

2004 Report of the American Sociological Association's Committee on the Status of Women in Sociology

Final Report
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ABSTRACT: The status of women in sociology can be assessed along a number of dimensions. One important component is the collection of baseline data on women's representation at different levels of the profession. Included are data about proportions of women's enrollments in sociology BA and PhD programs, hiring into academic positions, placement in various types of institutions, tenure and promotion rates, academic rank, and access to positions as chairs. The collection of baseline data of this sort traditionally has been the focus of the reports prepared by the Committee of the Status of Women (CSWS) and presented to the American Sociological Association's (ASA) elected Council. The current committee, however, believes that while these baseline data are an important starting point, there are other important factors to be considered in assessing the status of women in sociology. These include everyday practices in sociological careers, normative career patterns, organizational climates and cultures, distributions of institutional resources, and visibility and influence of sociological work, as these might differentially impact sociologists based on gender. These everyday practices have been explored in some research focused on sociologists and other scientists, but they have not been incorporated into the reports prepared by this committee and have not been addressed in periodic data collection by the American Sociological Association. In this report we summarize and update baseline indicators of women's status in the discipline and the profession of sociology, using data from ASA, NSF, and other sources. We review studies that address everyday practices and visibility and influence of women's sociological work and consider how future committees might address these issues in a comprehensive manner.

INTRODUCTION

The ASA has been compiling data on women's status in the profession for more than three decades. In the past, the efforts of the Committee have focused primarily on review and comparison over time of women's representation in various levels of the profession, from undergraduate student to department chair. An important component of women's status in the profession, such indicators give a clear, and overall encouraging, portrait of women's increasing presence and impact within the profession. Updating and expanding these indicators, and providing contrasts with past patterns, has been the starting point for this committee's work. In addition the committee has endeavored to go beyond these indicators and to raise questions about how organizational climates and cultures, critical influences in the professional lives of sociologists, might be incorporated into analyses of the status of women in the profession.

Research on status-based discrimination in organizations has identified three patterns of disadvantage that can occur. Although separable heuristically, these forms of disadvantage nevertheless can operate simultaneously. First, women and men may experience entry-level differentials. Women may have less opportunity (or in extreme cases no opportunity) to enter certain professions, or the most desirable entry posts in professions. Second, there may be threshold effects. Women and men of similar education and experience might have equal opportunity to enter desirable positions, but soon after entry into the profession, men begin to accumulate advantages more rapidly than women. Threshold effects typically are visible after only a few years in the profession, as persons of one gender begin to advance more rapidly than others with similar levels of performance. Finally, women may experience glass-ceiling effects in professions dominated by men. Women and men may progress at similar

rates, given similar levels of productivity, through the middle ranks of a profession but encounter barriers against movement into the most prestigious and influential positions in the profession. The few women who do reach these top positions typically have been screened and selected to support prevailing practices within professions, so the gender climate of the profession is not strongly affected.

Scholars studying equity and discrimination have argued that powerful mechanisms of discrimination exist in the everyday experiences of women in academic and nonacademic posts that help to determine whether or not women are able to achieve their full potential. A classic study of scientists in organizations, conducted by Pelz and Andrews (1976), discovered that half the productivity of scientists could be predicted on the basis of organizational climates. Scientists working in organizations where they felt valued and received recognition and reward for their work were more productive, with human capital characteristics such as training and experience held constant, than those working in less hospitable climates. Everyday experiences that might affect women sociologists include practices such as fair access to systems of mentoring and support, and freedom from secondary discrimination, including sexual harassment, inequitable work loads, unfair allocations of institutional resources, equitable recognition and reward for good work, and the like. Everyday normative practices of professions that potentially can impact women and men differently include the presence or absence of institutional supports that help scholars articulate work with other important domains of life, such as personal relationships and family. In a gendered society that allocates more domestic work and emotional labor to women rather than men, the presence or absence of family-friendly policies such as ample maternity leave, on-site daycare, flextime schedules, job sharing provisions, stop-the-clock tenure options and the like can affect the careers of women more so than men by affecting how well academics can manage personal life and sociological work (Fogg 2003a; 2003b; Hopkins 1999; MIT 1999; Risman 2003). If the fit between normative careers in sociology and major caretaking roles in personal life is poor and academic and nonacademic careers for sociologists are built upon expectations that their occupants will have little responsibility for life outside of the profession (Acker 1990; Hochschild 1971), women may face serious disadvantages. Careers often are built, implicitly more so than explicitly, around models of workers with no competing responsibilities to work and is able to devote full attention to (usually his) professional life (Coser and Coser 1974). Persons who do not conform to this pattern of the unencumbered worker will be disadvantaged in achieving success within the profession. These dimensions of organizational climates and disciplinary norms are usually thought to be gender neutral, but studies have suggested that they can be powerful, if unintentional, sources of disadvantage for women.

Assessment of the status of women in sociology should include more than an assessment of women's progress through sociological careers. Another important dimension of status is the visibility and impact of sociological research conducted by women. Through research, and especially published research, ideas become a part of the knowledge base of the discipline and the grist of public discourse (Spender 1981). If women more so than men lack opportunities to publish sociological work, or if their published work is devalued or ignored, they lack full status participation in the discipline. Such barriers affect not only the career opportunities of individual women sociologists, but also the power that women scholars have to shape theories, methods, and critical debates in the discipline (Stacey and Thorne 1985). The processes underlying equitable or inequitable influence within sociology are not easy to measure, but they are an important dimension of the status of women in the field, nevertheless.

In the past the work of this Committee has focused on indicators of women's representation at different levels, and these indicators are also the heart of this report. Organizational practices and climates and the visibility and influence of women's scholarship typically have not been addressed in committee reports. They have, however, been addressed in academic studies of sociologists and other academics. These studies have been limited in sample and time period, but they nevertheless suggest useful strategies for assessing women's status and the organizational practices that can affect it. This committee is aware that these measures are only a beginning and have begun to think about how analyses of organizational practices and (status and the knowledge construction process) can be incorporated into future analyses of the status of women. However, the current Committee has also been attentive to subtle and covert forms of discrimination that may limit women's career opportunities and the potential impact of their scholarship. Members have begun a dialogue about how best to conceptualize and study these more subtle effects and what types of data collection efforts to recommend for future committees. Doing more work in this area is the final recommendation of this report. The committee will provide a number of suggestions for future Committees.

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN THE PROFESSION: UPDATING THE INDICATORS OF THE STATUS OF WOMEN

We first review and update indicators discussed in previous reports and also provide data on representation of women in the discipline not compiled for previous reports. Whenever possible we provide data for the period 1970 to 2002, so that readers can better judge the magnitude and pace of the changes that have taken place. Much of the evidence is drawn from data collection efforts undertaken by the American Sociological Association, but we have also drawn upon relevant research conducted by other scholars, using these data and other sources of evidence. Appendix A provides fuller description of the data sources used in this section.

As in the previous (1995) report from an earlier CSWS, we find that women's representation at various levels of the profession is usually slightly below what one would expect, given women's numbers at various levels of seniority in the profession. However, there are a few high status areas, such as journal editorships and major scholarly awards, where women are significantly underrepresented. Although women have made meaningful gains in achieving desirable positions and gaining tenure, women nevertheless leave tenure track positions more often than men, even when they seem to be making satisfactory progress toward achieving tenure. They hold lower ranks in academic departments, in comparison to men. Whether this is an age structure pattern that will be overcome with time, or whether women face barriers moving up to the highest ranks in the profession, remains to be seen.

I. Sociology Degree Attainment

Women have long been a majority of undergraduate sociology majors. According to National Science Foundation's Division of Science Resource Studies, in 1966 women earned approximately sixty percent of sociology Bachelors degrees. During the late 1970s and early 1980s women increased their representation to about seventy percent, and they have subsequently maintained that level (see Figure Appendix A.1).

In contrast, women earned only fifteen percent of sociology Ph.D.s in 1966, but subsequently steadily increased their representation; albeit with minor yearly fluctuations.¹ By 2000 women constituted 59 percent of sociology Ph.D.s. Thus, over the past 30 years women's proportion of new Ph.D.s has been converging with their proportion of bachelor's degrees. These patterns suggest that many of the barriers and disincentives that prevented women from going on to the Ph.D. in earlier periods have slowly eroded. If these patterns continue, women's proportion of PhD degrees may equal their proportions of Bachelors in upcoming years.² Now that we see this change in gender composition, the committee needs to explore the effects. Will men be recruited more heavily into graduate programs in Sociology. Will Sociology increase, decrease, or remain stable in terms of prestige and institutional resources within universities? These questions have not been fully explored.

Figure 1 shows changes in women's representation among sociology graduate students. Between 1981 and 2001, the number of women in sociology Ph.D. programs increased from 4,036 to 5,709. Women have also increased their share relative to men: in 1981, 51.6 percent of those attending such programs were women, and by 2001 that number had increased to 65.1 percent. Thus, the increasing proportions of women in Sociology have come about at least in part by a marked decrease in the numbers of men taking graduate training in Sociology.

¹ Over the last two decades, the percentage of graduate enrollees who are women increased from 51.6% to 65.1%. Graduate enrollment trends were fairly consistent across racial and ethnic groups; among whites, Blacks, Asians, Latinas, and others, women's enrollments generally increased (Roos and Jones 1993). American Indian women's enrollment has been stable. For non-citizen graduate student enrollment, gender composition runs in the other direction, however; in 2001, 17% of men sociology graduate students were non-citizens, compared to 13.8% of women.

² However, only a small proportion of Bachelor sociology recipients continue with graduate work, and not all entrants into sociology programs are sociology majors.

Figure 1. Numbers Sociology Graduate Students 1981 - 2001, by Gender

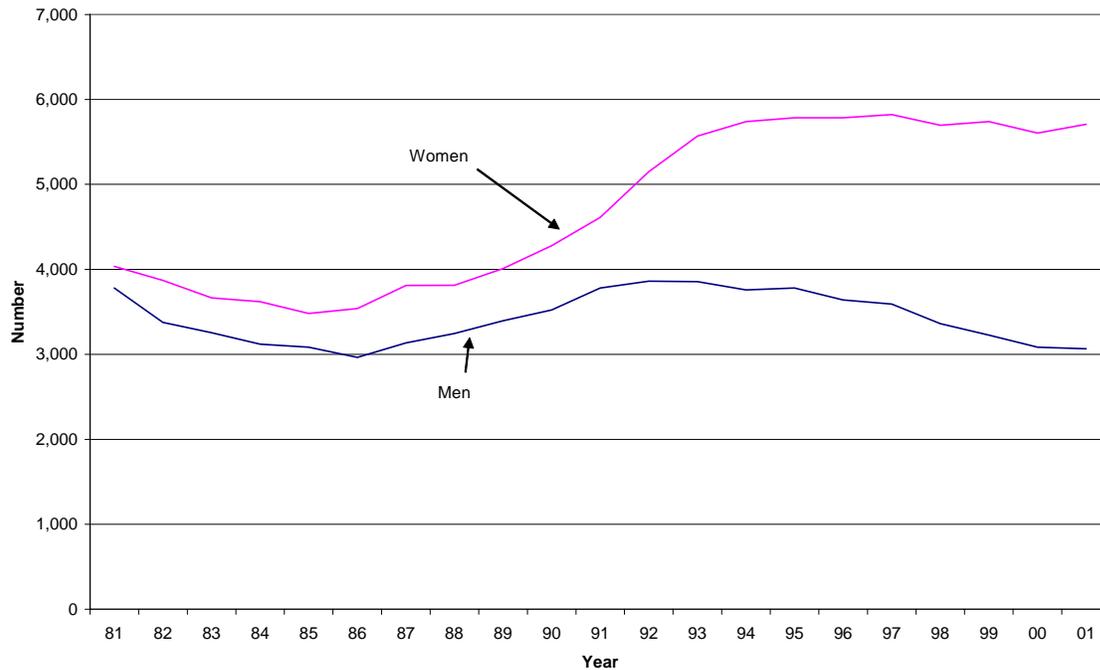


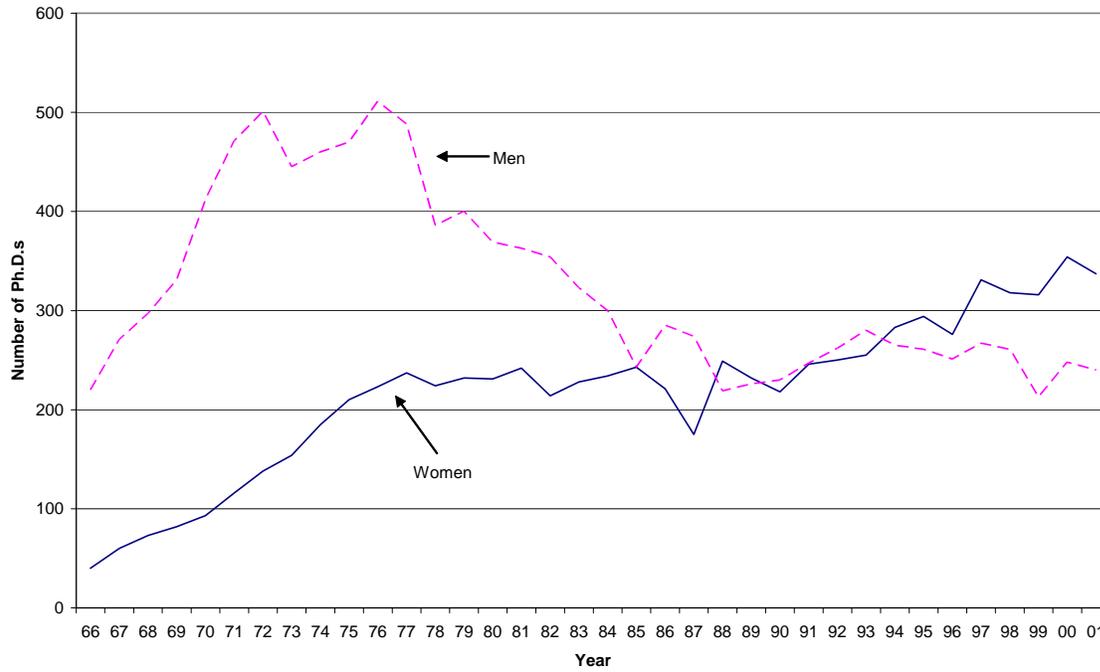
Figure 1 also shows that the overall changes described above mask some of the complexity indicated in the annual figures. Between 1981 and 1991 the trends in graduate school representation for the two genders were parallel, with women making up a little over half of sociology graduate students each year. Since the early 1990s, however, the two groups show divergent trends, with women's numbers ranging from 5600 to 5800 each year since 1993 and men's declining from 3800 to 3000. Because of these two different patterns, women's representation among Sociology graduate students hovered around 54 percent until 1992, and subsequently has steadily increased to 65 percent.

Three things are worth noting about the trends shown in Figure 1. First, although women are more likely to be part time graduate students than men, the difference is small and in no year exceeds more than two percentage points. For example, in 2001 women were 65 percent of all graduate students and 64 percent of full time students. Second, the same general trend toward greater numbers of women, and increased representation of women, occurred for the social sciences as a whole (where the percentage of women increased from 39.0 to 52.2 percent between 1981 and 2001, and for all science and engineering programs (30.1 to 41.4 percent women). What distinguishes sociology is that the numerical predominance of women in graduate programs is relatively recent.

As Figure 2 makes clear, in comparison to the mid 1970s, fewer students overall are currently earning sociology PhDs. While there has been a precipitous decline among men's enrollments, women's rates of degree attainment have moderately increased. Thus, what explains women's numerical predominance in the field is the decline of men's pursuing PhDs. These patterns raise two interesting questions: 1) Why are fewer students seeking PhDs in sociology? and 2) Why has this decline been more precipitous among men than women? (see also Roos and Jones 1991). Roos and Jones suggest that men have left Sociology as the job market for PhD sociologists has declined. Also, men are more heavily represented than

women in nonacademic positions, which may be more highly paid. Conversely, it is also possible that women are moving into sociology because they see it as relevant to their interest in social welfare and human rights issues.

Figure 2. Number of Women and Men Ph.D. Recipients, 1966-2001



The long-term decline in the number of men obtaining Ph.D.'s affects the age by gender structure of the discipline. The recent surge in women Ph.D.'s means that on the average women in the profession are substantially younger than the men. Data from the 1969 Carnegie Survey of Higher Education, for example, show that 30 percent of the women Ph.D. academic sociologists were 40 years old or younger, while in 2001 26 percent of this group was in those age categories. This is in marked contrast to the changing age structure of men who are academic Ph.D. sociologists. In 1969 45 percent of these people were 40 years old or younger, while in 2001 only 16 percent were.³ Data on employment, rank, and salary of women and men must be interpreted in light of these age-structure patterns (see Hargens and Long 2002).

II. Employment

To analyze employment we rely primarily on three sources of data: the ASA's AY 2000-2001 Survey of Baccalaureate and Graduate Programs in Sociology, the ASA's Membership Data Base, and the ASA's tracking survey of the 1996-1997 PhD cohort (See

³ The 1969 Carnegie Survey included 693 males and 77 females in its sample of sociology Ph.D.s in higher education. We use data from the ASA's membership roster for current figures because contemporary surveys of higher education faculty, such as the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES)'s National Study of Postsecondary Faculty, include too few sociologists to provide reliable sex-specific age-structure data.

Appendix A for more information on this data base). The committee urges the American Sociological Association to continue collecting these very valuable data and making them available to this committee and to researchers studying the profession and the discipline.

Despite predictions that sociology PhDs will work outside academia much more frequently in the past, data from the ASA's recent PhD cohort study shows that this has not yet occurred. Only about 17% of this cohort, with little difference by gender, works in nonacademic positions. It is possible that as these young scholars' careers mature, however, that more will leave academia for nonacademic posts.

Full-time/Part-time

ASA's 2001 membership database reveals that women were slightly less likely to be employed full-time than men (90% versus 94%) and slightly more likely to be employed part-time (9% versus 6%). One percent of women but none of the men in this database were unemployed. (It is possible, however, that unemployed sociologists were less likely to respond to the ASA survey.) While the levels of unemployment in this database are likely lower than the rates among all sociology PhD recipients, these figures are consistent with data from the 1996-1997 tracking survey. Of those who attained employment immediately after receiving their degrees, 90.8% of women and 94% of men were employed full-time, with postdoctoral positions counted as fulltime employment. There are no significant gender differences in these employment rates.

Type of Job: Academic versus Non-Academic Employment

The ASA 2001 membership database also shows that the vast majority of women and men respondents are in academic teaching positions (almost 8 out of 10) and reveals similar employment for women and men (see Appendix Table A-1), which shows the type of employment held by members by gender). However, women sociologists who were mothers, the tracking data show, were less likely than non parent women and men who were or were not parents to be in tenure track positions (Spalter-Roth and Merola 2002), an important issue that we consider later.

Type of Institution

Of those employed in academic institutions, the proportions of women and men employed in different types of institutions is similar. Table 1 (below) shows employment of women and men in different types of institutions.

Table I: First Employment of 1996-1997 Tracking Cohort Women and Men by Type of Institution, By Percentage

INSTITUTION TYPE	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Graduate Degree Granting	50.9%	51.9%	51.5%
Undergraduate Sociology Degree	12.7%	13.9%	13.4%
Other 4-year College	9.1%	11.0%	10.2%
2-Year or Community College	4.2%	4.6%	4.5%
Other educational institution	4.8%	2.5%	3.5%
Non-educational employment	18.2%	16.0%	16.9%

The tracking survey did not find a statistically significant difference between the distribution of men and women in the type of institution in which they were employed during their first post-PhD job. However, other research suggests that women who were married and gave birth to or had children present in their households during graduate school are less likely to be employed in research universities than are others in their cohort. Spalter-Roth and Merola (2002); Spalter-Roth, Kennelly, and Erskine (2004) found that women who were mothers were less likely than non-parent women and all men to be in regular tenure-track jobs in academic departments. This distribution may change over time.

These recent data suggest a change from the past, where women were much less likely than men to be in Research I and Research II departments, which demand, but also facilitate, high levels of research productivity (Kulis 1988; McNamee et al. 1990; Xie and Shaumann 1998). They also present a contrast with many other academic disciplines, where it still is more likely that men than women will be hired into the high-prestige departments that are the bases from which most published research is produced (Benjamin 2004).

Using data collected from job advertisements in the ASA's Employment Bulletin, Joya Misra and associates (1999) explored the origins of positions held by women and by minority scholars. White women tended to be recruited in positions vacated by job changes, retirements, or denial of tenure, while minority women and men tended to be hired into newly-created posts. The implications of these findings are not clear. Women may be recruited into regularly-occurring vacancies in sociology departments, while persons of color might be targeted recruitments. To summarize, in sociology, white women have made important gains in attaining first postdoctoral positions equivalent to those of entry-level men.

Geographic Concentration

Kulis and Sicotte (2002), using data from the NSF Survey of Doctoral Recipients, find that women scientists (not just sociologists in this data source) are geographically less mobile than men when taking first jobs, irrespective of their family status. They find that women are more likely than men to remain in regions where doctoral production is highest—the

Northeast, the Great Lakes, and the Pacific Coast-- in areas with large clusters of colleges, and in large cities. These initial placement patterns are more harmful for women's careers than for men's, as women in these locales are less likely to have tenure, are more likely to work part-time, and are more likely to be in jobs off the tenure track. The presence of multiple colleges of different types in these regions appears to minimize these effects for women. The Kulis-Sicotte results suggest that women more so than men might impose geographic restrictions on their job searches, or that their job searches are more successful in regions where they have personal ties.

Rank of Hires

In recent decades the great majority of hires in sociology have been at the assistant professor level. The data below are drawn from the ASA Survey of Baccalaureate and Graduate Programs in Sociology and suggest parity for women and men at junior levels. However, hires at the full professor level are far more likely to be men than women ($p=.026$). Men are about three times as likely as women to be hired at the full professor level. This reflects, in part, the greater concentration of men in senior full professor positions at this point in history. The potential pool of full professors who might be available to be recruited to other institutions is heavily skewed toward men.

Table 2 (below) shows the academic rank of sociologists hired to new positions in the 2000-2001 academic year. Data are from the Survey of Bachelor's and Graduate Programs in Sociology.

Table 2: Total and Tenure Track Appointments of Women and Men Sociologists Hired to New Positions in 2000-2001, by Academic Rank.

	MEN		WOMEN	
	All	Tenure Track	All	Tenure Track
Full Professors	26	17	9	6
Associate Professors	21	13	15	10
Assistant Professors	183	127	167	131

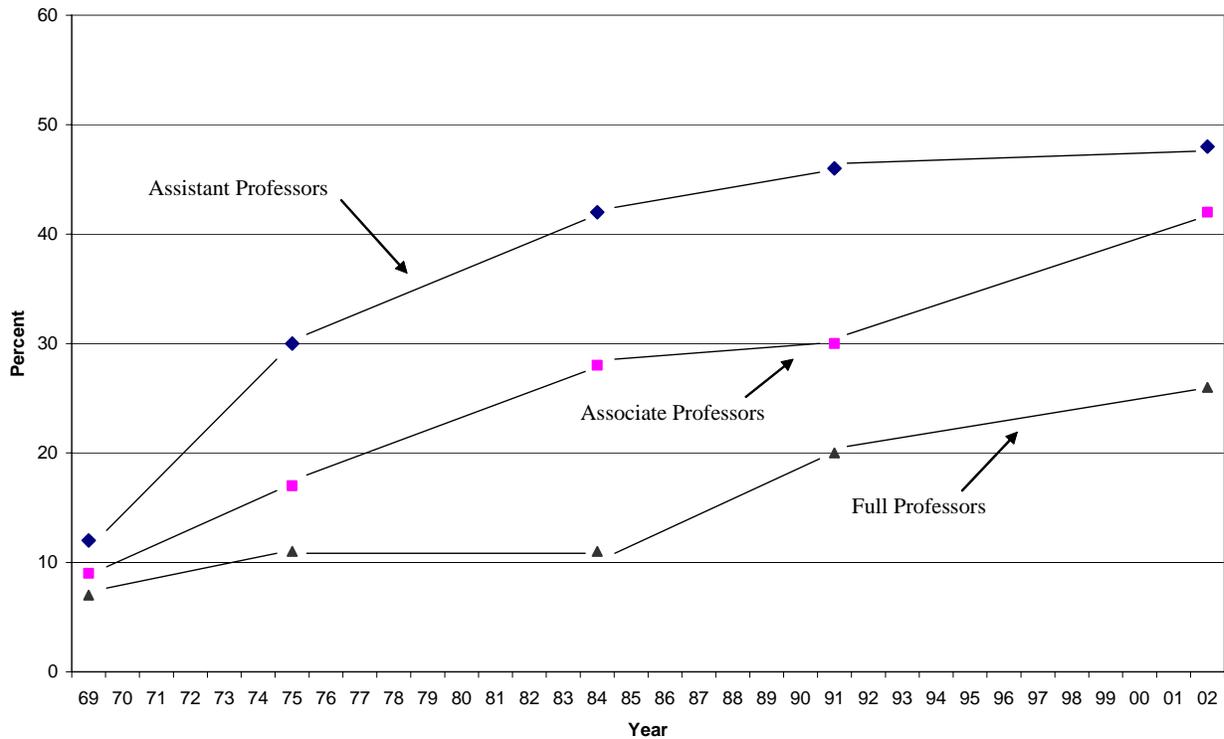
Hargens and Long (2002) and Hargens (2000) have done extensive analyses of how age structures affect rank within the discipline. Using several different sets of assumptions, they anticipate that proportions of women full professors will increase substantially as the population of women faculty ages and more women reach the career point when promotion to full professor is most likely⁴. These predictions rest on assumptions that women will progress through the academic ranks on par with men and will face no barriers to reaching these influential academic ranks. Studies involving scholars from many fields have suggested that promotion to the rank of full professor is an especially difficult step for women scholars (Glover and Prasad 2004). If such a roadblock exists, it can be an important barrier to women's success and influence in the discipline, since in many institutions full professors have substantially greater authority for making critical decisions (for example, promotion and

⁴ Hargens and Long predict some short-term decreases in proportions of women who are full professors related to complex age structure patterns of the sociological workforce.

tenure or selection of administrators), and thus it might be harder for women to break into the “inner circle” (Zuckerman et al. 1991).

Looking across all academic ranks and consistent with the progress previous Committees have shown, Figure 3 demonstrates that the proportion of women in all faculty ranks has increased over time.⁵

Figure 3. Percent Female by Academic Rank, Sociology 1969-2002



Because these are cross-sectional data, we do not see hiring and retention for cohorts over time. To further address this issue, we need longitudinal studies of cohorts of Ph.D.s that can determine the extent and sources of differences in men and women’s rank attainments. One such study, the ASA’s survey of sociologists who earned their Ph.D.s in 1996-1997, will be an important source of data on these and related issues, and we urge that it continues to be supported by the ASA. Some studies, focused on faculty in all disciplines and not just sociologists, have suggested that women are “promotion delayed” in comparison to similarly-qualified men and have an particularly hard time reaching full professor rank (Gray 1993).

⁵ The data for this graph were drawn from surveys of college and university faculty drawn between 1969 and 2002. The surveys include the 1969 Carnegie Survey, and replications of it in 1975 and 1984. The 1991 data are from a census of sociology faculty in colleges and universities carried out by the American Sociological Association and reported by Roos (1997). The data for 2002 are from an ASA survey of academic sociology departments. The results from the 1984 Carnegie survey are less reliable than those from the other sources because its sample size is quite small (72 men and 24 women). Lines between points in Figure 3 simply connect observed data points and should not be interpreted as showing results for years between the surveys.

Employment Losses

In addition to assessing hiring patterns, the committee is also interested in whether there are patterns to sociologists' leaving their jobs, and whether these patterns show up across ranks.

Of the total assistant professors employed in 2000-01, 58 women and 32 men left their positions. Of those who left, 64 percent are women (2000-2001 ASA Survey of Baccalaureate and Graduate Programs in Sociology). Recent research by Hargens (2000) suggests that women may be voluntary dropouts from tenure-track positions where they seem to be performing satisfactorily more often than are men. Hargens gathered detailed data on entrants to academic positions in sociology in the years 1970 through 1995, tracking their careers as they developed. He found that similar (and small) proportions of women and men were denied tenure. Additionally, gender appeared to be unrelated to whether one made an upward, downward, or lateral move in status of institution when making job changes. However, nearly 20 percent of women in the sample left tenure track jobs in which they seemingly were performing well and were not faced with a likely denial of tenure, a much larger proportion when compared with men.

The largest number of voluntary dropouts is at the assistant professor level, a point where women may face the most serious conflicts with family and personal life. Also, it is at this point that women scholars are most likely to suffer most from climates hostile to women, sexual harassment, and other gender-linked disadvantages associated with a male-dominated workplace. Although there have been numerous studies of discrimination and sexual harassment among faculty generally (Grauerholz 1996; Sandler 1997, Sandler and Hall 1986), there been narrative accounts (see, e.g. Pierce 2003), but no comprehensive study focused on sociologists. Other research, focused generally on university faculty but not sociologists per se, suggests that women may leave as a result of work and family conflicts or frustration with and alienation from sociology as it is practiced in the departments in which they are employed (Fogg 2003a; 2003b). These are very complicated patterns that deserve further scrutiny, and we don't have a clear understanding of why women assistant professors leave more often than men.

In Hargens study, the disproportionate "unexplained" departures were an unexpected finding, and his research did not explore the reasons for the women's departures from academic posts, but other sources have reported that women in a number of fields may be leaving academia because it is perceived as family-unfriendly (Fogg 2003b). Appendix Figures A.2, A.3, and A.4 show patterns of hires and attrition by gender and by rank in greater detail, and type of institution based on the 2000-2001 ASA survey of sociology programs. Appendix Figure A.2 summarizes faculty arrivals and departures among the tenured and tenure track faculty. Figure A.2 shows that, despite the fact that women have comprised the majority of new sociology doctorates for some time, more men than women are still being hired as faculty members, and not only at the rank of full and associate professors, but among assistant professor as well. Faculty losses reflect the expected pattern of far more men than women vacating the rank of full professor. However, nearly as many women as men are leaving at the associate rank, and substantially more women than men are leaving at the assistant level. The balance of hires and losses, as reflected in the net change, suggests that while men are rapidly aging out of their senior positions, men are being replenished at all levels at rates that appear to exceed their place in the labor supply.

Appendix Figure A.3 breaks down all the reported hires and losses, by institution type—departments in Research I universities, all other department with graduate programs, and departments with baccalaureate programs only. Figure A.3 shows a net outflow of men from Research I departments, larger net gains for women than men in other graduate programs, but more net gains of men than of women in baccalaureate programs.

Appendix Figure A.4 addresses hires and losses in entry-level positions—those at the Assistant Professor rank—in different types of institutions. As this figure reveals, the pattern of larger net gains of men than women at the assistant level occurs not only at Research I and other graduate programs, but in baccalaureate programs as well. Because there is a growing predominance of women in the doctoral labor pool for sociology, these patterns suggest there might be gender selection processes that recruit proportionally more men into entry-level academic jobs and lead proportionally more women to the exit door.

Tenure

Recent research by Hargens (2000) suggests that although women were once disadvantaged in receipt of tenure, they now have tenure rates that are similar to those of men counterparts. The greatest predictor of tenure is scholarly productivity, and the growing parity in tenure rates may denote convergence in women's and men's rates of productivity. Women in recent cohorts are no more likely than men to be denied tenure, or to leave a tenure track position because tenure seems unlikely. Thus, threat of denial of tenure does not appear to explain the premature departure from tenure track positions by women noted in Hargens' research.

Salary

Academic salaries are correlated with academic rank and seniority. The role that gender plays in academic salary determination is therefore difficult to gauge because women sociologists are currently younger as a group than men.

Although imperfect, the best source of salary data for examining trends over time is the National Science Foundation's biennial reports on "Characteristics of Science and Engineering Doctorates in the United States." Data from these reports show that in 1977 female Ph.D.s in sociology/anthropology earned 85% of male Ph.D.s in those fields. Corresponding data in 2001, for sociology Ph.D.s alone, show this ratio to be 92%. Tracking the biennial data, however, shows that this ratio was also 92% in 1992, with little variation over the years between 1981 and 2001, and that changing the definition of the field from sociology/anthropology to sociology had no effect on the ratio. Thus, we conclude that *overall* there has been little change in women's salaries compared to men's over that past 20 years. This is surprising, given the substantial aging of men in the profession compared to women. On the basis of this difference alone, one would have expected that the ratio of female to male salaries would have declined rather than remaining stable. Unfortunately, summary data such as these do not allow us to determine the forces that may have been counteracting the expected trend.

In recent years the ASA has collected salary data for sociologists at U.S. colleges and universities that allow one to at least begin to assess how much of the overall difference in men's and women's salaries might be due to the two groups' different age structures.

Specifically, in 1997 and 2001 ASA obtained salary data from sociology departments in academic institutions on the salaries of their faculty members. The 1997 survey examined only departments that had graduate programs while the 2001 survey also covered departments with baccalaureate programs (Spalter-Roth and Erskine 2003). Table 3 presents the ratio of women's to men's mean salaries for combinations of type of program and faculty members' ranks obtained by these two surveys.

Table 3. Women to Men's Salary Ratio, by Type of Institution, Rank, and Year

Institutional Type	Full Professor		Associate Professor		Assistant Professor	
	1997	2002	1997	2002	1997	2002
Doctoral	.99	.96	.98	.99	.99	1.00
Masters	1.00	1.00	.94	.99	.97	.99
Baccalaureate	-----	.92	-----	1.02	-----	1.02

In examining Table 3 it is important to note that some of these ratios are based on small numbers of cases—this is especially true of the data from departments offering only a baccalaureate degree, where the ratios are based on as few as 40 or 50 cases. Thus, differences of only two or three percentage points are probably not statistically reliable in much of this table, and even larger differences are unreliable for faculty in departments offering a baccalaureate only. In addition, while this is a weighted sample there was a 50 percent non-response rate (and it is unclear whether these results are biased).

Most of the ratios in Table 3 show little change between 1997 and 2001, and at most ranks and at most types of institutions, the data show salaries to be comparable or near comparable, although wage gaps persist (as is the case in the U.S. labor market generally). As Mary Gray (1993), a frequent consultant in gender and salary inequity cases in academia, has pointed out, over-concentration of promotion-delayed women scholars in lower ranks might complicate the interpretation of salary data. If women scholars remain longer-term occupants of their current (lower) ranks, it would not be surprising to find them at or near the top of the salary scale for those ranks. Pinpointing the long-term changes will require continued data collection at a fine-grained level.

The Association of American University Professors regularly tracks salaries of faculty in university positions, but data are not reported separately for sociologists. For faculty overall, salaries have stagnated in the years 2002-2004 (Benjamin 2004). Salaries of women and men at the assistant to associate levels still favor men, but the margins have diminished slightly, largely as a result of little growth in men's salaries. At the full professor level, however, gaps between salaries of women and men full professors in 2003 were nearly \$10,000 on the average, and these gaps had increased during the periods. These data do not break out

salaries for sociologists, so it is difficult to assess how women and men sociologists fare, relative to scholars in other fields. Little salary data are available for Ph.D.-trained scholars who work outside of academia, but the tracking survey, if continued, could provide such evidence since it tracks graduates regardless of the type of employment they pursue. A recent report distributed by the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) focused on Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU's). Although salaries for all faculty at HBCU's average only about 80% of those at colleges and universities generally, there was greater parity by gender in faculty salaries at HBCU's than at colleges and universities generally (Pravasnik and Shafer 2004).

Appointment to Chair

Another measure of women's representation in sociology is their presence in positions as chair in academic sociology departments. Attaining a position as a chair not only represents a positive career achievement for women, but also an opportunity to exert influence within the department and within academic institutions more generally. Service as a chair can be a stepping-stone toward other administrative positions in academia.

The following data, compiled from American Sociological Association records, show women's representation as chairs of sociology or joint departments including sociology in different types of institutions in the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Data are from Fall 2002 and exclude nine departments, mostly at smaller, undergraduate-only institutions, for which the name of a chairperson was not included in the dataset. Departments are classified using 1994 Carnegie Foundation classifications of institutions.

As the data in Table 4 show, women made up from 24% to 32% of department chairs in 2002, depending on type of department. Women chairs were more common in smaller, undergraduate-only departments, but also occupy about one-quarter of chair positions in Research I and Research II departments. These proportions exceed women's representation as full professors in Sociology. Chairs typically, but not always, are drawn from the ranks of full professors. Proportions of women chairs have not been tabulated for earlier eras, but the recent data suggest that women are making inroads into administrative positions in departments of all types within Sociology. The larger proportion of women as chairs in smaller and undergraduate departments is consistent with evidence that women are more numerous, and more likely to occupy senior ranks, in these types of departments (Kulis 1988). The data suggest that tenured women in Sociology do now have access to administrative positions, especially in smaller, joint, and undergraduate-only departments.

Table 4: Number and Percentages of Women Sociology and Joint-Department Chairs, by Type of Institution

Type of Institution	Women Chairs		Men Chairs	
	N	%	N	%
Research I & II	28	23.5	91	76.5
Doctoral I & II	24	25.5	70	74.5
MA I & II	126	29.2	305	70.8
BAC I & II	124	30.9	278	69.1

We have no direct comparison data for past periods, but it appears that women have achieved positions of influence in sociology departments of all types. However, their progress has been greater in MA and Baccalaureate departments than in research and doctoral-granting institutions. The smaller proportions of women in chair positions, compared to men, might also have implications for persistent salary differentials by gender, as chair positions, especially in larger departments, usually provide higher salaries in comparison to regular faculty slots.

WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN SOCIOLOGY

Past Committees of the Status of Women in the past have focused on the above baseline indicators, but the current committee believes it is also important to study systematically everyday practices in sociology that—intentionally or not—might impede the progress and influence of women in the discipline. These may include everyday experiences on the job as well as the fit or lack thereof between sociological careers or other aspects of women's lives. We are referring here to practices that are subtle and often unintentional. These practices are built into the everyday operation of institutions and typically are regarded as gender-neutral in intent, but they nevertheless can have differential impact on careers of women and men in the discipline. To date, Status of Women Committees have not collected systematic evidence on these practices and processes, so there is less reliable, systematic evidence on which to draw. We turn here to the limited amount of research that has been conducted on the experiences of women sociologists and women scholars in other fields insofar as it might serve as a useful guide to further research.

Several theoretical studies have focused on academic cultures and taken-for-granted practices in academic institutions and careers that are not explicitly recognized as gendered processes. Sociologists such as Joan Acker (1990) and Arlie Hochschild (1971) have analyzed how academic and other organizational careers built explicitly or implicitly around men models, more flexibility, and more freedom from responsibility for life outside the profession. To the extent that such practices have been researched, they often have involved scholars in a broad range of disciplines, or in disciplines other than sociology. There is little reason to believe that sociology is worse than most disciplines, and there is some evidence that sociology might be more woman-friendly than other disciplines such as the hard sciences that have seen fewer women enter academic positions (Grant and Ward 2004). Despite increases in numbers, subtle institutional practices can hamper women's success and progress in academic positions.

Inclusion/Exclusion in Sponsorship Networks and Mentoring

A substantial literature has addressed women's involvement in sponsorship and mentoring networks in academia. Much of this research has focused on the natural, physical and biological sciences, where women's under-representation has been viewed as a matter of significant national urgency (AWIS 1997; Fort et al. 1999; Hopkins 1999; NSF 2004; Zuckerman et al. 1991). The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT 1999) captured national attention in the late 1990s when it undertook major reforms in the wake of a report critiquing the climate of the institution as it affected women scholars (Hopkins 1999). Some of the reforms undertaken by this elite institution included efforts to involve women scholars more fully in networks of sponsorship and support, equalization of salary and space and laboratory allotments, and provision of institutional rewards for those who agreed to mentor women and were successful in doing so.

Studies of social scientists have shown that collaboration with a mentor, especially an eminent mentor, can be very predictive of favorable placement in academic positions and subsequent productivity (Zuckerman 1991, Long 1990). In the sciences generally, finding effective mentoring often has been problematic for women (Fort et al. 1999). However, little is known about women's experiences with mentoring as graduate students or young professionals in sociology. Personal accounts and some research studies suggest that women have a more difficult time finding effective mentoring in comparison to men (see, e.g., Pierce 2004). In research comparing mentoring experiences of women and men chemists, physicists, and sociologists, Grant, Ward, and Forshner (1992) found that women and men scholars in tenured and tenure track positions in American universities rated their doctoral advisers as effective or very effective mentors for them. Since most of the advisers of these scholars had been men, men had successfully mentored many women. Women more often than men had to look beyond their disciplines to find mentors in other departments, or mentors who were out of academia altogether. Within the generally positive ratings of academic advisers, men rated their advisers as slightly more effective. Women and men were equally likely to collaborate with advisers in grant writing or publication, but men had more extensive collaborations. In sociology, the only discipline with a large enough sample of scholars who had had women advisers to allow comparisons of gender of adviser effects, woman advisor/woman protégé had the highest levels of collaborative grant or publication writing. Across the three disciplines, women were significantly less likely than men to have worked with eminent advisers, defined as Nobel Laureates or members of the National Academy of Sciences, and thus were less likely than men to reap the benefits of early collaboration with an eminent mentor. Although relatively few scholars reported discrimination, sexual harassment or other problems in mentoring relationships, women were the only respondents to report such problems. Women were also more likely than men to seek support from mentors outside their fields and outside academia altogether, both because they sought an interdisciplinary perspective and because they could not find suitable mentors in their disciplines.

Spalter-Roth and Lee (2000) studied mentoring among early-career sociologists, using information from the tracking survey. They found that men reported receiving more mentoring from advisers on publication in journal, with women likely to be marginalized from the types of mentoring relationships most supportive of publication. Long's (1988) research with biochemists also suggested that women who were parents were apt to be marginalized from mentoring and support networks. Long suggested that for women, marriage and

motherhood might have opposing impacts on women's likelihood of working with a mentor. As Long also points out, most research on gender and scientific careers has been focused on samples of survivors and thus might exclude those who face the most serious disadvantages and conflicts and thus do not remain in the field at all.

Mentoring has been linked to advantageous placement in first jobs and early productivity. Mentoring by an eminent mentor can be particularly important to early productivity. Scholars who lack effective links with mentors may lack not only guidance through graduate studies but also sponsorship in the early career years.⁶

The range of specific mentoring practices in sociology has not been explicitly studied by the ASA, but a future committee might wish to explore them in greater depth. The focus usefully might include not only the accessibility and quality of mentoring for women and men, but also the effects of mentoring on later career growth.

Sexism and Sexual Harassment

Several studies have explored sexual harassment and sexism in schools and in academia (Grauerholz 1996; Sandler and Hall 1986, Cortina et al. 1998), but few have focused explicitly on sociologists. Sexual harassment has been identified as a form of secondary discrimination that comes into play when women enter positions from which they previously are excluded. Sexual harassment and other practices such as overt and covert forms of discrimination do not keep women from entering a discipline, but may undermine their ability to persist and prosper within it. Such experiences can contribute to a chilly climate for women in academic workplaces and situations where women may "fail to thrive" (Feldt 1990) or to progress as rapidly in their careers as might be expected. Sexual harassment can be an example of a threshold effect that begins to influence scholars not at entry but soon after they begin their careers. Although men as well as women can be victims of sexual harassment, most research suggests that women are by far the most frequent victims of both so-called "quid-pro-qua" harassment and hostile climates (Dale 2004)⁷.

Studies of sexual harassment in academia suggest that many women, and some men, have faced sexual harassment at some point in their careers. Some have made career decisions they otherwise would not have made to escape harassment. In most instances, harassment comes more frequently at early stages of the career and is of the milder forms (e.g., inappropriate comments, unwanted requests for dates) rather than the more serious forms (e.g., sexual assault). Many women report working in hostile climates where they frequently endured sexist jokes or comments. Some studies have suggested that women of color and women who are not U.S. citizens may face more serious forms of sexual harassment

⁶ Many programs and proposals aimed at improving mentoring experiences of women in academic disciplines have called upon mid-career and senior-ranking women to do more mentoring. As Brush (1991) has argued, however, such a strategy places an undue burden on the more senior women, especially in contexts where mentoring is not rewarded or recognized as real work. Brush also notes that viewing mentoring of women as solely the responsibility of women relieves men from responsibility and concern about the quality of mentoring experiences provided for women, and also for scholars of color.

⁷ This concept was coined by the late Barbara Feldt (1990), who borrowed the terminology from medical pediatrics. Some children who seemingly are healthy and are being well cared for nevertheless "fail to thrive," and do not grow and develop as anticipated. The cause of the failure to thrive remains elusive.

in comparison to white women who are U.S. citizens. These patterns would be very consistent with experiences of working women generally.

Within sociology, as in most academic disciplines, sexual harassment has been a taboo topic for research, so it is difficult to know to what extent sociologists have experienced sexual harassment and how it has affected their career decisions. We also have little knowledge of how sexism or sexual harassment is dealt within academic sociology departments when incidents occur. These are difficult topics to address, but important ones nevertheless in assessing climates of sociology departments.

Other forms of sexism that can influence women's careers are paternalism, exclusion of women from informational networks, and overt expressions of discriminatory attitudes. Although studies of women in academia have reported instances of such experiences among women in academia (see, e.g., Zuckerman et al. 1991), there have been few studies focused explicitly on sociologists.

Allocation of Resources

The study at MIT, referred to above, revealed marked differences in allocation of resources to faculty based on gender not only in salaries but also in areas such as allocation of laboratory space, equipment, travel funds, research assistance, summer salary, seed money for research projects, internal grants and leaves, teaching assignments, and professional development opportunities (MIT 1999).

Although some research focused on sociologists has explored ways in which differential institutional locations of women and men sociologists in the past has provided differential access to institutional resources supportive of research, few studies have explored this topic across universities. In-progress research by Spalter-Roth and Kennelly suggests that women who were mothers in graduate school were less likely to hold research assistant awards and more teaching awards when compared with men. Grant, Ward and Forshner's (1992) study of scholars in three disciplines found that women did more undergraduate teaching and mentoring when compared to men and also taught larger undergraduate classes. Earlier studies of sociologists have found that women carried heavier teaching loads than men (Kulis and Miller-Loessi 1992). A forthcoming ASA survey will address some of these issues in greater detail for early-career sociologists, and a future committee may wish to expand this inquiry still more.

Work/Family Issues

Dual Career Couples

Women academics are more likely than men to be married to other academics in their same or in related fields (Creamer 2001; Ferber and Loeb 1997), so dual-career issues affect both women and men, but women slightly more. Astin and Milem (1997) report that 35 percent of men faculty and 40 percent of women faculty have spouses or partners who also are academics. No studies have concentrated on sociologists alone, and the literature is mixed on whether marriage to another scholar in one's field is advantageous or disadvantageous for career or for personal life. In tight job markets, finding two sociological jobs in a single geographical area may be difficult and may involve serious compromises for one or the other member of the couple. Although there is a widespread belief that typically it

is the woman who foregoes career opportunities to accommodate relationships, the topic has not been carefully explored among sociologists. We also do not know the extent to which colleges and universities assist with spouse and partner placements and whether these efforts differ for women and men who are “trailing spouses.”

Little research has focused on the consequences of dual career marriages or partnerships for the careers of women and men academics. Milem and associates (2001) contend that marriage to a more senior academic in one’s field can extend women’s professional networks, but can also engender suspicion about competence and hostility from others. A spouse in one’s field is apt to understand career demands and may have expertise to offer. However, women whose spouses are in their same fields may find that their work is attributed to their husbands, even when they do not coauthor and even when they conduct research in very different fields. Despite perceptions that women are the beneficiaries of shared support and expertise of dual-career couples, Bellas and colleagues (Bellas 1997; Bellas and Toutkoushian 1999) found that marriage to another academic is more advantageous for men than for women, although men’s productivity also was greater when had wives who were fulltime homemakers (Bellas 1992).

As Wolf-Wendel, Twombly and Rice (2003) have noted, only a minority of colleges have “pro-active” policies regarding the hire of dual-career couples. Many have no policies, and at others hiring is spousal hiring is done on an ad-hoc basis and spousal hires may be considered only when one spouse is being recruited to a high-ranking or high visibility position. Spousal hiring is controversial within many institutions, with some faculty and administrators arguing that it represents a form of preferential treatment for candidates based on kinship or personal ties. Others contend that colleges that do not have spousal hiring policies are missing out on excellent candidates and are ignoring the realities of contemporary life, where both members of a couple typically have serious career involvements. How dual-career situations affect the careers of women and men sociologists has been received little research attention, but it seemingly is a vital area as increasing numbers of Ph.D. level scholars now have spouses or partners who also hold Ph.D’s.

Work and Family Conflicts

Work and family issues as they affect professionals and academics have been explored in the literature, but only a few studies have focused on sociology explicitly. Research is not entirely consistent on how marriage and parenthood affect success in academic careers. Studies on scholars in several disciplines have not always been consistent on this question. Research by Cole (1979) and Cole and Zuckerman (1987) found no impact of marriage and parenthood on scholarly productivity, but Hargens et al. (1979) found that parenthood decreased productivity of women and men. Recent research by Spalter-Roth, Kennelly, and Erskine (2004) suggests disadvantages in mentoring and job placement for women who are mothers compared with childless women and men who were and were not parents. Long (1988), in a study of biochemists, has suggested that marriage and motherhood may operate in opposing directions, at least in the area of career mentoring. He suggests that mentors might be more likely to invest time in married women, because such relationships are less likely to be perceived as inappropriate romantic liaisons. However, they might be less likely to invest time in mothers, whom they see as less able to devote uninterrupted attention to academic work. Grant, Kennelly, and Ward (2000) find that parenting, in particular, is often hard to combine with academic work and that women in social, physical and chemical sciences use a number of strategies to combine work and family: forgoing parenting

altogether, carefully spacing children, having fewer children than desired, relying on family helpers to cope with children, and the like. Some who were married to scholars in their same or similar fields relied on spouses not only for parenting assistance but also to help maintain levels of productivity when parenting demands were the greatest. Grant et al. (2000) also found that some women scholars experienced overt discrimination when they became pregnant or adopted children, although negative responses were more likely in chemistry and physics than in sociology. Women sociologists in their sample tended to be older when they began graduate training, as compared with physicist and chemists, and some had children prior to entry into graduate training. Recent work by Mary Ann Mason (2002) has argued that although there are no easy times for women to bear children if they are in academic careers, having a child during the pre-tenure years significantly reduces the likelihood of receiving tenure.

Structures of Academic Careers and Family Responsibilities

Several works have suggested that the normative structures of academic careers are built upon a "male" model and systematically, but unintentionally, disadvantage women and those who have responsibilities for family life. Risman (2003) has noted that the intensifying pressures of academic lives, which demand ever-increasing quantity and quality of research, outstanding teaching, and a continued flow of external funding, are particularly disadvantageous for those who have carework responsibilities and commitments to family. In progress research by Spalter-Roth, Kennelly, and Erskine suggests that geographical moves that are seen as a normal part of academic careers often move women sociologists far from extended family members who might provide support and assistance with young children. Also, colleges and universities have lagged well behind government and private industry in making parental supports such as generous leaves and on-site daycare a priority. Grant and Ward (2004) explore how normative structures of academic careers, including demands for intense involvement in the early-career years and disincentives for disrupting careers, work to the disadvantage of women scholars, but more so in the physical and chemical sciences than in sociology. Timed benchmarks in scholarly scientific careers work to the disadvantage of those who have interruptions or competing time demands in early career periods.

Parenting conflicts were less severe for sociologists in comparison to women in the hard sciences, however. Collaborative work demands and pressure to maintain consistent funding intensified work and family conflicts for bench scientists in comparison to sociologists. Scholars typically wrapped family life around perceived inflexible demands of academic careers and only rarely interrupted or modified careers to accommodate family. Sonnert and Holton's studies of elite bench scientists (1995a, 1995b) found they experienced similar conflicts between work and family. Robert Drago (2002), in studies of English and chemistry professors, also finds that women faculty would have liked to have more children than they believed was possible given the demands of their careers. Men faculty only rarely felt constraints on family life as a result of careers, probably because men typically have less responsibility for childcare.

Earlier we noted that disadvantages to women scholars in sociology could face three different barrier points in sociological careers: entry-level differentials, threshold effects that emerge a few years into the career, and glass ceiling effects that occur at the highest levels of sociological careers. Women appear to have made progress at all three levels, but especially at the entry level. The tracking survey suggests that childless women enter similar types of sociological jobs as men, although they may receive less mentoring. Some new,

unpublished findings from this survey suggest that childless women may do better than men in obtaining tenure. However, women as a group are more likely to drop out of academic sociological careers. It is not certain why this is the case, because there is little systematic evidence about the everyday experiences of women and men in sociological jobs. Research on academics generally, however, suggests that women remain “outsiders” in several respects in academic positions, and that academic positions do not take into account gendered divisions of labor in society generally that assign women more responsibility for carework and family life. Finally, although women have made inroads into senior faculty positions and positions as chairs, they are still much less likely than men to hold chair positions in the research universities that are the primary producers of the next generation of sociology faculty.

It is possible that time and age-structure changes in the profession alone will create greater equity for women in the profession. As larger proportions of women move into senior ranks within academic sociology, departments may become more sensitive to the needs of women scholars in the early and middle-career years. More women in leadership in sociology departments may also contribute to such change. With larger proportions of women in sociology departments, the departments as a whole may become more sensitive to the harmful effects of chilly climates, sexual harassments, and exclusionary practices. They may find more creative ways to help faculty members manage work and family conflicts. However, it is also possible that subtle but powerful barriers still will operate to limit the career advancement of women and time alone will not produce equitable distributions of women and men across the profession. Further tracking of trends, and more fine-grained analysis of everyday experiences of sociologists, are needed to clarify these issues.

VISIBILITY AND INFLUENCE OF WOMEN IN THE DISCIPLINE

Another component of the status of women in sociology is the ability of women to achieve visibility and influence within sociology. One pattern that has occurred in some occupations that have feminized is that women have been ghettoized, or confined to certain (usually devalued) sub-areas of the occupation (Reskin and Roos 1991). Or, alternatively, it is possible that a rapid influx of women into a profession has shifted the priorities of the profession itself, so that new areas of research and teaching gain priority.

One indicator of the ways in which the entry of women into sociology might be shaping the discipline is women’s representation across the specialty areas of Sociology. It should also be noted that new specialty areas with heavy representations of women (for example, Sex and Gender, the Sociology of Children and Youth) have emerged during the period that women’s representation in sociology has increased sharply.

Women’s and Men’s Representation in Specialty Areas of Sociology

Women and men do not appear to be equally distributed across the various specialty areas of sociology. The patterns are somewhat difficult to track over time, because the ASA has recognized increasing numbers of specialty areas and few areas have disbanded. Nevertheless, data from ASA membership lists suggests that women and men tend to join somewhat different specialty sections. While some sections can be regarded as gender-integrated (with relatively equal proportions of women and men members), others are decidedly men or woman-dominated. For example, 90% of the sex and gender section members are women, and this is also the ASA’s largest section. Earlier research by Skipper,

deWolf and Dudley (1987) found gender differences in sociologists' specified areas of concentration.

Data presented below need to be interpreted with some caution. Only 65 percent of ASA members are section members, since joining a section requires a small additional fee. Furthermore, some members belong to multiple sections. Although most section members are university faculty, not all hold such positions, and the ratios of academic and nonacademic members varies by section. Finally, sections differ in their ratios of student to postgraduate members. In data presented below, postgraduate members are separated from graduate student members. The former can be taken as an indicator of current membership distributions, while the latter can be taken as an indicator of future trends (Appendix Table A.2).

The table suggests substantial stability in gender ratios of members of sections from 2000 to 2003 among members. These patterns also are largely consistent with distributions across specialty areas by gender reported for earlier periods by Karides et al. (2001). The table also shows a persistence of substantial gender separation within sociology across specialization areas. Women regular members are most heavily concentrated in sex and gender, family, aging and the life course, medical sociology, undergraduate education, sociology of children, race, gender & class, and sociology of sexualities. They are least well represented in the areas of methodology, theory, Marxist sociology, political economy and the world system, comparative historical sociology, mathematical sociology, rational choice, sociology of religion, and sociology of computers. Spalter-Roth (2001), using the 2001 membership data base, suggests argues that there are sections that are diminishing in membership because they are not attracting student members, most of whom are women.

Section memberships of student members often parallel regular memberships, but there are some notable exceptions. Political Economy and the World System, for example, has a much higher proportion of women student members than women regular members, while peace, war and conflict draws a lower proportion of women among student than among regular members. Sociological practice and sociology of emotions draw larger proportions of women student members than women regular members. Despite these variations between regular and student memberships, the two categories are more similar than different in their gender representations. We conclude that considerable gender segregation exists within specialty areas in sociology, but the consequences of these patterns have not been well explored. Sections that draw large proportions of student members are likely to survive, even though their current faculty membership may contain few women.

Some research has suggested that women have tended to work in areas that are devalued within sociology, and this may disadvantage them in visibility and recognition within the discipline more generally and in receipt of scholarly rewards (Huber 1976). Willis and McNamee (1990) suggest an association between gender differences in specialty areas and publication patterns. Women are not well represented in the subareas most heavily represented in publication in the leading three sociology journals: *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, and *Social Forces*. If professional rewards (e.g., publication opportunities, grant funds, honorific awards) go primarily to scholars in subdisciplinary areas where women are scarce, this pattern might well represent a subtle form of disadvantage for women scholars. This question has not been researched among sociologists, however. Although some research focused on academics generally suggests that women are under-rewarded, relative to their accomplishments, in receipt of prestigious

rewards (Cole and Singer 1990), these studies have not been focused on sociologists and have not examined the influence of subdisciplinary focus on visibility or rewards.

It is unclear how specialization is connected to career success, but this is also an important topic to research. Many departments recruit candidates to specific specialty areas, but these are likely shift over time and opportunities by specialty area have not been systematically tracked by ASA. It would also be useful to explore systematically whether specialty concentration affects opportunities for employment, funding, and publication, especially to publication in high-prestige journals (see Misra et al. 1999).

ASA Governance and Publication

Election to high office within the ASA is another measure of women’s status and visibility within the discipline. This committee’s 1995 report showed that women were more likely to win elections for ASA offices than men, a pattern that has existed since the early 1980s (Rosenfeld, Cunningham and Schmidt 1997). In conjunction with the fact that women were disproportionately overrepresented among candidates for ASA offices between the mid 1970s and 1997, their success in winning elections produced high levels of representation among ASA office holders.

Figure 4. Women’s Representation on the ASA Council and Publications Committee, Among ASA Journal Editors, and Among ASA Section Chairs, 1994 to 2002

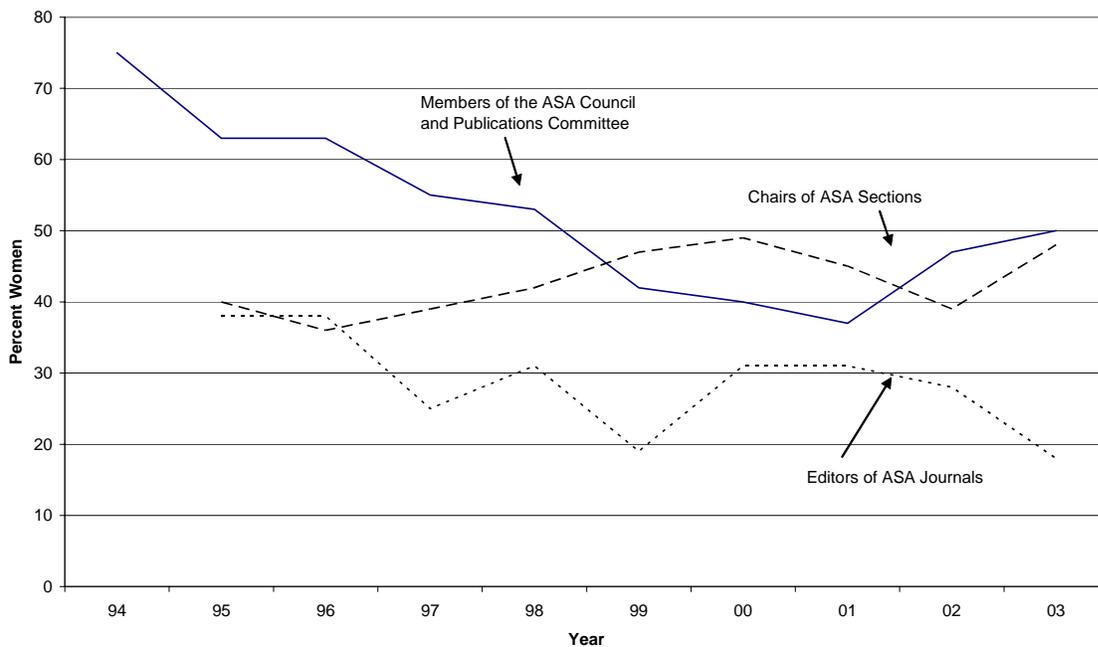


Figure 4 presents data on women’s representation since 1994 in three important forms of governance and publication. Previous reports have focused on representation on the ASA Council and Publications Committee, the main decision making bodies of the association.⁸ Since 1994, women’s representation in these positions has fallen from 75 percent to 50

⁸ We include the ASA President, Vice President, and Secretary in the figures given here. Members of the Nominations Committee are also elected each year, but this committee does not participate in ASA decision making beyond recommending names of possible candidates for the other offices.

percent. Our data show that this decline is due both to decreased representation of women among candidates for offices and to a reduction in female candidates' likelihood of being elected. For the period 2000 to 2002, for example, 40 percent of candidates for positions on the Council and Publications Committee were women, slightly below their representation among ASA members.⁹ Although we do not include data on elections to the Nominations Committee in Figure 6, it is worth noting that 55 percent of candidates for that committee were women during 2000 to 2002, and that 55 percent of the election winners were women.

This fluctuating leadership pattern is difficult to interpret and bears further watching in the years to come. In the best case, these declines in women's participation in these key positions within the discipline represent minor fluctuations in a pattern of increasing participation for women, but in the worst case they may represent backlash against women candidates and/or an overburdening of high-achieving women who have frequently been nominated for office and a delay in the emergence of a new generation of women leaders.

Figure 4 shows a fluctuating pattern of modest rise and fall in women's representation as chairs of ASA sections. Over most of the last decade, there has not been a substantial change, although it must be born in mind that new sections have emerged, so the bases of comparison are not identical. Women's representation among editors of ASA journals also declined between 1995 and 2003 even though more women have reached full professor status, the pool from which journal editors are generally drawn. Women's increasing proportions in tenured positions in sociology and some section memberships associated with the journals has not been reflected in increased representation among journal editors.

The consequences of under-representation of women as journal editors are not clear but bears close assessment in the future. Journal editors are potentially very influential gatekeepers, with substantial influence over one of the most important professional rewards in academic sociology. Not only are careers made or broken based in large part on publication records, but publication is the means by which ideas enter the public scholarly discourse and influence the works of other scholars. Some research (Dunn and Waller 1998; McNamee et al. 1990; Ward and Grant 1985) had documented a linkage, though not necessarily a causal connection, between gender of journal editors and publication of scholarship by and about women. We might anticipate more, not fewer, women journal editors as women reach advanced ranks in sociology, but selection as a journal editor may represent a pinnacle that still is difficult for women scholars to achieve. The Committee may also note that access to editorships is dependent on the distribution of resources within potential journal editors' departments and schools, and women's lesser representation at Research I universities may take them out of the pool of viable candidates for journal editorships.

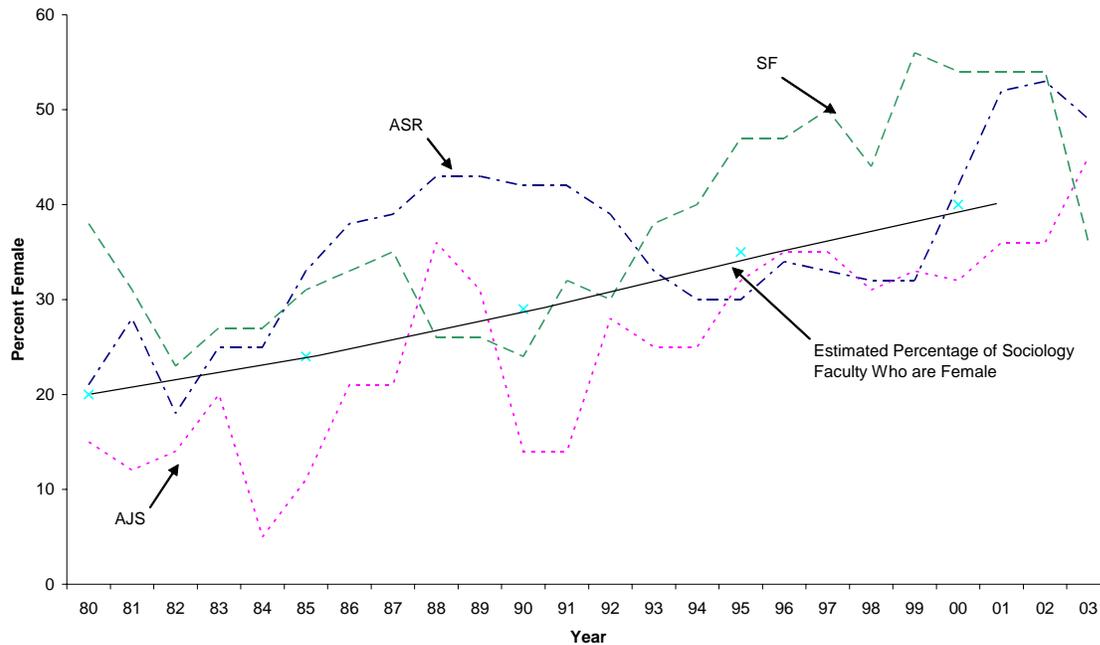
Nearly as important as editors in the journal peer review process are the members of journal editorial boards, however. Members of these boards carry a disproportionate burden of the reviewing of submitted manuscripts, and their opinions typically are given special weight when editors decide whether to publish a submission. Figure 7 shows the proportion of women on the editorial boards of three main general-interest American sociology journals—the *American Journal of Sociology*, the *American Sociological Review* and *Social Forces*—for the period 1980 to 2002. For a baseline, Figure 5 also shows estimates for 1980 to 2000 of the proportion of sociology faculty members who are women, the latter being taken from a recent paper that used cohort-component techniques to estimate it (Hargens and Long 2002).

⁹ Data from the 2001 Profile of ASA Membership (Merola and Spalter-Roth, 2002) show that 45 percent of ASA regular members were women in 2001.

Overall, unlike women's editorships of ASA-sponsored journals, women's representation on the editorial boards of *ASR*, *AJS*, and *Social Forces* has increased and parallels women's representation in the profession. Although there has been a good deal of fluctuation, the general trend has been upward. Figure 7 shows both intra- and inter-journal variation. For example, *ASR* had more women than one would expect in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and fewer during the mid to late 1990s. *Social Forces*, by contrast, has had high representation of women on its editorial board since the early 1990s. Considerable fluctuation in gender composition of editorial boards of major sociology journals has been noted in other works (Ward and Grant 1996; Waller et al. 1998), with women board members being more common in fields with higher proportions of women sociologists (for example, medical sociology, sociology of the family, and social psychology). *AJS* differs from *ASR* and *Social Forces* because it has fairly consistently chosen fewer women for its editorial board than one would expect on the basis of women's representation in the profession. It is perhaps worth noting that *ASR* and *Social Forces* both are sponsored by disciplinary associations (ASA and SSS) whereas *AJS* is primarily an organ of the University of Chicago's sociology department. Although sponsored by the Southern Sociological Society, *Social Forces* consistently has been housed at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Both of these departments lag behind sociology departments generally in proportions of women on the faculty. To our knowledge, no systematic research has explored the specialization areas of journal editors, relative to the discipline as a whole, or links between editors' specializations and the foci of works published in journals. Some studies have found linkages between women's representation on editorial boards and publication of research by women (McNamee 1990; Ward and Grant 1985), although the nature and direction of these linkages is not clear. Women authors may take women's representation as editors or on boards as indications of journal openness toward women's work, or the associations might simply reflect gender skews in specialty areas.

In the 1990s the American Sociological Association became more attentive to the gender as well as racial ethnic composition of editorial board of the journals that it sponsors and now routinely collects these data, as well as data on gender and other descriptive attributes of authors who submit papers to the journals. The choice of editorial board members, is, of course, the specific journal editor's choice not the ASA's. Some journal editors have even tracked the review and success rates of manuscripts submitted by women and men (Form 1987). More systematic analyses of these data could lead to fuller understanding of the relationship between gender of gatekeepers and visibility of scholarship by and about women.

Figure 5. Women's Representation on Editorial Boards and among Sociology Faculty, 1980-2003



Data for the editorial boards of individual ASA journals are more difficult to interpret both because some of those journals might be expected to have higher or lower proportions of women on their boards due to differences in their subject matter, and also because several of the journals have only a few members on their boards. We therefore collected data for the five-year period 1998-2002 and then aggregated them across all of the ASA journals.¹⁰ Overall, 47 percent of the editorial board members of ASA journals during this period were women, about what one would expect given the proportion of sociologists who are women.¹¹ This contrasts with the data on ASA journal editorships presented above which indicated that women were underrepresented in those positions.

The Committee's previous report in 1995 examined women's participation at ASA annual meetings. Although it found variation in the proportion of women across different types of participation (session organizer, session presider, book critic, paper presenter, etc.), it concluded that there was no clear pattern of under or over representation by gender. We analyzed data for the 2000 ASA meetings and found the same general result. Except for those who were presiders at ASA round tables (58 percent women), participation categories had percentages of women ranging from the low 40s to the low 50s with no correlation between the status of the type of participation (e.g., highlight session versus roundtable) and the proportion of women participants.

¹⁰ The journals included in this analysis were *ASR*, *Contemporary Sociology*, *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *Sociological Methodology*, *Sociological Theory*, *Sociology of Education*, and *Teaching Sociology*.

¹¹ Differences across the individual years in our analysis were small and never exceeded 2 percentage points.

Women as Recipients of ASA Awards

This committee's previous reports have not examined women's representation among ASA award winners. We examined winners of the Distinguished Scholarly Publication Award and noted the gender of each of the authors of the award winning books or monographs, giving coauthors of any of these works partial authorship credit according to the number of authors. For the 31 award winners between 1970 and 2002 (no award was given in two of the years) women were authors or coauthors of only 3 books, comprising only 10 percent of the total authorship credits possible. This percentage is well below women's representation in the profession at any time during the period (see the baseline estimates in Figure 7). These patterns suggest that members of the committees that have chosen these winners have turned a blind eye to women's scholarly contributions.

To obtain corroborative evidence on this question, we examined the authors of the books nominated as the most influential books of the previous 25 years in the May and July 1996 issues *Contemporary Sociology*. Of the 51 nominations presented in *CS*, 31 percent were authored by women, which is about what one would expect given the baseline data presented in Figure 7. Thus, we believe that the scholarly contributions of women have been devalued by the committees that have chosen the winners of the Distinguished Publication Award. The award patterns are consistent with results of other studies of scientists, which suggest that women receive fewer honorific rewards for their scholarship than their records would suggest they merit (Cole 1987; Cole and Singer 1991). Since recognition for one's work can be an important reward of scholarly activity, lack of recognition might represent a systematic disadvantage for women that could diminish recognition, future opportunities, and motivation to persist in research.

Visibility of Women's Research and Scholarship

Other research has attempted to assess whether women's scholarship has achieved broad visibility in the discipline or whether it has been marginalized and ghettoized primarily within a community of women scholars. As Jessie Bernard noted in an early essay (1976), in traditionally male-controlled disciplines such as sociology, women's work had to "pass muster" before a largely male audience or disappear and not be heard of again. A substantial debate exists about whether women's research is qualitatively different than men's in content, method, and focus and, if so, what might be the implications for the content of scholarship of the influx of larger proportions of women into sociology. Will women do sociology in similar ways to their male predecessors, or will the entry of women into the discipline bring about a shift in focus?

Most attempts to assess visibility and impact of women's sociological scholarship have explored publication of research, and/or citation of published research. As Dale Spender (1981) has noted, in most cases it is primarily through the medium of publication that knowledge enters the public arena and becomes capable of influencing the thought of other scholars and the further development of the discipline.

Stacey and Thorne (1985) have argued that sociology has been more resistant than disciplines such as anthropology to influence by feminist influence. Some research suggests that women's sociological scholarship, and scholarship focused on gender, is not evenly distributed across sociology journals (McNamee et al. 1990; Grant and Ward 1991; Waller and Dunn 2000; Ward and Grant 1985). Although there has been a steady increase since the late

1970s in sociological scholarship published by women, this scholarship through the mid 1980s was more visible in some sociological journals than in others. (It is important to distinguish research by women from feminist scholarship, although these dimensions often overlap. Both gender of author or authors and content of work seem to affect journal placement.) The patterns are traceable in part to the systematic variations by gender in the areas in which women specialize, but the most prestigious journals—ASR, SF, and AJS—in the 1980s published less gender scholarship than many other journals. Feminist scholars, however, have found other outlets for their work, most especially the journal *Gender & Society*, founded by the Sociologists for Women in Society. Now the most widely read and financially successful of the journals sponsored by Sage, G&S expanded to six annual issues in the mid-1990s. Most research appearing in major sociology journals uses quantitative methods, and while both women and men sociological publishers use quantitative methods more so than qualitative methods, women are more apt than men to use qualitative methods, especially when they write as solo authors (Grant, Ward, and Rong 1987; McNamee et al. 1990). Stacey and Thorne (1987) have argued that the predominance of quantitative methods in sociology represents a barrier to a “feminist revolution” in sociology and the marginalization of work that fails to conform substantively, theoretically, or methodologically to disciplinary norms.

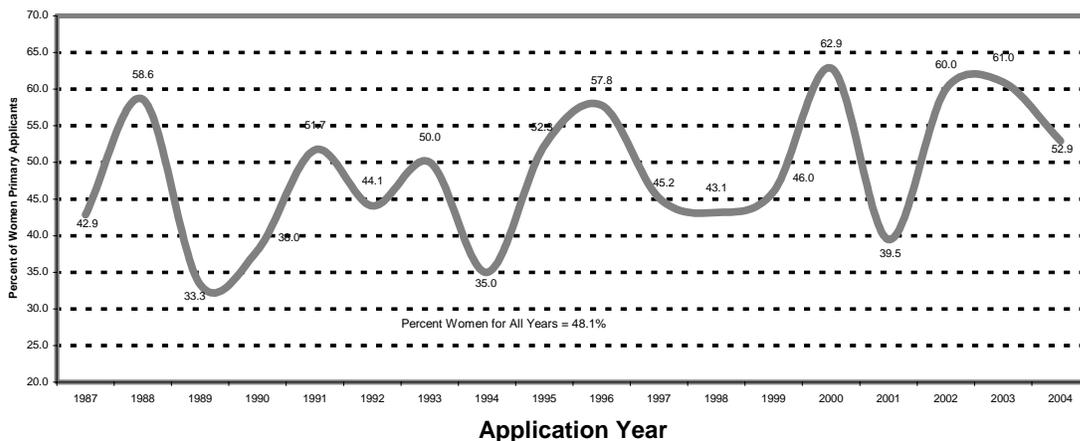
Some studies have looked at patterns of citation of women’s and men’s social scientific research. The meaning of citations has been debated in the literature, but they are reflective of the visibility and perhaps also the influence of research within disciplines. Ferber (1986, 1988), in studies of in a study of economists and sociologists, suggests that there is a tendency toward same-gender citation patterns, resulting in a disadvantage for women in any discipline in which they are a minority. The within-gender citation bias is stronger among men scholars than among women scholars as well. Research also suggests that women’s published research, although cited frequently, is cited more by women scholars than by men (Ward, Gast and Grant 1992). Thus, women’s scholarship and feminist research has expanded, but primarily other women scholars may read it. These patterns of distribution of research may explain, in part, why women receive fewer awards from the ASA and other national bodies than might be expected in an era when men still constitute more of the senior professoriate in the discipline.

Some research has explored whether the published sociological research of women and men is similar or different in terms of method, focus or perspective. Grant, Ward, and Rong (1986). While noting substantial similarities in women’s and men’s published sociological research through the 1980s, these authors find that women are somewhat more likely to use qualitative methods and to write on gender. Other research also suggests that women scholars use distinctive methodological approaches (Dunn and Waller 2000; McNamee et al. 1990; Maynard 1990; Grant et al. 1987). These patterns, if they still persist, suggest that women’s entry into the discipline may be associated with a shift in norms about the appropriate focus and style of academic research. Such shifts might be welcomed as evidence of diversity and new energy in the discipline, or they might be resisted as challenges to traditional standards of excellence.

Little research has explored another important dimension of contemporary sociological research as it affects careers of women: receipt of external funding. As colleges and universities pressure scholars to bring in external funding, the ability to attract grant money may become an increasingly important factor in careers of academic sociologists. Whether women and men apply for grants in equal proportions and whether they receive grants of similar magnitude as frequently still remains to be discovered.

ASA maintains data on all the winners and losers of the Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline Small Grants Program, funded jointly by ASA and the National Science Foundation (NSF). The goal of this award is to nurture the development of scientific knowledge by funding small, ground breaking research initiatives and other important scientific research activities. FAD awards provide scholars with venture capital for innovative research that has the potential for challenging the discipline, stimulating new lines of research, and creating new networks of scientific collaboration. Scholars who are relatively new PhD's and those who are from other than Research I institutions are encouraged to apply. Over the course of the award program, Figure 4 shows that women have obtained about 48 percent of the awards, although there is no particular pattern over the years. The most recent years show a sharp dip followed by higher than average rates of award receipt for women. The ASA office that, along with an Advisory Panel, is responsible for granting FAD awards should continue to monitor the gender breakdown of awards.

Percentage of FAD Primary Applicants who are Women by Application Year



Source: American Sociological Association, FAD Master Database, July 29, 2004.

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Evaluation of Teaching

In the past several decades the evaluation of teaching has assumed greater importance in the assessment of the contributions of faculty members in University settings. This committee is not aware of any studies that have focused explicitly on the evaluation of teaching by sociologists, but other studies that have addressed gender effects on teaching evaluations generally might be instructive. While most research finds that women are evaluated as positively, or in some cases more positively, than men teachers at the university level, some studies suggest that women and men are evaluated according to different criteria (Andersen and Miller 1997; Baker and Copp 1997; Basrow 1998; Statham et al. 1991). Women can have a more difficult time establishing their status as knowledgeable authorities, and students expect more nurturance and concern from women professors in comparison to men. When women fail to provide such nurturance or when they grade students stringently, they are judged more harshly by students than are men professors. Since women sociologists are located disproportionately in the types of institutions that involve more teaching and presumably greater emphasis on teaching effectiveness in evaluations for hiring, tenure, promotion, and salary, teaching might be of particular importance to women sociologists.

Our concerns about everyday experiences of women in sociology and the visibility and impact of their work are of necessity far more speculative and less backed by comprehensive, systematic evidence in comparison to our portrait of women's status as workers within sociology. Everyday experiences, internal climates, work and family climates, and patterns of recognition of research and teaching contributions can be vitally important factors in women's status in the discipline, and we urge the ASA to undertake more in-depth studies to explore these conditions and their consequences. Thorough exploration of the status of women in the discipline requires analysis not simply of outcomes, but also of processes that support equity or inequity.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee recommends that the CSWS continue to receive support from the ASA. Tracking the status of women in the profession is a vital concern. Past committees have made substantial progress in compiling and updating indicators of women's employment, salary, rank, and promotion patterns in the profession, and it is vital that this monitoring continues. The country has seen vast economic changes in the past decade, and the status of sociology within universities may also be in flux. Some research has suggested that under tight economic times, progress toward equity for women in the labor force generally and in academia in particular has stagnated (Benjamin 2004). It therefore is important to keep monitoring the status of women in the profession. The Committee also recommends that the scope of inquiry of the CSWS be enlarged. While past committees have done an excellent job of tracking women's status as workers in academic sociology, they have not explored work climates for women in the profession nor the visibility and impact of women's sociological work. These are important points to monitor. Ruth Farmer (1993), writing with specific reference to African American women in the discipline, argues that black women have achieved "a place, but not a presence" in academia, meaning that they have been able to enter as participants but have been marginalized as forces for transforming disciplines in fundamental ways. It thus is important to study the impact, and not simply the presence, of women in sociology.

More specifically, the committee recommends the following:

1. Efforts to monitor the status of women as employees in sociology should continue, especially concerning hiring and departure patterns. We don't have a clear understanding of why women assistant professors leave so much more often than men. Given the growing predominance of women in the doctoral labor pool for sociology, we don't fully understand the widespread gender selection process that directs proportionally more men into entry level academic jobs, while also leading women more often to the exit door.
2. The committee urges the American Sociological Association to continue collecting these very valuable data and making them available to this committee and to researchers studying the profession and the discipline.
3. Efforts to monitor the status of women should be broadened so that the impact of gender in combination with other meaningful status such as

race/ethnicity, citizenship status, able-bodied/disabled status, and sexual orientation be explored in sustained research efforts. We are cognizant that issues of confidentiality will be need to be addressed in studying groups that may be numerically small and where efforts will need to be made to insure confidentiality of identity. There should be greater effort to coordinate the research and action efforts of the various Status committees within the ASA that do not erase concerns that might be more central to particular groups and committees.

4. We recommend that data collection efforts be broadened to collect systematic information on the learning and working environments faced by women sociologists and women sociology graduate students. Qualitative evidence, as well as quantitative, evidence may be required to address these issues, and the ASA should support such data collection efforts.
5. Future work of the committee should explore in greater depth the intersection of work and family life for women and men in the profession. Several recent studies suggest that balancing work and family is a difficult issue for many women sociologists, and it might also be difficult for men sociologists. Research should explore whether and how family conflicts might be implicated in later tenure times for women, or in unexplained dropouts from academia among women who seem to be progressing well. Such research could also identify personal strategies and institutional strategies that ease work and family conflicts and make sociological careers accessible to a broader range of entrants.
6. The CSWS should submit to Council ideas for identifying and rewarding departments with stellar records for hiring, nurturing, promoting, and retaining women scholars. Future committees and attempt to discover how these departments have been successful. Successful strategies should be disseminated to other departments, and the ASA should consider an award or other forms of recognition for departments that have excelled in the mentoring and nurturing of women scholars. Other disciplines have such awards, and these might serve as models for an ASA award.
7. The involvement of women and men sociologists in mentoring should be further explored. These studies might explore the experiences of both mentors and protégés and address questions such as whether or not women get adequate mentoring for professional advancement, as well as whether women and men senior scholars contribute comparably to the mentoring of young professionals. The range of specific mentoring practices in sociology have not been explicitly studied by the ASA, but a future committee might wish to explore them in greater depth. The focus usefully might include not only the accessibility and quality of mentoring for women and men, but also the effects of mentoring on later career growth.
8. The fluctuating leadership pattern of women in ASA elected offices is difficult to interpret and bears further watching in the years to come.

Likewise, the consequences of under-representation of women as journal editors are not clear but bears close assessment in the future.

9. The ASA should consider devoting a portion of the funding available through the FAD program, or instituting a new program, for pilot studies of gender equity in the discipline. Such a small grant program might also encourage studies of equity along other, or multiple, lines of social differentiation within the profession. Such a program would revive studies of "The Sociology of Sociology," popular in the mid-1900s but less common nowadays.

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APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF ASA DATA SETS

PhD Tracking Survey

In 1998, the ASA Research and Development Department began a longitudinal study of a cohort of sociologists who received their PhD degrees in U.S. universities between July 1996 and September 1997. The ASA survey was part of a 14-discipline study that was coordinated by the Commission for Professionals in Science and Technology and funded by the National Science Foundation and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. The survey went into the field in February 1988 and obtained a 72 percent rate (for a total of 435 respondents). Women were more likely to respond to this survey than men, US citizens were more likely to respond than non-citizens, and whites were more likely to respond than minorities. Survey topics included education and training, resources and mentoring, job search, employment characteristics, employment history, job satisfaction, salaries, scholarly productivity, and demographic and family characteristics. The ASA Research Department conducted brief follow-up studies in 1999 and 2001, asking about job and family change. There was an 80 percent response rate for each of the two follow-up surveys. In 2003, the ASA research department conducted a more elaborate study of this cohort, known as the PhD +6. Along with previously asked questions, the Research Department asked about current job status, access to resources, and access to family/work policies.

ASA 2000-2001 Survey of Baccalaureate and Graduate Programs in Sociology

This survey represented the first time in 10 years that the ASA Research And Development Department collected information on sociology undergraduate programs and the first time in 4 years since it collected information on graduate departments. Survey questions reflect discussions with and feedback from chairs of sociology departments. This is one of the few surveys in which the department is the unit of analysis. The questionnaire asks about the various types of departments and multidisciplinary units as well as information on timely issues such as enrollments, majors, degree production, demographic characteristics of students and faculty, stipends, salaries, course loads, department growth, and student evaluation. Surveys were sent to the universe of sociology programs that granted Bachelor's degrees, based on the

It is important for chairs to be able to compare their departments with "peer" departments. To implement a survey that responded to chairs' and other users' data needs, the ASA Research Program needed a list of the universe of programs. The National Center for Educational Statistics' 1997-98 Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) Completions Survey (the most recent year available at the time) of all institutions that had granted at least one BA degree in sociology during AY 1997-1998 was merged with the ASA department file and then all the mismatches were verified and either included or excluded. This method produced a universe of 1,093 programs that granted a minimum of a bachelors-level degree in sociology. The final survey was mailed in January 2002 to department and program chairs. Although the date on the survey form was listed as AY 2001-2002, in fact the data requested was for AY 2000-2001 and fall semester 2001.

Responses were slow as a result of the length and complexity of the survey. Between January and October 2002, ASA and the Center for Survey Research at Indiana University sent follow-up letters and e-mails and made phone calls to chairs, new chairs, and department administrative assistants. The final response rate of nearly 56 percent (617 departments),

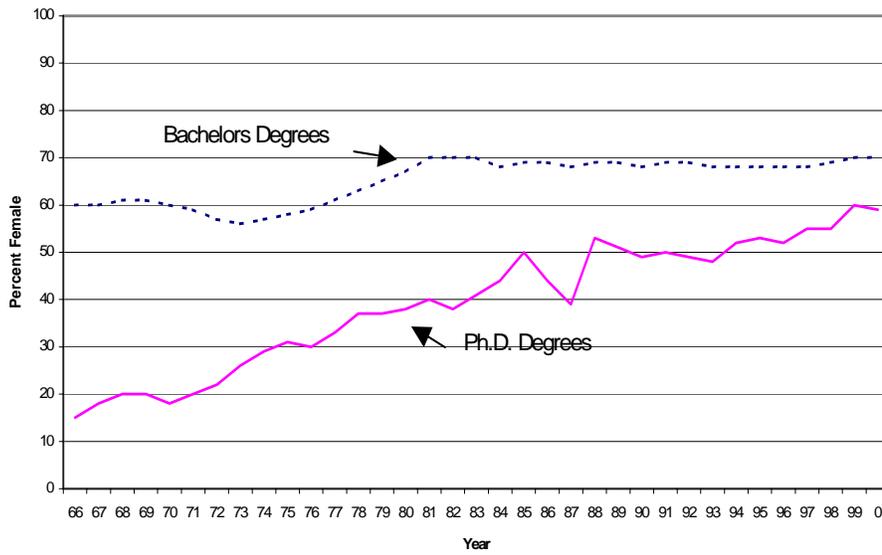
overall, was higher than department surveys sent by other disciplinary societies. Response rates varied by type of institution. As a result, responses were weighted. Despite weighting, the results do not represent the full universe of sociology departments and programs; therefore, the total counts (rather than the means or medians) of students and faculty are undercounts.

The 1994 version of the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education was used to group departments into peer groups, while ensuring the promised confidentiality to individual departments. This classification method was selected over others (such as department size) because a convenience sample of chairs preferred this approach. Thus, in this report, all departments in a particular type of institution are considered "peer departments."

Membership Data Base

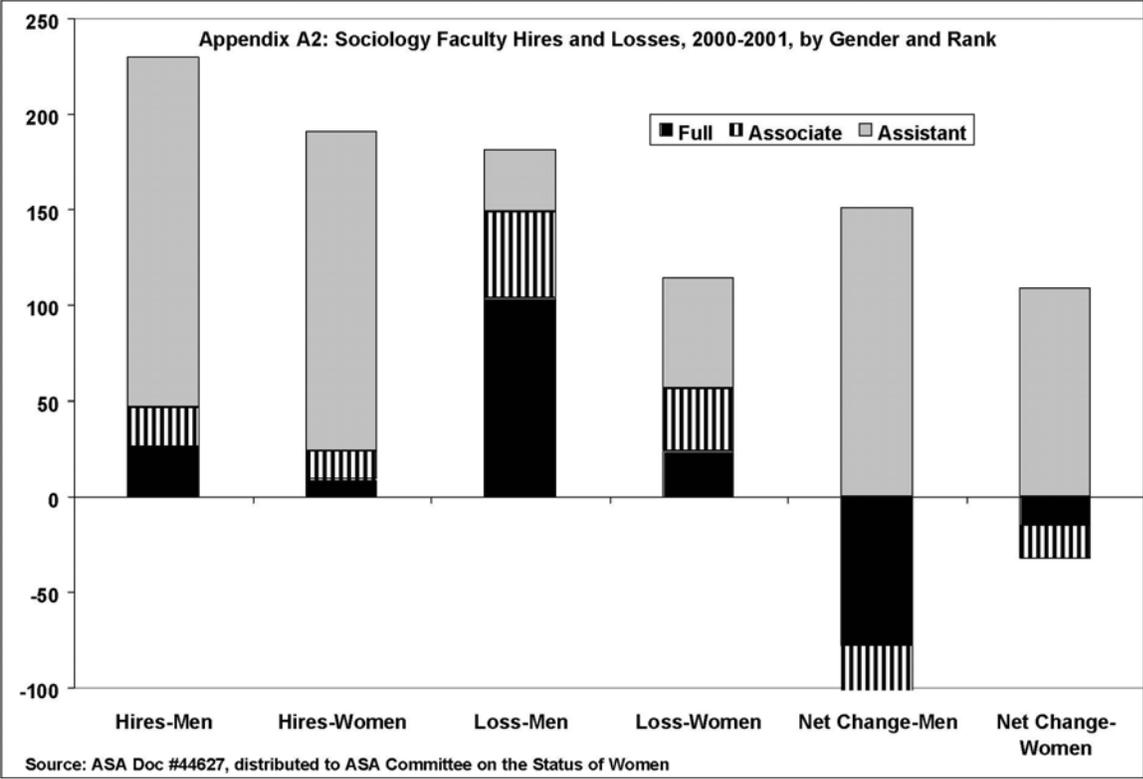
Beginning in 1999 the Research and Development Department's staff begin to create an annual SPSS membership database for research and policy purposes containing demographic, education, employment and other membership information. Prior to this point, the new information entered into the membership database overwrote old information. As a result, time series that used the changing characteristics of individual members could not be produced. The post-1999 research membership data-base is extracted annually from the data collected on the membership application form. A common identifier links members across the years. In 2003, the research staff added member revenue data (including dues, journal subscriptions, section memberships, meeting expenses, donations, and other miscellaneous expenses) into these annual membership databases, for membership years 2001 and 2003. This fall a data set for membership year 2004 will be produced.

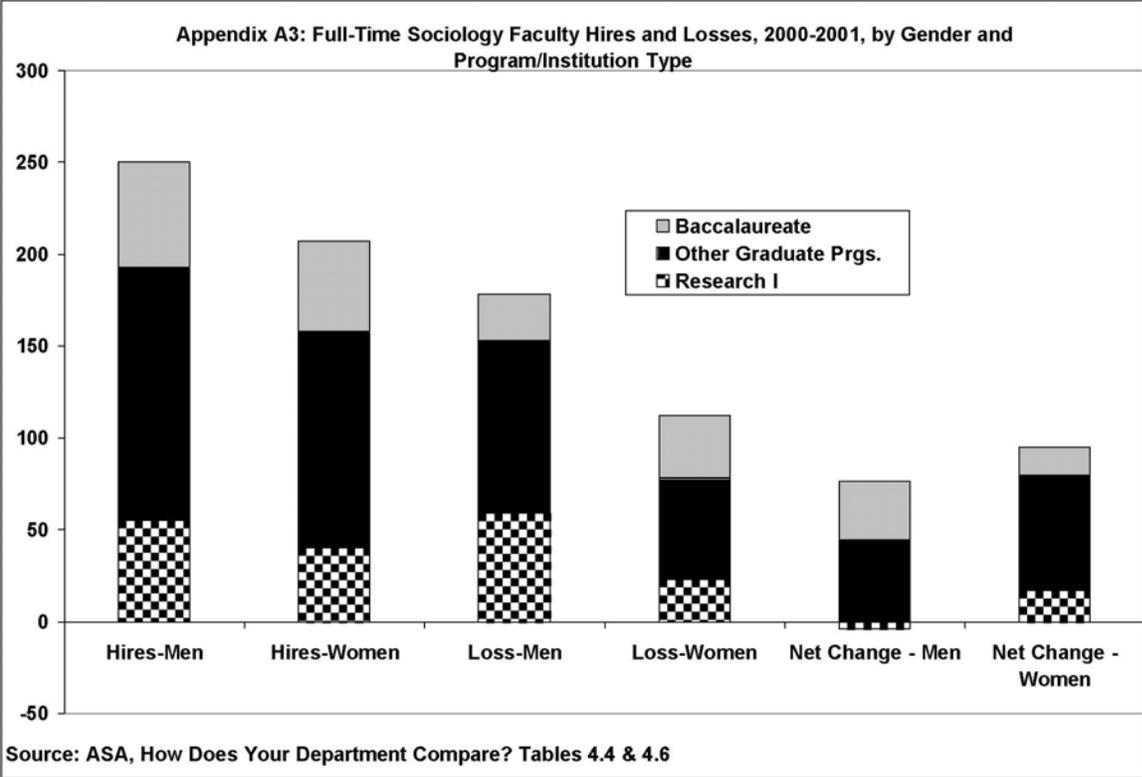
Appendix Figure A.1. Women's Percentage of Sociology Degrees, 1966-2000



Appendix Table A1.
Type of Employment by Gender for ASA Members with
Doctorates in 2001

<u>Type of Employment</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
Postdoctoral Fellowship	2%	1%
Academic/Teaching	77	78
Research	10	12
Administration	6	7
Applied/Non-research	2	2
Other/Non-sociology	1	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
(N)	(1757)	(2871)





Appendix Table A. 2. ASA Section Membership by Gender and Membership Type, 2000 and 2003.

ASA Section		2000			2003		
		% Women of Regular (Student) Members	N of Regular (Student) Members	% Women Rank (High to Low)	% Women of Regular (Student) Members	N of Regular (Student) Members	% Women Rank (High to Low)
Undergraduate Education ¹	Regular	56.5	253	7	55.8	360	10
	Student	64.4	45	16	75.2	113	6
Methodology	Regular	29.0	214	35	26.7	221	40
	Student	55.1	69	26	55.6	99	28
Medical Sociology	Regular	56.0	352	8	57.5	520	7
	Student	79.8	188	4	71.5	267	11
Crime, Law, and Deviance	Regular	36.3	248	28	35.6	312	30
	Student	54.0	113	27	56.8	229	26
Sociology of Education	Regular	43.3	277	19	43.8	354	21
	Student	65.8	111	14	69.0	210	14
Family	Regular	65.5	365	3	67.5	443	3
	Student	82.8	151	3	78.9	213	2
Organizations, Occupations, and Work	Regular	49.5	483	13	49.4	534	15
	Student	59.4	192	22	63.1	279	19
Theory	Regular	28.1	324	37	29.9	374	37
	Student	47.4	95	34	37.3	158	39
Sex and Gender	Regular	89.6	480	1	90.3	567	1
	Student	86.1	245	2	85.0	387	1
Community and Urban Sociology	Regular	37.0	273	27	40.1	362	27
	Student	65.1	106	15	59.9	177	23
Social Psychology	Regular	43.8	297	18	45.2	330	18
	Student	60.9	128	20	61.8	220	21
Peace, War, and Social Conflict	Regular	40.5	116	20	41.5	135	24
	Student	41.2	34	37	59.7	72	24
Environment and Technology	Regular	40.2	179	21	41.2	204	25
	Student	47.5	80	33	62.5	96	20
Marxist Sociology	Regular	28.7	150	36	31.1	219	36
	Student	40.9	44	38	43.8	130	36
Sociological Practice	Regular	50.8	128	11	44.7	141	19
	Student	64.3	14	6	77.1	35	5
Sociology of Population	Regular	46.3	214	15	48.6	280	16
	Student	53.2	62	28	71.7	99	10
Political Economy of the World System	Regular	27.5	171	38	32.2	214	33
	Student	52.7	74	13	43.1	116	38
Aging and the Life Course	Regular	59.3	216	5	60.1	318	6
	Student	71.6	88	8	78.7	108	3
Sociology of Mental Health	Regular	44.9	196	16	50.0	216	14
	Student	75.3	77	6	43.8	117	13
Collective Behavior and Social Movements	Regular	39.9	263	23	40.8	333	26
	Student	53.8	130	28	56.9	203	30
Racial and Ethnic Minorities	Regular	50.7	304	12	52.0	377	12
	Student	66.7	126	13	59.7	245	18

(cont'd)

Table A. 2. ASA Section Membership by Gender and Membership Type, 2000 and 2003 -- cont'd.

ASA Section		2000			2003		
		% Women of Regular (Student) Members	N of Regular (Student) Members	% Women Rank (High to Low)	% Women of Regular (Student) Members	N of Regular (Student) Members	% Women Rank (High to Low)
Comparative and Historical Sociology	Regular	32.0	294	30	32.0	316	35
	Student	53.6	97	29	52.2	178	29
Political Sociology	Regular	31.2	292	32	33.9	304	32
	Student	58.5	130	23	49.2	197	33
Asia and Asian America	Regular	51.4	148	10	56.8	162	8
	Student	67.6	68	12	70.3	118	12
Sociology of Emotions	Regular	48.9	135	14	53.7	134	11
	Student	78.2	55	5	71.9	64	9
Sociology of Culture	Regular	38.8	389	25	42.2	483	22
	Student	61.5	182	19	56.9	343	25
Science, Knowledge, and Technology	Regular	38.0	163	26	44.4	189	20
	Student	64.4	101	17	50.7	140	31
Sociology and Computers	Regular	23.7	93	40	32.1	81	34
	Student	45.2	31	35	46.8	47	35
Latino/a Sociology	Regular	39.0	100	24	50.7	144	13
	Student	68.8	48	11	72.2	97	8
Sociology of Alcohol and Drugs	Regular	44.3	106	17	41.9	155	23
	Student	58.3	36	24	65.6	61	17
Sociology of Children ²	Regular	65.4	162	4	65.0	200	4
	Student	71.7	53	7	74.8	103	7
Sociology of Law	Regular	40.1	137	22	45.9	159	17
	Student	60.0	60	21	60.0	120	22
Rational Choice ³	Regular	24.5	98	39	29.5	95	38
	Student	36.4	22	39	25.0	16	40
Sociology of Religion	Regular	29.4	231	33	34.4	279	31
	Student	57.7	97	25	56.0	159	27
International Migration	Regular	52.3	153	9	56.0	200	9
	Student	71.2	59	9	68.8	112	15
Race, Gender, and Class	Regular	74.2	283	2	76.3	375	2
	Student	87.0	208	1	78.0	350	4
Mathematical Sociology	Regular	14.4	90	41	14.4	97	41
	Student	34.5	29	40	19.2	26	41
Sociology of Sexualities	Regular	57.3	103	6	62.2	156	5
	Student	69.2	78	10	66.7	162	16
History of Sociology	Regular	31.3	131	31	38.0	92	29
	Student	25.0	16	41	47.8	23	34
Economic Sociology	Regular	29.1	206	34	28.0	279	39
	Student	43.6	101	36	43.4	198	37
Labor and Labor Movements	Regular	35.7	140	29	38.7	199	28
	Student	53.4	58	30	50.6	89	32
Animals and Society	Regular	N/A	N/A	N/A	60.2	123	N/A
	Student	N/A	N/A	N/A	75.8	66	N/A
Ethnomethodology/Conversational Analysis ⁴	Regular	N/A	N/A	N/A	48.8	127	N/A
	Student	N/A	N/A	N/A	77.8	54	N/A
All Members	Regular	45.0	6,852	N/A	46.9	6,420	N/A
	Student	64.6	3,146	N/A	64.6	4,051	N/A
¹ Named Teaching and Learning in 2003.							
² Named Children and Youth in 2003.							
³ Rationality and Society in 2003.							
⁴ In formation in 2003.							