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Events like these are testaments of our partial progress. When I came to Stanford a quarter century ago - 2d woman on faculty of 36- no women's organizations , no committees on women, no women's events other than faculty wives tea, to which not invited. Nor was law school an exception. Stanford's first report on women faculty, completed in the early 70s, found that women constituted only 5 percent of faculty, and 2 percent of tenured faculty. Four of seven schools had no tenure track women. What is striking to me now is how little of this was striking to me then. It was just how law and life in the academy were. And on the rare occasions when someone sought to raise the 'woman' issue, the response was less than welcoming. . DLR  
course- typed as woman

Over the last three decades we have witnessed a transformation in gender-related laws, practices, and attitudes but only a partial transformation in academic positions. At Stanford, women now constitute 23 percent of faculty, and 17 percent of tenured faculty, slightly under the averages for research institutions, but comparable to the elite schools. At leadership levels, women account for 3 of the deans of 7 schools and 18 percent of department chairs, which is better than the record of most institutions.

But despite four decades of equal opportunity legislation and activism, the academic landscape here as elsewhere, is far from equal. In higher education as in other elite professions, women are over-represented at the bottom and under-represented at the top, even controlling for qualifications. They earn 60 percent of undergraduate degrees, and half of doctorates, but are

Speech: women faculty forum 2005

only a fifth of university presidents. In summarizing the national situation, the title of a recent overview in the Chronicle of Higher Education put it bluntly: “Where the Elite Teach, It’s Still a Men’s World.” As research noted in the article indicates, at doctorate granting institutions, women still earn less, advance less rapidly and are more dissatisfied with their jobs. In math, science and engineering, a recent study financed by the Ford Foundation found that women phds were much less likely to have academic positions. According to the most recent AAUP data, male assistant professors at research universities earn about \$ 5600 more than women. And according to a recent study by a University of California research analyst, for each year after securing a tenure track job, male assistant professors are about 25 percent more likely to obtain tenure. In the most comprehensive quality of life study to date, which surveyed about 1000 assistant professors at 6 research universities, women were more dissatisfied than men on about two thirds of the measures, including department support, financial resources, and the tenure process.

At Stanford, PACSWF didn’t find such stark disparities. In general, pay and promotion rates were comparable. But there were some gender disparities in non salary forms of compensation, they all ran in the same direction- men receiving more than women. Those at the very top of the food chain- high outliers we diplomatically called them– were almost all male. And in terms of quality of life, while there were no gender disparities in overall satisfaction rates, women generally reported more concerns than men about their workplaces, although ratings varied across schools and divisions. In general, female professors rated their work climate less favorably, experienced more pressure, were less likely to feel included and valued,

Speech: women faculty forum 2005

and were more likely to report gender-based disadvantages or discrimination than their male colleagues. Women of color, except for Asians, were least satisfied.

What accounts for these persistent and pervasive disparities between men and women? Why, forty years after Betty Friedan wrote in the *Feminine Mystique* of the problem that has no name, have we done so well in labeling the problem, but are still so far from solving it? One central reason is that the lack of consensus that there is a significant problem. Gender inequalities are pervasive but perceptions of inequality are not. - .A widespread assumption is that barriers have been coming down, women have been moving up, and equal treatment is an accomplished fact. any remaining disparities are often assumed to be a function of women's different choices and capabilities.[CARTOON 1 commander in chief]

That view is hard to reconcile with the facts noted earlier. And with women's experience. At Stanford, 1/3 of the female faculty felt that they had been discriminated against or denied something on the basis of sex. A wide array of research suggests some basis for those perceptions. Women's opportunities are constrained by traditional gender stereotypes, by mentoring and support networks, and by workplace climate and structures. Let me say a few words about each and then open the conversation to discussion.

#### A. Gender Stereotypes

Gender stereotypes work against women's advancement in several respects. First, some of the characteristics traditionally associated with women are at odds with the characteristics traditionally associated with success, such as toughmindedness and authoritativeness. Letters of reference reveal the biases; women are often described as "reliable and meticulous," men as

“original and brilliant.” Women also face longstanding double standards and double binds. They risk appearing too too aggressive or not aggressive enough. And what is assertive in a man often seems abrasive in a woman. [CARTOON 2- femininity] An overview of over a hundred studies indicates that women are rated lower when they adopt “masculine,” authoritative styles, particularly when the evaluators are men.

A related obstacle for female leaders is that they often lack the presumption of competence accorded to their male counterparts. That is particularly true, as a number of Stanford faculty noted on the survey, when their research focuses on women. As other professors noted, women’s comments in faculty meetings are often ignored. Here a New Yorker cartoon captured the phenomenon. That ‘s a good point, let ‘s just wait for one of the men to make it. {Check for Cartoon). Even in experimental situations where male and female performance is objectively equal, women are held to higher standards and their competence is rated lower. The problem is compounded for women of color, whose performance is subject to special criticism and whose achievements are often attributed to special treatment. Many women internalize these stereotypes, which adds a further psychological glass ceiling to the one already in place. That may help account for a widely reported tendency for women to bargain less hard for superstar salaries and perks.

#### B. Networks and Mentoring

A second obstacle involves inadequate access to mentors and informal networks of advice and contact, as well as greater obligations to provide such help in fields where women are underrepresented. Stanford faculty reported both problems; they referred to exclusion from the

Old Boys club, and additional burdens of advising and committee service. Women with family responsibilities also have less time for informal socializing that is helpful for advancement.

Sheila Wellington, president of Catalyst, has noted, after work men pick up career tips; women pick up laundry, kids, dinner, and the house.

Moreover, pointing out the problems may sometimes compound them. Some women faculty who are sensitive to gender-related concerns are understandably reluctant to become actively involved in the solution. Some of these women are hesitant to become “typed as a woman” by frequently raising “women’s issues,” by appearing to favor other women, or by participating in women’s networking groups. {CARTOON 3 - thorn in side of patriarchy}

### C. Workplace Climate and Structures

A third obstacle involves workplace climate and structures that fail to accommodate gender related concerns and commitments. Women with children face another double standard and double bind. Working mothers are held to higher expectations than working fathers and are often criticized for being insufficiently committed, either as parents or professionals. These mixed messages leave many women with the uncomfortable sense that whatever they are doing, they should be doing something else. Those who seem willing to sacrifice family needs to workplace demands appear lacking as mothers. Those who want extended leaves or reduced schedules appear lacking as professionals. A number of Stanford faculty noted resistance from department heads when asking for such accommodations or suggesting that events not be held after normal working hours. Such requests may also confirm stereotypes of mothers as less committed to their career. And these stereotypes can readily become self reinforcing, since

Speech: women faculty forum 2005

people are more likely to recall confirm than disconfirming evidence; they will more easily recall the times a woman left early not the times she stayed late.[CARTOON 4 - leaving early]

Ironically, the home is no more an equal opportunity employer than is the workplace. Only in domestic matters, the presumptions of competence are reversed, which translates into unequal family burdens. Despite a significant increase in men's domestic work over the last two decades, women continue to shoulder the major burden. It's an obvious point, but one that is overlooked or undervalued with startling frequency. A case in point is the cover *New York Times Magazine* article some of you may recall last year on the "opt out revolution." The author's basic claim was that women with children were opting out of high powered careers. There was no discussion of what men with children might be opting out of on the domestic front. Rather, the article suggested, women with families just weren't not choosing to "run the world." If so, it's partly because men are not choosing to run the washer/dryer.[CARTOON 5 - this is what comes of marrying career women]

A wide range of studies find that women spend more time on childcare, experience more work family pressure, are less likely to achieve tenure, and are more likely to forgo having children than their male colleagues. A recent University of California survey also found that female professors were twice as likely to report that they had been unable to consider relocation due to family obligations. Such findings may help account for gender disparities in the star wars competition for salaries and other perks documented at Stanford and other research universities.

So, to borrow Lenin's question, what is to be done? That's what we need to talk about,

Speech: women faculty forum 2005

and in the interests of starting the conversation, let me just suggest two general points. At the institutional level, universities need to acknowledge and address the barriers I've noted.

Stanford's Gender Equity Panel, which I chair, is in the process of doing just that and invites your suggestions. In addition to following up on the 18 recommendation of the PACSWF report, the Panel plans to schedule focus groups that will enable all who want to air concerns to do so in a small, confidential setting. But the institutional changes that I hope will be forthcoming are no substitute for the individual support that we can provide for each other. We all need to do our bit to make it safe for women to raise "women's issues," and to convince our male colleagues that these are not just issues for women. Creating a workplace that permits balanced lives and ensures equal opportunities is a project in which all academics have a substantial stake. Thank you all for caring enough to join the effort today.

Speech: women faculty forum 2005

Women faculty who responded to our survey were interested in career development. How can we advance our professional lives? What should we want? What are the tradeoffs in leadership positions? What skills do we need individually and collectively? : negotiation? Networking? Organizing?