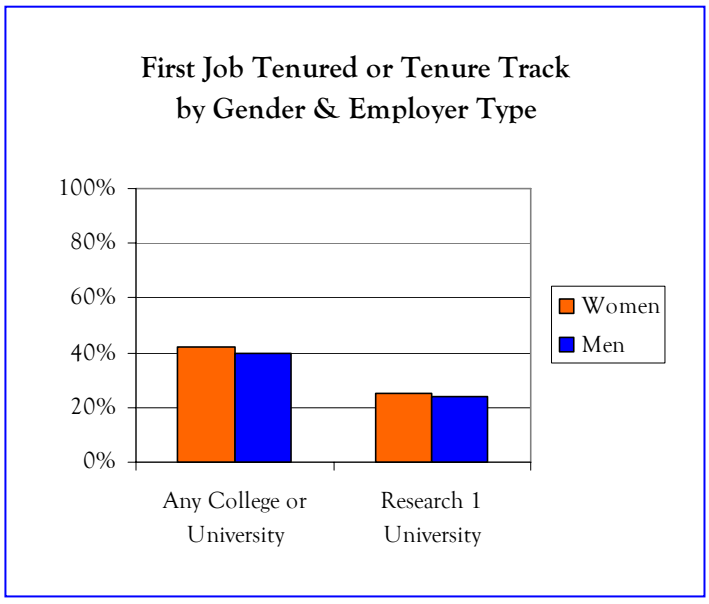
Are the social sciences about to undergo a sea change in gender relations?



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Women's share of PhDs in the social sciences has risen steadily from 10% in 1966, to 27% in 1980, and 45% in 2005.[1] In some fields, such as anthropology and psychology, women now earn the majority of doctoral degrees.

Women still account for only 36% of the social science professors in U.S. colleges and universities,[2] but the time lag between women's increase among PhD holders and the replacement of existing faculty means that the gender composition of faculty would lag behind even if women today were more likely than men to become professors (Hargens & Long, 2002).

This *CIRGE Spotlight* focuses on the potential for gender equality in careers of social science doctorate holders using findings from *Social Science PhDs–Five+ Years Out*, CIRGE's national study of recent graduates in six fields.

Survey Methods

Social Science PhDs–Five+ Years Out, a national study of PhD education and careers, surveyed recent recipients of doctoral degrees in anthropology, communication, geography, history, political science, and sociology. Respondents earned their PhD between July 1, 1995 and June 30, 1999. In 2005 – 2006 they provided information on post-PhD career paths and assessed their graduate school experiences. Sixty-five U.S. institutions participated in the study. CIRGE contacted 6,670 doctorate holders from these universities and 3,025 of these PhD graduates answered, yielding a response rate of 45%. Response rates were similar across disciplines.

This report uses actual data; we have not imputed missing data. Quotations from respondents are from answers to open-ended questions and they illustrate frequently expressed sentiments identified by coding narrative responses. (For details on the survey methods, see the Appendix and Picciano, Rudd, Morrison, & Nerad, 2007.)

[1]Survey of Earned Doctorates, own calculations from Table Builder at http://caspar.nsf.gov/TableBuilder

[2]Data from the National Study of Postsecondary Faculty 2003, see table 244 at http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d07/tables/dt07_244.asp

CAREERS

Are women and men equally likely to want to become a professor?

YES

At the end of their PhD program 78% of men and 75% of women wanted to become a professor.

Are men and women equally likely to begin their careers in faculty jobs?

YES

Men and women were equally likely to begin careers in tenure-track positions, and equally likely to begin careers in tenure-track positions at the most prestigious universities.

To investigate gender differences in career outcomes we categorized academic jobs as ladder faculty (including both tenure-track and tenured positions), non-tenure-track faculty, postdoctoral fellow, and academic other. Non-tenure-track faculty included adjunct, part-time, and full-time faculty in positions that were not eligible for tenure, such as visiting assistant professor, research professor, and lecturer. The category "academic other" refers to jobs in the academic sector that were not faculty positions, including administrators, analysts, researchers, and student services

professionals. Non-academic jobs were categorized as business, government, or non-profit sector employment ("BGN").

1. First Jobs Post-PhD by Gender		
	Women	Men
Ladder faculty	42%	40%
Non-tenure track faculty	26%	28%
Postdoctoral Fellows	9%	7%
Academic other	7%	7%
Business, Government, and Non-profit	16%	19%
	(N=1,154)	(N=1,219)
CIRGE, *Social Science PhDs–Five+ Years Out*		

First jobs evidenced remarkable gender similarity. As Table 1 shows, among women 42% reported tenured or tenure-track jobs within 6 months of earning the PhD, as did 40% of men. The differences in proportions of men and women in the other job types suggest that men are slightly more likely to be in BGN positions and women are slightly more likely to follow an academic path; however, these differences are not statistically significant.[3] This pattern of gender similarities was true for each discipline.

Landing a tenure-track position is the first step towards the status of tenured professor that academics covet. And, in fact, men and women were equally likely to ever hold a tenure-track position. Moreover, using the Carnegie classification of colleges and universities as a measure of prestige indicates that men and women were equally likely to get into a tenure-track position at one of the most prestigious institutions, a major research university ("Research 1" in the Carnegie classification) (Table 2).[4]

2. Proportion Ever on Tenure Track or Tenured by Institution Type & Gender			
	Women	Men	p
Ever tenure track	58%	57%	
Ever tenure track, Research 1	18%	18%	
Tenured at survey	30%	33%	^
Tenured at survey, Research 1	9%	12%	*
^ p < 0.1 *p < 0.05 (t-test for difference of means) CIRGE, *Social Science PhDs–Five+ Years Out*			

Are men and women equally likely to be tenured 6 to 10 years post-PhD?

NO

When surveyed, 6 to 10 years post-PhD, men were more likely to be tenured than women, and men were more likely to be tenured at a Research 1 university.

Six to ten years post-PhD, men's and women's careers appear to begin differentiating. At this stage of the career, it makes sense to separate tenured and tenure-track faculty. As displayed in Table 3, compared to women, men are more likely to be tenured. Women are more likely to be tenure-track or non-tenure-track faculty or to hold other academic positions. Men are also more likely than women to work outside academia, in a BGN sector. The percentage point differences do not seem very impressive, but small differences may accumulate over time to produce substantial inequalities. Men and women were equally likely to be in a ladder faculty position at a Research 1 university; however, men were slightly more likely to be tenured at Research 1 institutions (Table 2).

[3]Chi-square test of a 2 by 6 table, n = 2373, p = 0.136.

[4]The Carnegie classification of higher education institutions is not supposed to be a status ranking, it differentiates according to mission. In practise, however, the Carnegie "Research 1" institutions are the largest most prestigious research universities.

3. Job at Survey (6 to 10 years post-PhD) by Gender		
	Women	Men
Ladder faculty	62%	65%
Tenured	*30%*	*33%*
Tenure Track	*32%*	*32%*
Non-tenure track faculty	13%	9%
Academic other	8%	6%
Business, Government, and Non-profit	17%	20%
	(n=1,293)	(n=1,375)
CIRGE, *Social Science PhDs–Five+ Years Out*		

Is gender equality more likely in female-dominated fields?

NOT NECESSARILY

In anthropology women were more likely than men to be tenured, but in sociology men were more likely than women to be tenured.

About half of sociology PhDs go to women, but this field evidenced the greatest difference in tenure rates between men and women: 42% of men but only 28% of women reported having tenure when surveyed.[5] Differences between tenure rates by gender were not statistically significant in the other studied fields, but the trends are mixed. In anthropology and communication the majority of PhDs are awarded to women and, when surveyed, women in these fields were more likely to be tenured than men. In geography, a field in which men earn about 2/3 of all PhDs, a higher proportion of men were tenured and tenure-track. In political science and history, fields traditionally dominated by men but with recent increases in shares of PhDs going to women, men's and women's tenure rates were nearly the same.

Possibly women's chances of becoming tenured faculty are actually better than men's in fields dominated by men. A large study of scientists found that the highest proportion of women working full time was in the social and behavioral sciences, but this was the only broad field in which women were less likely than men to work in academia (Long, 2001, p. 126). Among art historians, about 2/3 of PhDs awarded go to women (this has been so for 3 decades now), but men are far more likely to become professors (Rudd, Morrison, Sadrozinski, Nerad, & Cerny, 2008; Sadrozinski, 2003).

4. Full Time Status and 2005 Median Annual Salary by Gender and Job at Survey				
		% Full time	Median Annual Salary	
			All (n)	Full-time (n)
Ladder faculty	W	99	54,000 (658)	54,000 (651)
	M	98	55,000 (731)	55,000 (720)
NTT faculty	W	63	45,000 (112)	55,000 (71)
	M	74	47,100 (88)	50,000 (65)
Acad. other	W	84	58,000 (86)	60,000 (72)
	M	93	57,000 (74)	59,000 (69)
BGN	W	81	66,500 (146)	72,800 (119)
	M	89	75,000 (218)	76,000 (193)
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Comparing tenure chances of men and women earning PhDs in the 1980s in biochemistry, computer science, electrical engineering, English, mathematics, and

[5] Chi-square test of 2 by 2 table significant at the p = 0.001 level.

political science revealed that women's chances of getting tenure were equal to or better than men's in male-dominated fields with large, non-academic labor markets (Aanerud, Morrison, Homer, Rudd, Nerad, & Cerny, 2007).

Among ladder faculty, do men and women earn the same amount of money?

YES

Despite gender differences in rank achievement, among ladder faculty men's and women's 2005 median base salary was almost the same (Table 4).

Do men's and women's careers off the tenure track differ?

YES—but not much

Women were less likely to work full time than men, but earned less than men in only 2 out of 3 job categories (Table 4).

Compared to ladder faculty careers, non-faculty careers differed more by gender. Among respondents in non-tenure-track faculty jobs when surveyed, about 2/3 women worked full time, compared to 3/4 men. This was reflected in women's lower median annual salary. In BGN sectors, too, men more often worked full time and out-earned women on average by $8,500. Non-faculty academic positions, however, proffer a puzzle—more men worked full time, but women's median annual salary was $1,000 higher, a difference that remains when looking only at full-time workers. These differences in full-time status and earnings do not describe a sharp demarcation between men's and women's non-faculty careers (Table 4).

WORK & FAMILY

Historically, men's and women's family roles shaped their careers such that marriage and parenting were associated with greater career success among men and less career success among women (Hochschild, 1975; Bellas, 1992; Williams, 2000). Mothers among sociology graduate students, for instance, are less likely to obtain tenure-track jobs immediately post-graduation than other women (Kennelley & Spalter-Roth, 2006). Mason & Goulden's (2004) study of doctorate holders working in academia who graduated between 1978 and 1984 found this to be generally true for women in all fields.

Possible explanations include the greater demands that parenting and family care work traditionally place on women (Hochschild, 1975; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004). Further, because women tend to marry men of equal or greater educational achievement, women are more often in dual-career marriages and thus women with PhDs may be more likely to be geographically constrained by marriage than comparable men (Kulis & Sicotte, 2002; Marwell, Rosenfeld, & Spilerman, 1979; Nerad, in press; Rosenfeld & Jones, 1987). More recently, scholarly interest has turned to the differential impact of careers on men's and women's family lives. For instance, compared to other women doctorate holders and to ladder faculty men, ladder faculty women are less likely to be married and to have young children (Mason & Goulden, 2004). Findings of *SS5* suggest that differences between men and women in work/family dynamics may be lessening, but that women are "subsidizing" gender equality in careers by paying higher personal costs than men. Gender differences in marital

status were not associated with career path, but gender differences in delay of parenting were greater among ladder faculty than among those in other types of jobs.

5. Timing of Marriage by Gender and Job at Survey[a]									
	All Jobs (N = 2207)			Ladder Faculty (n = 1416)			Other Jobs (n = 791)		
Marriage Timing	W	M	(W–M)	W	M	(W–M)	W	M	(W–M)
Before PhD	59%	65%	–6**	58%	64%	–6*	61%	67%	–6^
After PhD	13%	15%	–2	14%	17%	–3	12%	13%	–1
Ever married	71%	79%	–8***	70%	79%	–9***	73%	79%	–6*

^ p < 0.1 * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001 (t-test for difference of means)

[a]Percentages for "ever married" should equal the sum of percent married before PhD and percent married after PhD, however there was an inconsistency in coding of marital status for the 330 respondents who did not complete the online survey but instead mailed in a shorter version (see Picciano et al., 2007 for details on the survey sample).

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Are different marriage rates for men and women associated with ladder faculty careers?

NO

Women in all job categories were less likely than men to be married.

Compared to men, women were less likely to marry or form a marriage-like union. Timing of marriage was not associated with being in a ladder faculty position vs. any other kind of job when surveyed—not for men and not for women. However, in all job categories women were a little less likely than men to be married (Table 5).

Is career path associated with differences between men and women in delaying parenthood?

YES

Women delayed becoming a parent more often than men did, especially among ladder faculty.

Across the board, women were more likely than men to state that they had either postponed or did not have a child because of their career. And gender differences in parenting were strongly associated with job type at survey. About ¼ of men in all job types reported that they had postponed or did not have a child because of their own job. Among women, nearly half of those in ladder faculty positions had postponed or chosen not to have a child because of their own job, compared with only 31% of women in other jobs. Among those who stated that they affirmatively wished to become a parent (75% of men and 72% of women), half of women but fewer than ¼ men reported that they delayed having a child or did not have a child because of their career.

When surveyed, 6 to 10 years post-PhD, 61% of women and 66% of men had become the parent or step-parent of at least one child.

Are men and women equally likely to be in dual-career couples?

NO

Women still "marry up."

Professional careers are often structured for a man who has a wife who supports his career by arranging her work life to make family caregiving her first priority (Williams, 2000; Hochschild, 1975). Professionals partnered with someone who also has a professional career are thus challenged to pursue their careers without this kind of support and may also be called upon to support their partner's career. These people are part of "dual-career couples."

6. Percent Partnered Respondents by Gender and Educational Level of Spouse (or Partner) at Survey

	Women	Men
Partner has a PhD	34%	17%
Partner has another kind of doctorate (e.g., JD, MD, DDS)	10%	7%
Partner has master's degree	27%	35%
Partner has bachelor's degree or less education	29%	41%

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Today, both men and women grapple with coordinating their own and a partner's career, but women with PhDs are much more likely than men to be part of a dual-career couple. Among married or partnered respondents, women's spouses, on average, were more highly educated. Forty-four percent of women's partners had a doctoral degree, compared to only 24% of men's partners. Men's partners were also less likely than women's to work full time.

Compared to men, is women's geographic mobility constrained more by marriage?

YES

Women were almost twice as likely as men to indicate that a job change occurred because of "family needs or responsibilities," or because a "partner's job moved."

7. Percent Moving or Changing Jobs Because of Partner's Job by Job Type and Gender
(N = 1855, 875 women & 980 men)

Respondent Moved or Changed Jobs Because of Partner's Job

	Ladder Faculty	Other Jobs	Total
Women	25%***	32%***	27%***
Men	14%	20%	16%

Partner Moved or Changed Jobs Because of Respondent's Job

	Ladder Faculty	Other Jobs	Total
Women	55%***	18%***	41%***
Men	69%	45%	61%

*** p < 0.001 (chisquare, 2x2 tables, respondent's gender by move/job change of respondent or partner)
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Because academic careers require geographic mobility to move to optimal jobs and the stability to remain in those jobs, not being able to move to begin a tenure-track position or being forced to move to follow a spouse's career are both obstacles to pursuing conventional faculty careers (Kulis & Sicotte, 2002; Rosenfeld & Jones, 1987).

Among SS5 respondents, women were almost twice as likely as men to indicate that a job change occurred because of "family needs or responsibilities," or because a "partner's job moved." Married and

partnered women were significantly more likely than comparable men to have moved to accommodate their spouse or partner (27% of women, 16% of men).

At the same time, women's spouses and partners were more likely to anchor them in place. Sixty-one percent of partnered men reported their spouse or partner moved with them to accommodate career advancement, but only 41% of coupled women pulled their partner with them to make a job move. People in ladder faculty jobs were much more likely than others to report that their spouse had moved or changed jobs because of the respondent's career. Among ladder faculty at Research 1 universities, an even higher proportion had pulled a spouse or partner with them to a job; however, these people were no less likely than others to have moved for a spouse or partner's career.

Respondents in other kinds of jobs were a little more likely than ladder faculty to report having moved or changed jobs to accommodate their spouse's career.

In open-ended responses, people wrote a lot about the difficulties of dual-career marriages. In a typical comment, one geographer in a tenure-track faculty position explained that he and his wife "postponed having children because we have been unable to find jobs in the same institution or city." A historian in a tenure-track position, described how it took five years for her and her husband to secure full-time jobs near each other. She commented:

"Neither one of us individually has our ideal job, but the likelihood of collectively finding a better solution seems infinitesimally low."

Do men and women experience work-family conflict equally?

NO

Women more often experienced difficulties and felt that compromises had been made in either family or career.

Both men and women reported that combining work and family posed challenges, but women more often experienced difficulties and felt that compromises had been made in either family or career. When given the opportunity to "comment on the trade-off decisions you have made among family, relationships, and career," women responded more often than men did, they wrote longer comments than men did, and they identified greater sacrifices. One-fourth of the women who con-sidered the open-ended item on work and family trade-offs wrote about how family obligations—and children in particular—caused them to make career sacrifices, and 1 out of 4 noted that their family relationships suffered because of their work. Much more frequently than men, women wrote of making career sacrifices for their spouse or partner, trying to balance two careers, and of living apart from their partner. More often than women, men wrote that they had made no sacrifices or trade-offs.

CONCLUSION

Among cohorts of social science PhD recipients who graduated between 1995 and 1999, SS5 found surprising equality in early careers of men and women: men and women are equally likely to begin careers in a tenure-track position and equally likely to ever be on tenure track at Research 1 institutions. Careers off the tenure track were also not

sharply different. Yet this equality of beginnings seems unlikely to last over the course of these cohorts' careers. Furthermore, as a group women seem to be "subsidizing" gender equality in careers by paying higher personal costs than men. Compared to men, women were less likely to be coupled, more likely to postpone or even forego having the children they wanted to have, more likely to experience restricted geographic mobility due to family situations, and generally experienced conflicts between work and family lives more acutely.

This pattern of women bearing work-family conflicts more than men was easier to explain in the pre-Civil Rights era.[6] Anti-nepotism rules in force up until the 1960s, for instance, sometimes forced women to give up their faculty positions when they married; job ads for faculty positions often specified "men only" and many professors and university administrators would not have been embarrassed to assert their preference for men in faculty positions (Rossiter, 1995). Until the 1970s it was generally taken for granted that being a mother was incompatible with having a career (Thornton & Young-Demarco 2001; Vogel, 1993). The surprising thing is that the pattern of women paying a higher personal price for a PhD career persists today in spite of the eradication of legal barriers to women's equality in employment, in spite of college and university commitments to gender equity, in spite of the cultural normalization of working mothers, and—in social science fields in particular—in spite of the rapid increase of women among PhD recipients and full-time faculty.

[6]Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). In 1972 Congress amended the 1964 law, giving the EEOC the power to sue employers for violation of Title VII and also amended the law to apply to educational institutions (http://www.eeoc.gov/abouteeoc/35th/milestones/1972.html).

APPENDIX: *SS5* Survey Methods

Recipients of PhDs in anthropology, communication, geography, history, political science, and sociology who had earned their PhD between July 1, 1995 and June 30, 1999 were surveyed in 2005 – 2006. Participating in the study were 65 U.S. universities, selected to include geographic diversity, public and private universities, and, in ranked disciplines, equal numbers of departments from each quartile of the 1995 National Research Council (NRC) ranking of graduate programs (communication programs were not assessed by the NRC). Beginning with publicly available infor-mation provided by participating universities, CIRGE located reliable contact information for 6,670 doctorate holders who fit *SS5* eligibility criteria.[7] Of these, 3,025 (45%) responded. Response rates were similar across disciplines.

The National Opinion Research Center (NORC) compared *SS5* respondents to non-respondents using the *Survey of Earned Doctorates* (*SED*), a survey completed at graduation by nearly all PhD graduates of U.S. institutions. The non-response analysis found that women, whites, U.S. citizens (including permanent residents) and unmarried individuals responded at higher rates than men, non-whites, citizens of other countries, and married people. Respondents were also more likely to report to the *SED* definite post-graduation plans to work in the academic sector (Table 1), which probably results from it being easier to locate people working in the academic sector than in other sectors.

The survey included questions about career path and employment history, relationship events and parenting, graduate school achievements, the quality of the PhD program, mentoring, and the

[7]Publicly available information is limited and graduates may prevent educational institutions from sharing their personal information.

usefulness of respondents' doctoral education. Open-ended questions asked about trade-offs between work and family life, experiences with mentoring, advice to beginning graduate students, advice to graduate programs in their field, experiences with diversity, and experiences related to gender, racial/ethnic, class or other personal identities.

SS5 used a retrospective design to get assessments of doctoral education informed by several years of working. The advantage of respondents' longer-term view of the value of their graduate training comes with the danger of forgetting and revising. However, research shows that subjects recall information about relationship and family events (including spouse characteristics such as spouse's educational level) and about occupational and employment histories with reasonable reliability (Dex, 1995; Klein & Fischer-Kerli, 2000; Solga, 2001). For details on survey design and methods, please see Picciano et al. (2007).

***SS5* Non-Response Analysis**

	SS5 Sample Respondents	Non-Respondents	Difference Significant?
Women	47.6%	43.4%	$p < 0.004$
Whites	87.6%	81.7%	$p < 0.001$
U.S. Citizens and Permanent Residents	96.2%	92.1%	$p < 0.001$
Married (at PhD Award)	56.4%	58.6%	$p < 0.001$
Had Definite Post-Graduate Plans	63.5%	61.1%	$p < 0.001$
Of these, had academic plans	83.4%	78.4%	$p < 0.001$

NORC special tabulation for CIRGE, *Social Science PhDs–Five+ Years Out*.

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