The Persistence of Male Power and Prestige in the Professions: Report on the Professions of Law, Medicine, and Science & Engineering*

Gender inequality maintains a tenacious grip on the American workplace. Post-recession, men continue to be more likely than women to retain the lion’s share of power. This holds true even within the professions requiring the most education, where some might imagine the potential for parity would be greatest. This social scientific report and set of three case studies from the Center for Research on Gender in the Professions show that, among those at the pinnacle of power, women still lag behind men. Recent claims by journalists and pundits have exaggerated the strides women have made in recent years. In contrast, this report documents the spectrum of power in the service economy. Women are common in the lower-paying service occupations, while men continue to dominate the professions. There are many interlocking reasons for these patterns and no simple solution to this problem. We conclude with practical steps that could help move our country toward a more positive future.

The Decline of Men? Not So Fast!

Books by journalists Hanna Rosin (The End of Men) and Liza Mundy (The Richer Sex) have been especially emphatic in the decline of men story.

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Center photo: Daniel Sone, National Cancer Institute.

1Please see “The Decline of Men? Not So Fast!” at http://crgp.ucsd.edu for an extended list of the loudest voices in the “End of Men” debate.
Their points have been echoed by *New York Times* columnist David Brooks. These authors claim that women are overtaking men in the labor market, and that these changes are seeping into personal relationships as well.

**Economic Changes in Industries**

Economic changes are a large part of the “decline of men” narrative. For decades, working-class men have been hurt by the outsourcing of jobs in the manufacturing sector, which had afforded them a solidly middle-class lifestyle. What remained in the United States was a diverse array of service sector jobs. These include high-skilled technology and professional positions (for which most working-class men were ill-equipped) and low-paid service positions (Egan 2005). Men’s jobs – particularly in construction, manufacturing, and high finance – were hard-hit in the 2008 recession (Rosin 2012).

The picture painted by the media is that women are thriving in this new economy, often at the expense of men. Rosin notes that men are unwilling to enter many of the service occupations experiencing job growth, such as education, nursing or retail, which are viewed as “women’s jobs.” This claim assumes that women now have access to a wealth of jobs for which they do not need to compete with men. **However, this focus on the shift to a women-friendly “service economy” ignores the fact that there is a spectrum of power within the service economy. Women predominate in the lower-paying service occupations (IWPR 2013a) while men dominate the highest-paid positions within the service sector: the professions.**

We offer three reports on the prestigious service occupations of law, medicine, and science and technology. Women are under-represented in all three professions. They are rarest in the most powerful sectors and at the highest levels. In science and engineering, women make up only 21% of scientists and engineers employed in business and industry. In science-related university departments, women hold 36% of adjunct and temporary faculty positions, but only 28% of tenure-track and 16% of full professor positions. In the medical profession, women are only 34% of physicians, while they are 91% of registered nurses. In law firms, although women make up 45% of associates, they are only 15% of equity partners (see Case Studies for citations).

**Gender Wage Gap**

In *The Richer Sex*, Liza Mundy contends that the United States will soon experience a “Big Flip,” or a reversal of gender roles that will leave women as household breadwinners. Mundy maintains that the pattern of women out-earning their husbands and male partners occurs across different races, socioeconomic classes, and geographic regions. Similarly, Rosin claims that “[i]t’s not hard to imagine a time when the prevailing dynamic in town might be female bosses shutting men out of the only open jobs” (Rosin 2012: 5).

In stark contrast to Mundy’s and Rosin’s claims about the stability of women out-earning men across races, the gender wage gap has actually remained relatively constant at about 23% for the past decade. Overall, the movement in earlier decades in the direction of gender pay equality has stalled. When we look at the gender gap by race, we see even more shocking results: there is a gap of about 45% between the earnings of Hispanic or Latina women and those of white men (Hegewisch and Edwards 2012: 3; see also IWPR 2013a).
Women predominate in the lower-paying service occupations while men dominate the professions.

Labor Force Participation

The authors of the “decline of men” thesis over-report women’s labor force participation. While they cite the increase in the number of jobs held by women, they neglect to acknowledge that women’s jobs are far more likely to be part-time. As detailed in our reports, a 2006 survey of physicians under age 50 found that 24% of women but only 2% of men reported working part-time at some point. Additionally, while only 6% of all lawyers work “part-time” (defined as 80% of full-time practice), 73% of those who do are women. Shifting to part-time status has numerous potential consequences for attorneys, including disadvantageous compensation policies, barriers that prevent part-time partners from achieving equity status, and doubts about their professional commitment.

In contrast to media accounts of the decline of men, women and men have regained well over half of the jobs lost and are continuing to recover from the recession (IWPR 2013b). Overall, dire predictions of the decline of men have not materialized.

College Attendance

The “decline of men” advocates try to explain the supposed increase in women’s labor force participation by pointing to rising female college attendance. Mundy notes that women now earn more college degrees than men (NPR 2012), and Rosin argues that women make up about two-thirds of the population of community college students throughout the country (2012: 4). However, increases in college attendance do not translate directly to increases in occupational equality. This focus on broad attendance and graduation rates overlooks how gender segregation in college majors perpetuates the gender inequality in the workplace today (Coontz 2012).

Rosin mistakenly claims that such segregation is about “women making intelligent decisions about what jobs are available in this economy” (Slate 2012). Rosin claims that these decisions are “rational,” arguing that women choose majors and jobs with one eye on the economy and one eye on the possibility for flexible work arrangements. This argument ignores the age-old patterns of gender segregation at work, which are reinforced by employers and co-workers alike. Further, Rosin fails to acknowledge that these supposedly more flexible jobs that many women “choose” are often paid significantly less. She also does not address the problem that men largely occupy the most prestigious and demanding jobs, even while having families. Why should women be the only ones to sacrifice high pay for work-family balance?
Our three case studies illustrate the fallacy of emphasizing attendance in community college and bachelor’s programs, while neglecting what happens afterward. For example, the field of science and engineering is rife with internal segregation, with women occupying less than 20% of graduate programs in computer science and engineering. We see attrition throughout the academic pipeline. At each increasing level of advanced training, the proportion of women students declines. Our case studies carefully document the large, persistent gender gaps in the fields of science and engineering, medicine, and law.

In fact, increases in representation of women earning professional degrees in medicine, law, and science and engineering have largely stagnated in the 2000s. Although the share of medical degrees earned by women had increased dramatically in the second half of the 20th century, there has actually been a slight decline in the percentage of degrees earned by women from 2006-2011. During this period, the rate of women earning PhDs in the fields of science and engineering has also slowed, and the share of women’s bachelor degrees has stagnated or declined. Additionally, women’s share of law degrees has been leveling off under the 50% mark for decades, and it even declined slightly since 2004. Further, despite near parity in education, women are still markedly underrepresented in law careers past the entry level. The “End of Men” story celebrates women’s increasing share of associate’s and bachelor’s degrees while overlooking where they subsequently end up: in occupations with less power and lower pay.

**Gendered Beliefs**

Mundy argues that the recession’s male job loss has led to shifting family dynamics, with men taking on more household responsibilities (NPR 2012).

Additionally, Rosin claims that we are entering an “era of female dominance” in the new service economy. She states further that “[w]omen make up about half the workforce and the majority of college degrees – which these days is the prerequisite to success in this world. But ... I discovered that this had seeped into the fabric of our lives – our intimate relationships, our marriages, all the decisions we make in life – and that was the big surprise in reporting the book” (2012). However, this argument misstates the facts.

As Rosin herself notes in her New York Times piece, men are reluctant to take jobs that are not “manly” enough. There is also little weight behind Mundy’s concerns about the impending reversal of gender roles. As cited in The Economist’s (2012) review of Rosin’s book, only 3% of men have become primary caregivers to their children while their wives become primary breadwinners, a far cry from Mundy’s “Big Flip” in gender roles.

Gendered beliefs are deeply ingrained in our culture. Organizational and occupational cultures can be deeply masculine and unwelcoming to women (Blair-Loy 2003; Turco 2010). Widespread cultural stereotypes about men and women also contribute to women’s under-representation in male-dominated professions. Cultural beliefs about the jobs men and women are “naturally” good at help direct men into—and women away from—male-dominated professions. These are often
called “gender essentialist” beliefs (Charles 2011), and they are buttressed by the popularity of “Men are from Mars and Women are from Venus” accounts of gender difference (Kimmel 2000). For example, gender essentialist beliefs include the notion that women are “by nature” better communicators and better caretakers than men, and that men are more “technologically minded” and better at logical thinking than women. These beliefs have consequences for the types of college majors and professions that young men and women are encouraged to pursue by their parents, teachers, and peers (Cech 2012; Faulkner 2000). The ubiquity of these cultural beliefs helps reproduce the lack of women in male-dominated professions and the lack of men in female-dominated occupations.

A Path to Parity in Power?

Despite equal rights legislation of the 1960s and 1970s, we see a spectrum of power in which women are disadvantaged in the professions. Gender inequities are less likely to stem from outright and explicit discrimination today than 40 years ago. Instead, they are created through subtle processes that occur at many different levels and accumulate over time.

First, differential treatment of women and men remains pervasive at the institutional level (Kalev, Dobbin, and Kelly 2006). For example, this occurs in the legal system, in labor-market-wide processes of bias, and in inequalities built into professional credentialing. Second, at the organizational level, firms may, in subtle or direct ways, restrict the hiring and advancement of women (Roth 2006). Further, organization members often make pre-cognitive distinctions between men and women that can translate into cognitive biases (Correll et al. 2007; Ridgeway 2011). Third, our culture encourages women at the individual level to take on more family caregiving and housework (Blair-Loy 2003; Stone 2007). All of these factors lead some women to develop less confidence in their professional abilities.

Anne-Marie Slaughter’s personal reflection on her high-level work for the State Department (“Why Women Still Can’t Have It All,” The Atlantic) illustrates processes at these different levels of analysis. She holds that being able to balance parenthood and professional life is entirely contingent upon what type of job a woman or a man has. Slaughter argues that to truly improve women’s lives and overcome what economists Justin Wolfers and Betsey Stevenson call the “new gender gap” in well-being, we must close the leadership gap in addition to the gender gap in wages. Slaughter laments the fact that women are often criticized for “not dreaming big enough.” Society tends to blame women for their limited ambitions and their concerns over timing the formation of a family. These attitudes overlook workplace constraints on women’s success, including the culture of “time macho” that encourages employees to be the last one to leave the office to prove their devotion, assumptions that parenting will negatively impact job
performance (but other activities will not), and the expectation that work is performed by workers constantly physically present in an office. Further, Slaughter emphasizes the need for organizations to utilize the many technologies available for working away from the office.

Factors at each level undercut women’s opportunities and participation in male-dominated fields. The sheer number and complexity of these factors means that there is no simple solution—no one policy measure may solve these inequities once and for all.

The “End of Men” story celebrates women’s increasing share of associate’s and bachelor’s degrees while overlooking where they subsequently end up: in occupations with less power and lower pay.

Potential for a Positive Future

The first step toward positive change is to see through the myth of the “end of men.” Then, there are opportunities for positive change at the levels of institutions, organizations, and individual careers. At the institutional level, the legal system can better adapt to prosecute discrimination on the basis of cultural biases. For example, legal precedents for dealing with “flexibility bias” (bias against employees who need flexibility to care for families) are already being set (Williams and Bornstein 2008). At the organizational level, employers can make hiring and promotion processes more transparent (Castilla 2008). They can also develop practices that encourage active reflection and discussion regarding cognitive biases and cultural mandates of work devotion that might disadvantage women (Corrince 2009; Williams, Blair-Loy, and Berdahl 2013). At the individual level, affordable quality childcare could lessen the conflict that many women feel between professional careers and childcare responsibilities. Outreach and mentorship programs can help build confidence and skills while encouraging young women to aspire to and persist in male-dominated professions.

The attached case studies provide detailed social scientific information about the status of women in three male-dominated professions: law, medicine, and science and technology.

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The UCSD Center for Research on Gender in the Professions

Our mission is to increase the understanding of gender inequality and gender equity in the professions, in business, and in other demanding careers. We foster rigorous social scientific research that advances basic knowledge and supports the efforts of employers and policy makers to create more equitable and productive workplaces. We promote interdisciplinary conversations to integrate what is currently known about gender, work, and family and to assess future directions for exploration. We take into account that men’s and women’s professional opportunities are shaped by race, ethnicity, nationality and sexual identity as well as gender. We promote in-depth studies of particular professions as well as broader comparative research across different professions and societies. We also support the work of young scholars in order to contribute to the continuing vitality of gender research.

Please visit http://crgp.ucsd.edu

References

EDUCATION:
Women’s dramatic gains in earning law degrees since the 1950s have stagnated.

*Figure 1: % J.D. or LL.B. Degrees Awarded to Women: 1956-2010*

- In 1956, women earned 3% of the total J.D. and LL.B. degrees conferred. In 2004, the proportion of women earning law degrees peaked at 49%. However, since that time, women’s representation has declined and was only 47% in 2010.¹

LEGAL CAREERS:
Women have earned 40% or more of all law degrees for the past 24 years and 45% or more for the past 12 years. Despite this near parity in education, women are still sharply underrepresented in law careers beyond the entry level.

- In 1951, 3% of all lawyers in the United States were women.² By 2012, this figure had risen to 33%.³,⁴ However, among new lawyers, the proportion of women has recently stagnated.
- Women make up 45% of associates and 55% of staff attorneys in law firms.⁵,⁶ However, there are far fewer women in the most senior and prestigious positions, e.g. only 15% of equity partners are women.⁶
- Women are only 20% of Fortune 500 and 16% of Fortune 501-1000 general counsels.⁴
- 77% of firms have only 1 or 2 female members of their highest governing committees (which have a median number of 10 members total). 11% of firms have zero women on such committees.⁶
- Women are 30% of active District Court judges and 31% of active U.S. Courts of Appeals judges.⁷ They have 27% of federal and state judgeships.⁴
- Within law schools, women make up only 21% of Deans.⁴
- Only 6% of all lawyers work “part-time” (defined as 80% of full-time practice). Of those who work part-time, over 70% are women.⁸ Disadvantageous compensation policies, firm policies that prevent part-time partners from achieving equity status, and doubts about attorneys’ commitment are potential consequences of reducing to part-time status.⁹
- Similar proportions of women and men associations—about 50%—leave their firms at some point. However, almost 1/3 of these women leave firm practice altogether at the associate stage, compared to less than 20% of the men. Of these pre-partner women who leave firm practice, over 50% shift to work as lawyers in corporate law offices or government or non-profit organizations, and 22% leave the job market altogether.¹⁰
- In Massachusetts, for example, 15% of women, compared to 1% of men, leave partnerships in law firms for reasons such as poor professional opportunities, long work hours, work load pressures, and difficulty integrating work and family life.¹⁰

GENDER PAY GAP:
- Overall, women lawyers earn 87% of the income earned by men (on average); working women in general make 81% of working men’s salaries.¹¹,¹² An exhaustive analysis finds that, among new full-time private practice attorneys, there is a gender wage gap of 5%. Most of the gap persists, even when controlling for credentials, hours worked, legal specialty, networking, firm size and market, and family status.¹²
- Among the 200 most profitable firms, women equity partners earn 86% of their male counterparts within the same firm.¹³
- In 2010, at the entry-level, attorneys working for public interest organizations earned roughly half of those working in private practice, regardless of firm size.¹⁵ Women are more than twice as likely as men to work in the lower-paid public interest fields.¹⁴

DISCRIMINATION AND JOB MOBILITY:
- Close to ¼ of women lawyers consider harassment to be an issue in their workplace.¹⁵
- While women’s and men’s hiring rates for entry-level positions are approximately equal in most law firms, the
average promotion rate for women is only slightly more than half of that for men. Firms are more likely to hire women laterally as partners than they are to promote their own women associates to partnership.16 When a female hiring partner is present, an entry-level woman’s odds of being hired into a firm increases by 13%. This female hiring partner effect disappears when the hire is lateral.12

RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY:

• People of color made up 25% of law school students in academic year 2011-2012. 17
• 48% of African American lawyers work in private law firms, compared to about 2/3 of whites. 27% of African American lawyers work in state and local government, compared to 16% of white lawyers.18
• In 2011, people of color were 20% of all associates but only 7% of all partners.20 Minority men are 9% of associates and 5% of the partners at law firms.20 Minority women make up 11% of associate positions but only 2% of law firm partners.20
• 44% of women of color, compared to 39% of white women, 25% of men of color, and 2% of white men, reported being denied desirable work assignments.21
• Among law firms employing associates, 16% have no associates who are African American, Hispanic, Native American, Asian, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, or multi-racial.21
• African American, Hispanic, and Native American attorneys make less money than their white counterparts.21 Across all professional markets and job settings, African American attorneys earn 93%, Hispanics make 96%, and Native Americans earn 74% of what whites make, while Asians earn salaries that are 114% of that of whites.20

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON GENDER IN THE PROFESSIONS

Medical Professions: The Status of Women and Men*

EDUCATION:
- The share of medical degrees earned by women increased from 5% in 1952 to 48% in 2011 (see Figure 1). Since 2006, the percentage of degrees earned by women has dropped slightly.1, 2

![Figure 1. Percent Women Among Medical Student Graduates, 1952-2011](image)

MEDICAL PRACTICE:
- Women continue to be underrepresented in medical practice. In 2010, women were 34% of physicians and surgeons in the United States; however, women were 91% of registered nurses in 2011.4
- Women physicians are less likely to have ownership in the practice where they work. In 2004, 41% of women owned at least part of their practice, compared to 59% of men.5
- Among physicians, women work 7 hours per week fewer than men, on average. A 2006 survey of physicians under 50 found that 24% of women physicians and 2% of men reported working part-time at some point.6

SEGREGATED SPECIALTIES:
- Women are only 29% of all physicians, yet they are overrepresented in traditionally lower-paying specialties. Pediatrics is the only specialty in which women are the majority (55%).3, 7
- Women have the lowest representation in surgery. In 2005, women were less than 6% of each orthopedic, thoracic, urological and neurological surgeons.5
- Even as more women enter the occupation, gender segregation among specialties remains constant. The index of dissimilarity (the percentage of women or men who need to change specialties in order to achieve equal gender distribution) has hovered around 25% since 1985.5

GENDER PAY GAP:
- Women physicians and surgeons make 79% of what their male colleagues earn; overall, working women earn 81% of their male counterparts.8, 9 In 2011, women’s annual median earnings were $21,216 less than men’s.3
- Even though women are the majority of pediatricians, they earn only 66% of what male pediatricians earn.5
- Women also earn less than men in the higher-paying specialties. For example, women gastroenterologists make 79% of what their male counterparts earn.6
- The income disparity between men and women physicians remains even when controlling for age, specialty and hours worked.5 This remaining income gap is not yet fully understood.
ACADEMIC MEDICINE:

- The percentage of women medical school faculty has increased from 26% in 1997 to 37% in 2012.\(^6\)\(^,\)\(^9\) However, women make up only 20% of full professors (see Table 1).\(^6\)
- In 2007, 14 of 124 medical school deans were women. Deans are usually chosen from medical department chairs, but in 2007, only 10 women were medical department chairs.\(^10\)
- As in medical practice, gender segregation is pervasive in academia. For example, women are 54% of professors in obstetrics & gynecology but only 15% of professors in orthopedic surgery. Most of these women orthopedic surgeons are in the lower ranks of academia; women make up 19% of assistant professors, 13% of associate professors and 7% of full professors in orthopedic surgery.\(^5\)
- Even among physician researchers awarded prestigious NIH grants, women receive lower salaries than men. This inequality persists when studies control for specialty, institutional characteristics, productivity, academic rank, work hours, and other factors.\(^14\)

| Table 1. Percentages of Women in Levels of Academic Medicine \(^1\), \(^5\), \(^6\), \(^10\) |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| Medical School Applicants | 48% |
| Medical School Graduates | 48% |
| Residents (2011) | 46% |
| Assistant Professors | 42% |
| Associate Professors | 31% |
| Full Professors | 26% |
| Deans (2007) | 11% |

RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY:

- Racial and ethnic minorities made up 37% of medical school graduates in 2011.\(^12\) The rest of the medical field is less diverse. Minority physicians were 29% of all physicians and 26% of medical school faculty who reported their race or ethnicity (see Figure 2).\(^3\), \(^14\)
- In academic medicine, racial and ethnic minorities are particularly under-represented at the full-professor level. 37% of white faculty members are assistant professors, while 50% or more of African American, Asian, and Hispanic academic physicians are assistant professors. 31% of whites are full professors, but only 11% of African American, 16% of Asian and 19% of Hispanic academic physicians have reached the level of full professor.\(^13\)


EDUCATION:
At each increasing level of advanced training, the proportion of female science and engineering (S&E) degree recipients declines (Figure 1). Moreover, the decades-long trend of women’s increasing representation among S&E BS and PhD degree holders has stalled in recent years (Figure 3).

![Figure 1: Percent Women among People with Bachelors, PhDs and Postdocs in Science and Engineering Fields](image)

SCIENCE & ENGINEERING CAREERS:
Women are increasingly under-represented at each stage of the career ladder in both industry and academia:

Glass ceilings for women in industry:
Women are under-represented in science and engineering management positions, compared with their overall representation in these industries:
- In 2008, women scientists and engineers employed in business or industry held 20% of all management and 15% of non-S&E top-level management positions, compared with their 21% representation in S&E business and industry overall.  
- Women held only 6% of engineering management and 20% of computer and information systems management positions.  

Among S&E doctorate holders in academia (science & engineering, excluding social science and psychology):
- Women obtained 41% of S&E doctorates in 2010 and 33% of postdoc positions.  
- Women made up a higher percentage of people employed in temporary positions than of those in tenure-track positions in 2006: Women held 36% of S&E adjunct faculty positions, but only 28% of tenure-track and 16% of full professor positions.  
- Women are only 19% of faculty in all S&E fields (and only 9% of all engineering faculty).  

Although social science has more women than S&E, female representation declines at each successively higher academic level:
- Women obtained 47% of social science and 70% of psychology doctorates in 2010 but only held 47% of social science and 54% of psychology postdoc positions.  
- Women were over-represented among people in temporary academic positions in 2006: Women held 62% of social science and psychology adjunct faculty positions, but only 52% of tenure-track and 30% of full professor positions.  

GENDER PAY GAP:
Women in S&E fields earn average yearly salaries of $71,845, while men receive $86,214. Overall, women working full-time in S&E professions earn 86% on average, what their male counterparts do. This is similar to or higher than among lawyers (87%), physicians and surgeons (79%), and among working men and women overall (81%). but the momentum of movement toward income equality gained in the 1970s and 1980s has largely stagnated since the mid-1990s.  

SCIENCE & ENGINEERING COMPARED TO OTHER OCCUPATIONS:
In 2009, women continued to constitute the vast majority of those employed in traditionally female occupations:
- More than three-quarters of registered nurses, therapists, and non-postsecondary teachers were women.  
- Women were about half of people employed in all occupations and half of postsecondary teachers, one-third of lawyers and judges, and 32% of physicians.  
- In science and engineering occupations, in comparison, women were 49% of biological and life scientists, 25% of mathematical and computer scientists, and only 11% of engineers.  


RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY:

African-American, Asian-American, Hispanic and Native American science and engineering professionals are under-represented compared to white professionals among those who earn non-social science bachelor’s degrees, PhDs, and among those currently employed in science and engineering jobs (see Figure 2).

HISTORICAL TRENDS:

Figure 3: Representation of Women among S&E Bachelor’s and PhD Earners, 1949-2011 (Excluding SocSci and Psych)¹,²

Before 1950, women earned less than 10% of all bachelor’s degrees in all of the non-social science Science & Engineering (S&E) fields and less than 5% of all PhDs in these fields (see Figure 3). Women’s representation among bachelor’s and PhD earners gained momentum through the 1970s. Among bachelor’s degree earners, this trend leveled off in the early 1980s but picked up again in the 1990s. However, women’s representation among S&E bachelor’s degree earners has stalled in the 2000s at just below 40%. Women’s representation among PhD earners steadily increased from the 1950s through the early 2000s but appears to have leveled off in recent years.

WORK/LIFE BALANCE ISSUES:

• Married women and women with children experience a promotion gap in science and engineering industries compared to married men with children who work in the same types of jobs.⁹
• In academia, married women with children are 35% less likely to enter a tenure-track position post-PhD than married men with children. Among married parents who do have tenure-track positions, women are 27% less likely than men to achieve tenure.¹⁰ Single mothers receive the largest wage penalty among S&E (and non-S&E) faculty.¹¹


3 Burrell, Joan. 2008. Thirty-Three Years of Women in S&E Faculty Positions. National Science Foundation InfoBrief #08-308.