

Final Report to the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation

for the

Faculty and Families Project The Pennsylvania State University

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Background papers available on-line at <http://lsir.la.psu.edu/workfam/faculty&families.htm>

The Consequences and Costs of Delaying Attempted Childbearing for Women Faculty (Varner)

Adoption Issues for Faculty (Yang)

The Changing Face of Care: The Elderly (Varner)

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Final Report to the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation for the Faculty and Families Project

Executive Summary

Introduction

In November of 1999, the President and Provost of The Pennsylvania State University (Penn State) met with senior women faculty at the University Park campus, and incompatibilities between simultaneous commitments to the institution and to families were among the issues raised. Growing out of that meeting, the Faculty and Families project was initiated at Penn State in August of 2000. Major funding was provided by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, with internal funding from the College of the Liberal Arts, the Population Research Institute, the Children, Youth and Families Consortium, and the Office of Human Resources, and with internal endorsements from the Commission for Women and the Women in Sciences and Engineering Institute. Looking mainly at Penn State, the project sought to describe and understand the incompatibilities mentioned above with an eye to improving the ability of faculty to make and meet simultaneous commitments to career and family.

The context for and location of the research is found at Penn State, an institution whose policies and practices are arguably more advanced than most comparable universities. For some examples, tenure-track faculty with new children (including adoptees) are guaranteed paid leave, the tenure clock can be “stopped” (the formal term is “stayed”) for one year in such cases regardless of whether a leave is taken, and on-site child care can be found on four of the larger Penn State campuses. The University Park campus also includes an active program to attract and support dual-career families and coordinates its spring break with the local school district.

Even with this relatively high level of support, there was a perception that the University could and should do more, and that policy oriented research might help guide further efforts. That research, along with the results, is described after a discussion of the framework employed for the project.

Theory

The theoretical framework for the research is located in the “ideal worker” norm discussed by Williams (1999). The ideal worker is someone who enters a profession immediately upon receiving the relevant credential, works his or her way up the career ladder by putting in long hours without interruptions beyond short vacations, and continues in this fashion until retirement age. The ideal worker can contribute financially to the family, but cannot make substantial time commitments to children or other family members without endangering his or her career. Pay and promotion systems, rules around working time, and the beliefs of those from previous

generations who have succeeded as ideal workers and currently manage our organizations, are all built upon the presumption that only ideal workers should be hired, retained, and rewarded.

Although the ideal worker norm developed in settings where only men were measured against this standard (Whyte, 1956), women have since entered positions where they too are expected to serve as ideal workers (Bailyn, 1993; Fletcher, 1999; Hochschild, 1997; Williams, 1999). Williams concludes that this system results in “discrimination” against women because they may experience career failure as a result of being more likely to take on substantial time commitments to family during the years when the ideal worker is typically climbing the career ladder. An important implication of this approach is that, although women are more likely to experience such discrimination, *men who take on substantial caregiving responsibilities will experience the same career difficulties.*

For faculty at U.S. colleges and universities, the ideal worker is someone who receives the terminal degree (typically a Ph.D.) in their late 20s, possibly completes post-doctoral training, and then takes a full-time position as an assistant professor on the tenure track. While on the tenure track, the ideal worker performs a modicum of service work, builds a teaching dossier, and strives to generate research resulting in publication. If an individual performs as an ideal worker, he or she will be granted tenure and promotion, generally at the end of the sixth year. The ideal worker will then strive to generate an additional equivalent or superior record in the years following tenure to achieve promotion from associate to full professor. Although systems of tenure and promotion are the most obvious way in which those who fit the ideal worker norm are rewarded, note that other mechanisms, including pay systems, the scheduling of courses, and the allocation of resources within the institution may play a part. More broadly, peers at other institutions and in professional organizations are likely to reward those who fit the norm with accolades, citations, awards and leadership positions.

Given this background, we would expect that “discrimination” against caregivers of the sort described by Williams would exist at most colleges and universities, and specifically at Penn State. Such “discrimination” would occur not because of any dislike of children or other dependents, but rather because caregiving activities signal that the faculty member is not an ideal worker and is therefore a substandard academic. Such “discrimination” can also explain why even very progressive work/family policies might be unsuccessful: those who utilize the policies may be viewed as uncommitted and, at worst, experience the ultimate failure for an academic in the denial of tenure.

For the project, we developed the notion of “discrimination avoidance,” behaviors intended to minimize any apparent or actual intrusions of family life on academic commitments. The logic for this concept flows from the assumption that faculty members are cognizant of “discrimination” against caregivers, and respond pro-actively by either avoiding commitments to family entirely or by attempting to hide or minimize any apparent effects of family responsibilities on job performance. Such individuals can be viewed as engaging in strategies. Faculty members who successfully apply “discrimination avoidance” strategies will then appear as ideal workers, and enjoy career success.

For two reasons, we believed that women would be more likely to employ “discrimination avoidance” strategies more frequently than men. The first is that women typically perform more childcare than men, so would have a greater fear of “discrimination” and need to hide or minimize childcare commitments. The second reason is that women in the academy may be subject to gender discrimination regardless of parental status (MIT, 1999), such that the appearance of family commitments would be even more risky for women than for men.

The project team gathered a variety of evidence relevant to this theoretical framework.

Research

The research included four components: a benchmarking analysis, a series of focus groups, the collection of data on Penn State faculty hired from 1992 to 1997, and a pilot survey of faculty elsewhere. The research can be summarized as follows:

1. ***Benchmarking analysis for Penn State.*** We began by replicating a policy analysis undertaken earlier by the Families and Work Institute in conjunction with the College and University Personnel Association (Friedman, Rimsky, & Johnson, 1996). However, it seems likely that what amounts to a weighted count of the number of existing work/family policies may be a poor indicator of the extent to which an institution is responsive to family commitments, as noted by Fried (1998) and Hochschild (1997). Three alternative sets of indicators for the status of work and family relations were therefore developed. The first indicator captures the extent to which new parents utilized existing policies for leave, reduced workload and stoppage of the tenure clock. The second indicator captures the degree of gender equity as weighted equally among categories for the percentage of women assistant, associate, and full professors, along with the percentage of women among all new hires. The third set of indicators employed standard survey items used to capture the perceived work/family climate and supervisor support for the work/family commitments of employees. The survey items were later tested as part of the pilot survey effort.
2. ***Focus groups at Penn State.*** A series of 13 focus groups involving Penn State faculty parents were convened. The groups were stratified by the following criteria: gender, tenure status, school or college of employment, and by single versus married parent status. The sample ultimately included 19 men and 34 women. Among the problems identified were many directly related to the ideal worker norm and the extreme demands of the job and institution. As one respondent stated, “... I work as much as possible and the University would make it 24 hours a day.” There was some evidence that work/family conflict varies across departments, disciplines, and schools and colleges, and that “discrimination” against caregiving exist. The evidence, however, mainly seemed to center around “discrimination avoidance” strategies, particularly for faculty women. Such behavior ranged from the sequencing of career and children, to the limiting of family commitments to one child, to not bringing children into the workplace when needed, to returning earlier than was desirable from parental leave. One participant responded negatively when asked whether she knew of any new parents on the Penn State faculty who had been turned down for leave, reduced workload or stoppage of the tenure clock,

then followed up with, "... it is more being afraid to ask." Information from the focus groups was used in development of the pilot survey.

3. ***Patterns of family for new Penn State faculty.*** This portion of the project analyzed human resources data from a sample of over 1,000 faculty hired into Penn State between 1992 and 1997. Approximately half were on the tenure track and the other half were tenured when hired. The evidence did not fit the hypothesis that parents are subject to direct "discrimination" against caregiving, since the rate of attrition among women on the tenure track was only 20.3 percent for mothers as opposed to 39.7 percent for non-mothers (men exhibited a similar pattern). Instead, the evidence was consistent with the frequent appearance of "discrimination avoidance" strategies, particularly for women. Over the 1992–1999 period, the tenure track women faculty had an average of 0.57 children, while the tenure track men averaged 0.95 children. For that same time period, the proportion of multi-child families among tenure track women was 19 percent; the figure dropped to 17 percent for the sample of tenured women. Perhaps of greatest relevance to the notion of "discrimination avoidance" strategies, out of a total of over 500 faculty who became new parents while employed at Penn State, only seven parental leaves were reported between 1992 and 1999, and all of these leaves were taken by women.
4. ***Pilot survey of non-Penn State faculty.*** To avoid any later double sampling of Penn State faculty, a written survey was developed and administered to 329 faculty at another university late in the Fall semester of 2000. A total of 78 surveys were returned for a 23.7% response rate, a rate that was expected given the timing of survey administration. Although reported utilization rates for work/family policies were also low in the sample, results regarding the perceived fairness of work/family policies were more positive. The average respondent was highly supportive of a semester of unpaid leave for new parents on the tenure track and a one year stoppage of the tenure clock, and on-site child care. The only novel policy option receiving this level of support was a reduced workload (with reduced pay) opportunity for tenured faculty with long-term care-giving responsibilities. Reduced workload options for tenure-track faculty received less support, as did subsidies for adoptive parents.

In addition to fairness issues, we also included items on the survey, developed from the focus groups, concerning "discrimination avoidance" strategies. Over 25 percent of the women reported that in order to achieve academic success, they had fewer children than they wished, and an overlapping 25 percent reported waiting until after tenure to have a second child. Over one-half of the women sampled reported that in order to appear highly committed to their jobs, they missed important events when their children were young, while almost two-thirds of the women reported coming back to work sooner than they would have liked following childbirth in order to be taken seriously as an academic. In addition, over 40 percent of the women in the pilot survey reported attempting to time the arrival of new children during the summer break. However, "discrimination avoidance" strategies were not limited to women. Over 40 percent of faculty men responding to the pilot survey wished to but did not ask for parental leave and (in a separate response) to stay the tenure clock following the arrival of a new child. These findings suggest that the

ideal worker norm indeed presents difficulties for both women and men with family commitments.

Conclusions

For those concerned about easing the ability of faculty to contribute to both Penn State and their families, two immediate conclusions might appear to be reasonable, and both might be inappropriate or at least misleading. The first conclusion is that the system of tenure and promotion is responsible for the apparent incompatibility between faculty and family responsibilities. The theory and evidence suggests to us that the system of tenure and promotion is only the most obvious manifestation of the ideal worker norm. Although some tinkering around the edges might be warranted, there is no “magic bullet” in revisions to the tenure system that will eliminate the ideal worker norm and the expectations of faculty built around that norm. The second and related conclusion is the broader claim that changes in policy are needed in response to the problems identified in the research. Although we provide a list of such policy options below, the pervasive nature of the ideal worker norm suggests that changes in the culture, climate, day-to-day practices and expectations across all levels of the University will be required for long-term improvement. Absent such changes, even the most progressive work/family policies will likely be ignored by faculty. By implication, progress over the long term will require the involvement of men as well as women, parents and non-parents, and faculty and non-faculty members of the University community.

With that strong caveat, an abbreviated statement of policy options suggested in the conclusion is as follows:

A) Communicate and Institutionalize Existing Policies:

- i) Establish a culture where leave, tenure-clock staying, and reduced hours for caregivers are the norm. Efforts to improve utilization rates might include:
 - a. Provide prospective or new parents with just-in-time and easily accessible information on Penn State policies and practices on the world-wide web.
 - b. A third party, such as an ombudsman, could be introduced into negotiations for parental leave and reduced workload to provide information and knowledge of successful arrangements in related cases.
 - c. Monitor leave, tenure-clock staying and reduced hours arrangements for new biological or adoptive parents and those responsible for elder care.
 - d. Monitor the perceived work/family climate across the University on an annual basis.
 - e. Include recognition in annual statements by various administrators of units where most new parents use one or more of existing policies.
 - f. Promote and advertise existing policies around dual-career opportunities, parenting, elder care, and family and medical leave.
 - g. Review applicable policies and culture with relevant bodies at Penn State.
- ii) Promote “Family Hours.” Faculty with caregiving responsibilities could take a reduction in salary in exchange for a one course per semester reduction in workload. For those in financial need, a “single caregiver fund” could be developed.
- iii) Provide partially paid, full semester leaves for the semester when a new child is due.

- iv) Make the children of faculty and staff welcome in the workplace. Potential policies include:
 - a. Permit parents among the faculty and staff to bring children to work for short-duration elementary and secondary school closings.
 - b. Permit women to care for young children at work on a regular basis in order to promote breastfeeding.
 - c. Design new buildings or refit of existing buildings to make them friendly to young children and parents.
- v) Make caregiving an issue for faculty women *and* men.

B) Enhance Existing Policies

- i) Make existing policies regarding new parent leave consistent across lines of gender and biological versus adoptive parent status.
- ii) Provide a consistent policy regarding requests for external letters in tenure cases for faculty who stay the tenure clock.
- iii) Shift the burden of requests for parental leave from the faculty member to the University.
- iv) Review policies regarding healthcare insurance benefits for caregivers who elect either a reduced workload or leave of absence.
- v) Establish a Work/Family subcommittee of the Faculty Senate to review policies, practices and culture, and to suggest revisions to policies as necessary.

C) Implement New Policies

- i) Provide handicapped parking privileges to women faculty in cases of a difficult pregnancy or post-pregnancy condition as defined by the individual's personal physician.
- ii) Add child care support in terms of:
 - a. Subsidies for faculty with child care needs, including those associated with non-standard work hours and travel.
 - b. "Flexible" schedules for childcare at Penn State facilities.
 - c. Provisions for sick child care in the home.
 - d. Cooperative initiatives to enhance the quality and number of child care facilities in the various communities associated with Penn State.
- iii) Provide subsidies to help defray the expenses associated with adoption.
- iv) Develop policies for circumstances where tenured faculty are engaged in long-term or potentially long-term caregiving for elders or other dependent family members.

It is worth highlighting the fact that even if a substantial subset of the policies listed above were implemented, improvement in the work and family circumstances of faculty would likely be slow. For substantial improvement, sustained leadership will be required over a long period of time. Leadership in this sense implies a coordinated effort among a combination of relevant individuals and organizations, including the highest levels of administration, but also including various deans and administrative heads, the Office of Human Resources, the Faculty Senate, the Commission for Women, the Women in Science and Engineering Institute and other interested parties. Further, as suggested at various points in the report and the policy recommendations above, successful improvement will likely involve a constituency, and related policies and

practices, that expands well beyond faculty or parents to include administrators, staff and students. Together, these individuals and organizations could move Penn State forward, enabling faculty and other members of the Penn State community to better meet their commitments to the institution and to their families.

I. Background and Hypotheses

Introduction

Stories abound regarding the difficulties faculty face in combining their academic and family commitments. The purpose of this project is to provide substantive research on these issues at Penn State University and to discover potential solutions to any problems thereby identified. The analysis below provides background to the project and the theoretical framework employed.

Background

Penn State has implemented work/family policies that are arguably more advanced than those at most other universities. Finkel and Olswang note that across 60 AAUP institutions, typical policies for faculty include a 90 day paid sick leave allowance for new mothers, and up to one year of unpaid leave for new mothers or fathers, with a one year stoppage of the tenure clock for any parent taking at least six months of leave (1996, p. 125). Penn State provides a minimum of 14 days paid leave for faculty when a partner gives birth, and a minimum of six weeks paid leave for a faculty member giving birth or following adoption if the child is less than school age, although such leaves must be worked out with the department chair through the redistribution of the faculty member's workload.¹ Regardless of biological or adoptive parent status, new parents are guaranteed the availability of at least twelve months unpaid leave.² In addition, faculty can "stop" or what is more formally known as a "stay" of the tenure clock for one year regardless of leave with written assurances that the criterion for tenure will be unaffected.³ On-site child care is available at the University Park campus, at Penn State Erie, at Penn State Harrisburg and at the College of Medicine in Hershey.⁴ The University also has a Dual Career Program for new faculty with partners seeking non-faculty employment, employee family members can attend the University at a 75 percent discount off in-state tuition, the University makes a serious effort to hire academic couples, the University Park campus and town of State College coordinate spring break so that faculty parents can care for their children and vacation during the break, and the University recently became a participant in the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation's pre-tenure leave fellowship program for tenure-track women and men in the sciences and engineering.⁵

¹ See <http://www.ohr.psu.edu/policy/hr218.cfm> for more details.

² The minimum paid leave if an adopted child is of school age is two weeks, and the 12 month unpaid minimum for new parents includes any paid leave time.

³ "A staying of the provisional tenure period should not penalize or adversely affect the faculty member in the tenure review." See <http://www.la.psu.edu/cla/admin/assocdea/hr23guid.htm#VI> for this quotation and related materials.

⁴ Beginning in Fall 2001, an additional center will open at Penn State Fayette.

⁵ See http://www.sloan.org/programs/edu_pretenure.htm for more information on this program.

The use of work/family policies does not immediately flow from their existence on paper. Even firms featuring best practice work/family policies often discover low rates of utilization (Friedman, Rinsky & Johnson, 1996; Hochschild, 1997; Fried, 1998). Low utilization rates pose two problems. First, the intended purpose of the policies – to help employees meet their caregiving commitments – is effectively thwarted. Second, the institution is denied the potential reductions in employee turnover and improvements in employee commitment which emerge where employees believe work/family policies are accessible (Grover and Crooker, 1995; Batt and Valcour, 2000; Eaton, 2000).

We do not know the extent to which work/family policies are utilized at Penn State, their effects on faculty retention, nor whether new policies or practices are needed. Indeed, a reading of the relevant literature reveals that relatively little is known about these issues with respect to any University (see below). The creation of such knowledge would therefore help to fill a gap in the research literature on work/family policies while simultaneously shedding light on opportunities for new policies and practices. The faculty and families project could meet both needs.

Penn State has an abundance of expertise in and support for work/family research. The Department of Human Development and Family Studies has historically and continues to support such research, as does the Women in the Sciences and Engineering Institute, and the Commission for Women. The President has made the research area a high priority, creating the Children, Youth and Families Consortium, and the College of the Liberal Arts includes the Women's Studies program and has recently hired several new faculty in the area. These developments led to the Work/Family Initiative during the 1999-2000 academic year (see lsir.la.psu.edu/workfam). In addition, Penn State's Office of Human Resources has historically provided strong support for the utilization and expansion of work/family policies.

Penn State therefore faces a unique opportunity to build upon an area of strength, produce new research and to both envision and become a model university for faculty and their families.

Research Hypotheses

Following a general discussion of the area, we detail hypotheses regarding “discrimination,” those concerning “discrimination avoidance,” and we then discuss related issues such as adoption and elder care.

Research in this area was initially motivated by concerns regarding discrimination against women in the academy. For example, analyses of the publication gap favoring male over female academics led some to speculate that systematically divergent family responsibilities could play a role (Cole and Zuckerman, 1984). Historically, it may have been easier to be a father in academia than a mother in the same position due to an unequal division of labor in the home. Finkel and Olswang (1996) uncover data supporting this possibility, reporting from a sample of 124 women assistant professors at a major research university that 43 percent viewed time required by children as a serious impediment to tenure, a figure that rose to 82 percent for the subsample with children under age six. A study of recent sociology Ph.D.s found that a variety of advantages tended to accumulate to men or non-parents, yielding a net result of faculty mothers

having the lowest publication output, and faculty fathers the highest (Spalter-Roth, Lee, Levine, & Thomas, 2000).⁶

Related hypotheses are that (1) family commitments represent barriers to tenure and promotion, and (2) such commitments and hence barriers are more likely to confront women.

Evidence regarding such barriers might be viewed as signaling “discrimination” against academics and particularly women who take on substantial family commitments involving time and energy (Williams, 1999).⁷ We therefore label (1) and (2) the “discrimination” hypotheses.

Academics who are aware of such barriers might respond in a strategic fashion. Women might view entrance into the academy as requiring the vows of a nun, even if men face no parallel priesthood requirement. Such behavior could explain why direct evidence regarding the first two hypotheses is mixed. For example, Ferber and Hoffman (1997) report for a sample of couples with at least one member in academia that the presence of children in the home has few significant effects on a variety of indicators of academic success, regardless of the academic’s gender.

Some direct evidence regarding strategic behavior exists. For example, a study in the 1950s found that of 43 women with Radcliffe Ph.D.s holding the rank of full professor, only four were married and none had children (Radcliffe College Committee on Graduate Education for Women, 1956). More recently, a nationally representative survey of faculty at U.S. colleges and universities, administered in 1989, found that 82 percent of men but only 62 percent of women were currently married. Relatedly, 13 percent of women, but only seven percent of men in the sample were divorced (Astin & Milem, 1997, p. 131). More directly, a random sample of 291 psychology faculty in the late 1970’s found that 34 percent of women but only 12 percent of men were childless (Helmreich, Spence, Beane, Lucker & Matthews, 1980).

Hypotheses related to strategic behavior are that (3) tenure and promotion systems function as a barrier to faculty making and successfully meeting family commitments, and (4) such barriers are more likely to affect women. Given these hypotheses concern strategies for escaping discriminatory barriers, we label (3) and (4) the “discrimination avoidance” hypotheses.

The “discrimination” and “discrimination avoidance” hypotheses can be given concrete form as follows.

⁶ Note that Grandey and Cropanzano’s (1999) study of university faculty did not yield a significant link between gender and indicators of work/family conflict, although such a link is found in samples covering other occupations (e.g., Parasuraman, Purohit, Godshalk, & Beutell, 1996).

⁷ Williams argues that discrimination on the basis of family status exists wherever a job is structured such that family commitments are inconsistent with high levels of performance. This definition is very different from economic understandings of discrimination based upon tastes or preferences, as in Becker’s (1957) work.

“Discrimination” hypotheses

(1a) Tenure-track faculty with children, and particularly young children, will be less likely to achieve tenure. Relevant evidence would be found if parenthood is associated with higher rates of attrition before achieving the rank of associate professor, or higher rates of negative tenure and promotion decisions.

(2a) Tenure-track *women* with children, and particularly young children, will be less likely to achieve tenure.

(1b) Tenured faculty with children, and particularly young children, will be less likely to achieve promotion to full professor. Relevant evidence would be found if parenthood is associated with longer time-in-rank.

(2b) Tenured *women* with children, and particularly young children, will be less likely to achieve promotion to full professor.

Many universities, including Penn State, have introduced policies in recent decades that implicitly respond to the “discrimination” hypotheses by permitting faculty with newborn children or other pressing family commitments to take leave for periods of six months to a year, or to reduce their workload for a similar period, often stopping the tenure clock for one year in the process (Finkel and Olswang, 1995). If the division of labor in the home is unequal, we might expect these policies to exert a stronger effect on women, suggesting the following two specific hypotheses:

(1c) Tenure-track faculty with children who use leave, reduced workload and tenure clock-stopping policies will exhibit a lower rate of attrition and higher rate of tenure than faculty in similar circumstances who do not use the policies.

(2c) Tenure-track *women* faculty with children who use leave, reduced workload and tenure clock-stopping policies will exhibit a lower rate of attrition and higher rate of tenure than either men or women in otherwise similar circumstances.

Such policies might, however, create a backlash. Stories exist regarding women who believe that any attempt to utilize such policies will result in lower probability of tenure and promotion. As one woman responded to a related survey, “Neither my chair nor my colleagues have any idea how much time it takes (as women) to raise kids!” (Finkel and Olswang, 1996, p. 132). As may be true more generally, individuals with no need for the work/family policies may perceive them as unfair (Grandey, forthcoming). Senior faculty who achieve high rank without using the policies may view those who do use them as “cheating” on the system. Discounting evidence in promotion and tenure cases might then be viewed as reasonable in situations where the faculty member used work/family policies. These arguments suggest the following two specific hypotheses in direct contradiction of (1c) and (2c):

(1d) Tenure-track faculty with children who use leave, reduced workload and tenure clock-stopping policies will exhibit a *higher* rate of attrition and *lower* rate of tenure than faculty in similar circumstances who do not use the policies.

(2d) Tenure-track *women* faculty with children who use leave, reduced workload and tenure clock-stopping policies will exhibit a *higher* rate of attrition and *lower* rate of tenure than either men or women in otherwise similar circumstances.

The specific hypotheses above all respond to the possibility of “discrimination.” Even if none of the hypotheses were supported, that result could follow from the strategic avoidance of discrimination.

“Discrimination avoidance” hypotheses

(3a) Faculty will tend to avoid commitments to young children during the tenure-track years. Relevant evidence could be found in low rates of child-bearing during the tenure-track years, relative to either before or after the tenure-track years.

(4a) *Women* faculty will tend to avoid commitments to young children during the tenure-track years.

Similar logic suggests that faculty who raise young children during the tenure track years will either avoid or minimize utilization of the relevant policies to avoid potential retribution. For example, although paid and unpaid parenting leave is available across the University, faculty may attempt to limit the arrival of new children to the late spring or early summer months to obviate the need for paid leave. For faculty with children arriving during the academic year, the minimum leaves guaranteed by Penn State may serve as a ceiling rather than the floor they were intended to provide. For all faculty who become new parents, stoppage of the tenure clock might be avoided due to fears of negative career repercussions.

The gender aspects of work/family policy utilization are complex. On the one hand, a U.S. survey related to the Family and Medical Leave Act, administered in 1995, found women more likely to report needing and taking such leaves, and taking leaves of longer duration than men. Policy utilization was particularly high among married, white women, even though need for leave was reported as higher among black respondents and those with low income (Gerstel and McConagle, 1999). These results might suggest that utilization of work/family policies among faculty will be more frequent for women.

On the other hand, women faculty may have reason to fear discrimination based upon gender (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1999). If discrimination exists, or even if it is only perceived, the utilization of work/family policies by women might be viewed as raising the barriers to tenure and promotion even further. Hence, women might avoid the use of work/family policies. A parallel argument may be applied to non-white faculty where discrimination might also be an issue, and work/family policy utilization viewed as a particularly dangerous strategy.

Given the arguments above, we can make a strong prediction on the general pattern of work/family policy utilization, but only weak predictions on the effects of gender and race:

(3b) Utilization rates of work/family policies for new parents will be low.

(4b) Utilization rates for women and non-white faculty will diverge systematically from the rates for men and white faculty.

“Discrimination avoidance” might also take the form of strategies to delay child-bearing and child-rearing until after tenure is achieved. As of the 1994-1995 academic year, the median age upon receipt of a new Ph.D. in the U.S. was 33.9 (National Center for Education Statistics, 1998, Table 299), suggesting the median age during the sixth or traditional tenure year would be 40. The delay strategy could therefore likely result in risks to the mother’s health, and risks of birth defects or of infertility. An arguably more negative outcome would be if faculty abandon any opportunity to raise children due to the barriers of tenure and promotion systems. The motivation for such behavior would lie in evidence confirming hypotheses (1b) and (2b). The abandonment of child-rearing responsibilities due to “discrimination avoidance” suggests the specific hypotheses:

(3c) Faculty will rear fewer children than they would otherwise prefer as a result of the barriers associated with tenure and promotion.

(4c) *Women* faculty will rear fewer children than men faculty.

Related issues

Relevant to all of these hypotheses are the issues of uneven policy implementation, variation in supervisory support for the family commitments of faculty, and the existence of informal policies (Drago, Caplan & Costanza, 2000). A supervisor can either facilitate or undermine policy utilization, suggesting the importance of analyzing policy effects across different colleges and departments. Similarly, colleges, departments, or the University might develop informal policies that would effect faculty members’ ability to meet family commitments.

Two other issues can be analyzed in the context of these hypotheses, adoptive parents and elder care. Work/family policies are often written differently for adoptive parents, as is the case at Penn State (see policy description earlier), and in general (Lynch, Camp & Litchfield, 1998). However, there is very little research informing us as to how the work/family needs and conflicts of adoptive parents diverge from those of biological parents. It might be that evidence of direct “discrimination” or of “discrimination avoidance” is more pronounced for adoptive parents.

Far more research exists regarding elder care in general. As with care of children, there is evidence of women performing a larger share of such tasks (Doty, Jackson & Crown, 1998), and that such tasks vary systematically over the life course (Robison, Moen & Dempster-McClain, 1995). However, some research suggests that it is more difficult for employees to utilize work/family policies for purposes of elder care relative to child care (Medjuck, Keefe & Fancey, 1998). Given the aging of the population, it is likely that the elder care responsibilities of faculty will rise in the future as the faculty and their parents both rise in age (Varner, 2000b).

Conclusions

With this theoretical framework in hand, we next turn to the construction of a work/family benchmark for Penn State. Consistent with the importance of various issues described above, we

focus on the actual utilization of work/family policies, the perceived work/family climate, and gender equity, all of which should rise as the University becomes more responsive to the work and family needs of faculty. Following the benchmark exercise, the results for a series of focus groups for faculty parents at Penn State are presented. We then present Penn State faculty data from the 1990s on parenting, parental leave and reduced workload. The results from a pilot survey of non-Penn State faculty are then presented, and we complete the research with a summary and policy conclusions.

II. Work/Family Benchmark

Introduction

As part of this project, a benchmarking exercise was undertaken, initially using an instrument found in the College and University Reference Guide to Work-Family Programs (henceforth “Guide,” Friedman, Rimsky and Johnson 1996). In this brief analysis, we cover the results of that exercise, detail shortcomings of the method, and prescribe alternative benchmarks. Two of the alternative benchmarks are quantitative and concern utilization and equity outcomes from policies, while the third benchmark is subjective and concerns faculty perceptions of support for their work and family commitments. Initial figures for the equity indicator may be found at the end of this document (see Appendix I).

The Guide Exercise

To develop the Guide, colleges and universities were asked to respond to several hundred questions regarding their work/family culture and policies. To rank institutions, however, only the policy subscore was used. Unfortunately, information on the average policy subscore is unavailable, so as a crude alternative, for each subsection of the policy questions, we have considered a score at or above 75 percent of the maximum attainable “excellent,” a score between 75 percent and 50 percent “good,” a score that is between 50 percent and 25 percent “low,” while even lower scores are categorized as “poor.”

There are seven sections on policies, and for each we report separate scores for the University Park (UP) campus and for all other (AO) campuses, with the scores reported as a ratio of actual/potential score. The seven sections cover:

1. Information & Counseling - UP good (64/109), AO low (36/109)
2. Flexible Work Schedules - UP excellent (118/155), AO excellent (118/155)
3. Time Off from Work for Dependent Care - UP good (190/253), AO good (190/253)
4. Dependent Care Initiatives - UP low (72/195), AO poor (20/195)
5. Financial Assistance - UP low (160/378), AO poor (80/378)
6. Communication and Support - UP good (40/65), AO good (40/65)
7. Community Outreach - UP low (15/25), AO low (15/25)

If we considered any subscore below 50 percent as warranting improvement, the analysis suggests that Penn State should focus on improving information and counseling services at AO campuses and, at both UP and AO campuses, increase commitments to dependent care initiatives and to financial assistance.

The Guide points to what may be a serious problem: resources are spread unequally across the campuses, favoring University Park. In part, this differential may be attributed to the historical development of the campuses. Regardless of the cause, the smaller size of many of the campuses away from University Park could make equalization of resources extremely difficult.⁸

⁸This argument concerns economies of scale. For example, providing an on-site child care center is typically far more expensive per child if just a few children attend. Similarly, a very large

Shortcomings of the Guide Exercise

While useful, the Guide exercise also entails sins of commission and omission. To see the problems of inclusion, according to the Guide, the following strategies would move Penn State to at least the “good” category in all areas.

Without passing judgement on the value of the various policies, here are those that would improve the ranking to “good” according to the Guide: for information and counseling at AO campuses, the provision of expert-run sessions on aspects of family care, and improvement of courses for employees on health, nutrition and physical activity would shift the outcome to “good.” For dependent care initiatives, the addition of access to counselors for child care and elder care services at all campuses and the addition, for AO campuses, of sick child care, would change the classification to “good.” For financial assistance, the provision at all campuses of cafeteria-style benefits, subsidies for child care, and reimbursement of child care costs while traveling, along with the AO provision of various work/family programs for graduate and undergraduate students would raise the classification to “good.”

Some of these programs are of dubious value. The provision of sick child care implies that the organization does not seek to provide employees with the flexibility to take care of their children when they are sick. Cafeteria-style benefits packages can be anti-family, with non-parents able to obtain benefits such as access to fitness centers while parents must trade off such benefits in order to obtain health care coverage for their children.⁹ More importantly, the ways in which a University rises on the benchmark are far from systematic and ostensible improvement could even occur in an environment which is correctly perceived as hostile to families.

The sins of omission are arguably more serious. The exercise does not inform us as to whether work/family policies are used, whether faculty feel free to use the policies or are even aware of them, and does not gauge faculty satisfaction with institutional efforts in regard to work/family. We now turn to alternative benchmarks intended to capture these aspects of the University.

Alternative Benchmarks

We provide three benchmarks here, a quantitative index structured to capture utilization of policies, a second quantitative index intended to capture gender equity outcomes from work/family policies, and a qualitative index designed to provide survey information on support from the University and department heads for the work/family commitments of the faculty. We recommend that all three indices be used to indicate the status and progress of Penn State in regard to faculty and families.

campus would fully utilize the services of a dedicated work/life coordinator, while a very small campus likely would not.

⁹Of course, a cafeteria-style benefits plan could, in theory, be written to be neutral or even positive with respect to families. For example, the child care vouchers suggested in the conclusion could be implemented in cafeteria style and help respond to the diverse needs of different faculty for traditional, back-up, sick and non-standard hours child care.

Utilization Indicator. The first quantitative indicator is intended to capture the utilization of policies. For simplicity, the indicator is cast in additive form and includes three elements.

- 1) The first component in the quantitative indicator is the percentage of new parents among the faculty using at least 12 weeks of paid or unpaid parental leave, plus one-half of the percentage using between 6 and 12 weeks of paid or unpaid leave. The rationale for this component is found in the Family and Medical Leave Act, which specifies a 12 week minimum of unpaid leave for new and adoptive parents, and Penn State policies which provide a minimum of 6 weeks paid leave for most new parents.¹⁰ Most universities, including Penn State, gather information on recent parental status through health care coverage, making data collection for this component reasonably straightforward. Extension of the indicator to cover faculty with elder care responsibilities would, however, be much more difficult as the University typically has no reason to gather information on such responsibilities.
- 2) The second component is the percentage of new parent faculty obtaining at least one semester of reduced teaching duties. Particularly for untenured faculty, such reductions are likely to be associated with enhanced time for new children without deleterious affects on research performance.
- 3) The third component is the percentage of new parent faculty who stop the tenure clock for one year. In part, inclusion of this component is intended to capture the University's commitment to the joint responsibilities of the tenure process and parenthood. In addition, the utilization of such policies signals an institutional culture where dual commitments to work and family are respected by and expected among faculty (note that for leaves of sufficient length, stoppage of the tenure clock is relatively automatic).

The utilization indicator is obtained by adding the percentages for the three components and dividing by three to obtain a score out of 100 possible.

We recommend that the data to calculate this indicator be collected and reported on an annual basis. In addition to the summary indicator, the mean, median and mode for length of leave and of reduced teaching load should be reported to track more detailed changes in behavior.

Equity Indicator. The second quantitative indicator concerns the success of work/family policies in general for faculty. Bailyn (1993), Hoschchild (1997), Fried (1998), and Williams (1999) argue that successful work/family policies and practices enhance gender equity in the organization. In this view, successful organizations provide ways for employees with substantial

¹⁰ Note that the structure of the indicator penalizes the institution for faculty who avoid leave through the strategy of having new children arrive between May and July. From the perspective of a research institution, the strategy should be avoided, as the research normally performed during the summer months takes the entire brunt of new parenting responsibilities. Such practices may, in turn, reduce the probability of tenure relative to cases where the individual uses the FMLA provisions to reduce teaching and service in addition to research.

family commitments to succeed in their careers. Given continued gender inequality in parenting responsibilities in the home, successful work/family policies and practices should imply greater opportunities for women to succeed, and greater opportunities for the organization to attract and retain talented women (Bond, Galinsky and Swanberg 1997; Glass and Riley 1998; Waldfogel 1998). Although it is possible to imagine other mechanisms to help create gender equity (e.g., MIT, 1999), existing research supports the notion that successful work/family policies will also have such an effect.

To incorporate this logic into a quantitative indicator, we propose to average four components. First is the percentage of women hired among new tenure-track faculty. Second is the percentage of women among all tenure-track faculty. Third and fourth are the percentages of women among tenured associate and the full professor ranks, respectively. Admittedly, the combination of information on new hires along with current faculty by rank involves some double-counting. Nonetheless, there are at least two reasons to use such an indicator. First, because two of the three professorial ranks involved are for tenured faculty, the indicator is heavily weighted towards picking up improvements for women faculty who obtain tenure. That is, the indicator rewards the institution for moving women beyond any glass ceiling around the tenure decision. Second, absent the inclusion of an element specific to new hires, the indicator is liable to move very slowly, even in the case where the university makes a substantial effort to improve gender equity. Inclusion of this component makes the indicator more sensitive to such efforts.

Averaging the four sub-elements gives a combined potential score of 100 percent. We recommend that the disaggregated results be presented along with the summary measure. The initial basis for gauging this benchmark should be the overall gender composition of the relevant pool of new Ph.D. recipients weighted for the distribution of faculty across schools and colleges. We further recommend that this data be collected and reported annually.

Initial figures for the gender equity indicator, for a period spanning the 1998 to 1999 academic year, are included in Appendix 1 of this report.

Qualitative Indicator. The qualitative indicator is intended to capture faculty perceptions of support from the University and from their department heads or supervisors for the work and family commitments of the faculty.

One strategy for measuring such support, suggested in an earlier iteration of this document, involves asking faculty about knowledge of and access to specific policies. There are two shortcomings associated with the strategy. First, when employees know that copies of written policies are available on-demand and at any time through the world-wide web, there is no reason for faculty to be aware of policies they are unlikely to use. Second, in a dynamic environment, specific policies are likely to change and questions related to policies are likely to become dated.

As an alternative, we suggest using two standard scales to capture: 1) the university climate regarding work/family support (Bond, Galinsky and Swanberg, 1997), and 2) department head or supervisor support for the work/family needs of faculty (Thomas and Ganster, 1995).

These scales have a number of desirable features. The results could be compared to those from other institutions with very different policies, should be comparable over time, apply to faculty who are and are not parents, and could readily be extended to apply to employees who are not necessarily faculty at a college or university.

The nine items for supervisor support, and three items for organizational support, are as follows:

Department Head & Workplace. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding your immediate supervisor using the following scale.

1-----	2-----	3-----	4-----	5-----
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

MY DEPARTMENT HEAD OR IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR

- Listens to my problems ____
- Shares ideas or advice _____
- Is understanding or sympathetic ____
- Helps me to figure out how to solve problems _____
- Shows resentment of the needs of working parents in the Dept. _____
- Is critical of how some faculty combine work and family _____
- Schedules courses and committee meetings to accommodate faculty’s family needs _____
- Juggles his or her own duties to help faculty meet their family needs _____
- Holds faculty’s family responsibilities against them _____

1-----	2-----	3-----	4-----	5-----
Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree

AT MY INSTITUTION

- There is an unwritten rule that you cannot take care of family needs during working hours_____
- Faculty who put their family or personal needs ahead of their jobs are not looked on favorably_____
- If you have a problem managing your work and family responsibilities, the attitude is: “You made your bed, now lie in it!” _____

The total maximum score for the supervisor support scale is 45, while that for the organizational support scale is 15. To equalize the weight attached to each scale, the supervisor support results can be multiplied by 1.11 to yield a maximum of 50, while the organizational support scale can be multiplied by 3.33 to also yield a maximum of 50. The two scores can be added for a maximum total of 100. We recommend that either sampling be stratified such that one-half of responses are from tenure-track and one-half from tenured faculty, or that responses be weighted according to tenure status to achieve a similar result. Scores can also be reported for subsamples of tenured and tenure-track faculty. If the University wished to evaluate department heads in part on the basis of their support for the work and family commitments of faculty, the data could also be collected on a departmental basis. We further recommend that data to calculate this benchmark be collected and reported on an annual basis.

In sum, we believe that the various components of the benchmark proposed here would provide a reasonable snapshot of the work/family environment for Penn State faculty, and that annual data collection and reporting would likely reflect any improvement in policies and practices around these issues. Reporting should include: 1) Single summary measures from the Utilization, Equity, and Qualitative Indicators, 2) for Utilization, the mean, median and mode for length of leave and reduced teaching load length, 3) for the Qualitative Indicator, results can be broken down by the tenure status of respondents.

III. Focus Group Results

Introduction

To delve deeper into the relevant issues, a series of 13 focus groups involving parents employed as Penn State faculty, mainly at University Park, were convened during the Fall semester of 2000. The instrument used for the exercise can be found in Appendix 2 at the end of this report.

Focus groups were stratified as follows:

- Four groups were created by dividing the University Park unit into four groups of schools and colleges.
- Two groups of women only and two of men only were constructed.
- Two groups of single parents were created.
- One group of adoptive parents was employed.
- Two groups of tenure-track individuals were convened.

The resulting groups included 19 men and 34 women, of which 23 were tenured and 30 were tenure-track faculty. Note that even though all respondents were parents, many of the tenured respondents might have delayed child rearing responsibilities until after the tenure decision. Tenure-track respondents, quite differently, could not have delayed parenthood, or else they would have been excluded from the sample.

The results are presented here in three ways. First we analyze the results to identify advantages and problems mentioned in multiple focus groups. Second, we discuss broad issues thereby identified, using materials taken directly from the focus groups. Third, we present possibilities for improvements mentioned in the focus groups.

For all of these analyses, it is important to recall that all individuals involved were themselves parents of dependent children under the age of 18. The sample is not random or representative. In addition, like other ethnographic research using small samples (e.g., Garey, 1999; Rogers, 2000), it is critical to avoid placing too much weight upon any one finding in the absence of formal tests using larger samples. The human resources and survey data covered later in this report (Sections IV and V) are intended to fill that gap.

The theoretical framework for the project is based upon Williams' (1999) research. Williams argues that careers are discriminatory when they are structured such that care for children and other family members is inconsistent with career success. Stated differently, discrimination includes cases where employees are expected to function as "ideal workers," with long hours and high levels of effort and commitment. An example of relevant discriminatory behavior comes from one of the focus group respondents who related a story about a tenure-track male colleague. An administrator asked the individual what was happening in his life, and he informed the administrator about family issues. The administrator responded, "Aren't you ever going to get serious...?" The behavior here is actively "discriminatory" regarding the status of parenthood. In contrast to this particular example, Williams argues that this form of "discrimination" affects mainly women because they provide most of the care work in modern U.S. society. This type of "discrimination" can therefore be interpreted as sex discrimination.

As argued earlier, we believe that in academia many of the relevant behaviors take the form of “discrimination avoidance,” defined as behaviors intended to provide the appearance or reality that family life does not interfere with long hours and high levels of commitment to the job and institution (see Section I of this report). For example, one faculty member related a story about teaching during a difficult pregnancy, and viewing it as unfair that no one thought to ask her about taking time off. This is an example of “discrimination avoidance,” as would be efforts to find back-up childcare when a child’s teachers have an in-service day, rather than bringing the child to the workplace. Employees engage in “discrimination avoidance” in order to achieve career success. For reasons Williams provides, we believe that “discrimination avoidance” will disproportionately appear among women faculty.

In part due to the theoretical framework, the results presented here necessarily have a negative tinge. Any similar effort to identify problems and potential solutions is likely to suffer from a similar bias. For that reason we urge that the results not be treated as representative of how well Penn State treats its faculty and their families. The benchmark exercise component of the project is intended for that purpose (see Section II of this report).

For those not familiar with Penn State policies, these provide for:

- a) A minimum of six weeks of paid leave for new biological and adoptive parents, excepting biological fathers and parents of adoptive children of school age (who receive a minimum of two weeks paid leave), all subject to negotiation with the department head regarding reallocation of workload (<http://www.ohr.psu.edu/policy/hrg18.cfm>).
- b) A single one-year stoppage of the tenure clock for new parents, irrespective of leave, subject to approval by the provost (<http://www.ohr.psu.edu/policy/hr23.cfm>).
- c) Faculty with care responsibilities can also, informally, request a reduced teaching or service load from the department head. We do not yet know how frequently this strategy is employed, and are gathering relevant data at this time.
- d) New parents are guaranteed a minimum of one year of unpaid leave (<http://www.ohr.psu.edu/policy/hr16.cfm#A>).

Advantages and Problems

Initially we intended to present data on advantages and problems for work and family as a simple count. Out of 13 focus groups, in how many of the groups were various issues raised? However, a more complete picture would emerge from detailed analysis of how many individuals mentioned specific advantages and problems, and the characteristics of those individuals. That analysis is not yet finished. In all cases reported here, no advantage or problem is listed unless the issue emerged in at least two of the focus groups.

Note that if an advantage or problem was mentioned, this does not necessarily imply that the participants in the focus groups were themselves affected. Instead it means that at least one

participant in a focus group mentioned the issue either with regard to either themselves or in relation to a colleague at the University. We therefore encounter considerable overlap between some of the advantages and disadvantages.

Given the focus on problems, only a few advantages were identified (see Table 1). These included colleague or departmental head support for the family commitments of faculty, mentioned in most focus groups, the ability to stop the tenure clock or take parental leave, and the ability to occasionally bring a child to the workplace.

Table 1: Advantages Mentioned in Multiple Focus Groups

Colleagues or Dept. Head supportive of family commitments of faculty.

Was able to stop tenure clock or take leave for new child.

Can occasionally bring children to workplace.

Problems raised were far more numerous. Although these are presented in approximately descending order of prevalence, more detailed analyses will be required to ascertain precise prevalence figures.

Table 2: Problems Mentioned in Multiple Focus Groups (in approximate descending order of prevalence)

Work demands do not leave enough time for family.

Did not ask for parental leave because fearful of career repercussions.

Had to delay children until after tenure.

Ability to balance work and family at Penn State too dependent on Department Head.

Need more childcare.

Women shoulder more childcare than men.

Ignorant of Penn State policies regarding parental leave and stopping the tenure clock.

Had to return too early from parental leave or took no leave at all.

Easier for men with wife at home to be fathers while on tenure-track.

Expectation that new fathers will not use policies.

New parents denied leave or tenure clock-stopping.

Toughest problems for single parents.

Ability to balance work and family varies too much by school or college.

Delayed childbearing resulted in infertility and/or adoption.

Penn State needs to offer less expensive childcare for faculty.

Common Themes

Seven overarching themes emerge from Tables 1 and 2, along with a reading of the transcripts. These include:

1) Faculty are expected to serve as ideal workers, providing long hours and high levels of commitment. This finding shows up in the first problem listed in Table 2.

Supporting evidence is directly available from the transcripts. At the conclusion of the focus group sessions, participants were asked “what is the biggest work and family issue for faculty?” In one focus group, the response was consistent, “time,” meaning the time pressures placed on faculty by the University. Similarly, as another faculty member stated, “I don’t just work eight hours – I work as much as possible and the University would make it 24 hours a day...”

2) Faculty with children sometimes go to extraordinary lengths to avoid “discrimination” against parents and parenting. This result appeared in a majority of focus groups in cases where faculty did not ask for parental leave due to potential career repercussions, and where faculty delayed children until after tenure. At least in some cases, delayed childbearing strategies resulted in infertility and/or adoption.

The transcripts again provide supportive evidence. As one respondent put it:

“I think that our responsibilities as faculty go into every waking hour and often non-waking hours too, or what should be the non-waking hours. I think in my experience it is often the children who suffer for it.”

As another stated, “...I never see children and parents coming with their kids in the office or bringing them to meetings. It is just not done.” From a different respondent: “I think success in your job requires far more than eight hours of work per day, and so when you have kids, immediately your daily work drops. But it can’t drop that much. So you go without sleep...” As a faculty member who recently became a mother stated, “[E]ven though I am supposedly on a 50 percent leave, I am still in the office close to 40 hours per week.”

The same respondent was asked whether she knew of anyone who had been denied a request for leave, reduced workload or stoppage of the tenure clock. She replied, “It is more being scared to ask... for the support you need.” As a different faculty member related, “You have a big report that’s due and you hear a hacking cough in the other room and your whole world falls apart immediately. You think, ‘what am I going to do?’ We have no options.” Another individual said, “...[Children] give and certainly meals give. You know home cooked food? Hello, what’s that?”

3) *Faculty sometimes experience discrimination for parenting.* From Table 2, we see this in expectations that fathers will not use policies, and with new parents who were denied leave or stopping of the tenure clock.

Stories support this finding. A participant related a vignette concerning a faculty member who, following pregnancy, “...stopped the clock, which she was supposed to be able to do. But in truth that clock never stopped.” The same participant continued later, “I know women who did not postpone having children who are gone from the University. [E]ither [they] were harassed because they brought the baby into the office and that was bad and unprofessional, or [they] could not get the time they needed to do both jobs...” Another faculty member asked others about the possibility of stopping the tenure clock for a new child, and they responded, “that they did not perceive any advantage to extending your tenure clock because you were going to be expected to do the same things anyway... So I am assuming if they are on committees, they will have the same kind of opinions.”

One respondent reported difficulties when bringing a child to work. On a day when the respondent had no other option, the child was brought to the University, but was reprimanded in public by an administrator.

4) *There seems to exist a high degree of variance in the acceptance of and support for caregiving between departments and among schools and colleges.* This issue appears in the simultaneous presence of colleague and department head support under advantages, along with a majority of focus groups mentioning that work/family policies are too dependent upon the department head.

Two faculty members from different schools were asked about bringing children to the workplace. One responded that “My department is pretty child friendly in terms of having children around...” while the other immediately added, “I have never seen a child at a meeting nor do I really see children in people’s offices.”

In a different group, two faculty members discussed administrators. One participant provided the story mentioned earlier about an administrator reprimanding a child. Referring to a different administrator, another participant followed up with, “The [administor] said to me when I had my first meeting with him... He said, ‘If you have to choose between a meeting and a soccer game [for your child], I hope you are going to choose the soccer game because there are going to be a lot of meetings.’” A participant in a different group mentioned that a senior faculty member in his department said, “You can get tenure here working 40 hours a week or working 70 hours a week. One thing I regret is not spending enough time with my family.”

The diversity of these responses suggests that there is no unified Penn State culture around issues of work and family. Instead, distinct subcultures within colleges, schools and departments may exist.

5) *Faculty find ingenious and sometimes courageous ways to deal with these work and family issues.* This finding does not show up in the tables, but rather from a reading of the materials. Examples include:

1. "...[T]he idea is to have your kid in the beginning of the semester, and they actually consciously think of it [to make sure you can take a full six weeks of leave]. They don't just... I have been advised.
2. "... I think with my students I used to be a very caring teacher and they could come and talk for hours. And this was before I had my second child. Once I had the second baby I put more emphasis in that... [S]omebody recently said that [there were negative comments about my teaching]. She said, 'well, you are just not warm and fuzzy with them.' So I said, 'Aah, well I have got two kids and they are the ones who get that.'"
3. After a spouse got a promotion, "... I [said], 'Dear, we both cannot be working like this... I don't work on an average over 50 hours a week. I think now I am working about 40. I refuse... and I know that some people in my department wonder how in the hell can this guy get published and all...'"
4. "... I think frequently what happens [to parents] is [that] somebody's career has to give. In my experience... it is [my husband]. His career is less important to him."

These cases suggest that individuals can sometimes find effective ways of meeting their work and family commitments, and that at times these ways demonstrate courage.

6) *Policies at the University are available but not well communicated to faculty.* This problem is mentioned in various ways (see Table 2). A lack of knowledge stems in part from policies not being common knowledge (i.e., individuals do not even check because they do not know enough to do so), and in part because the culture of some schools and colleges militates against policy utilization. In the latter cases, policy utilization would not follow even if faculty knew of the policies.

7) *The 'flexibility' of academic employment is a two-edged sword.* Although we do not have much data here, there are hints in the data of an underlying social contract whereby faculty can handle family matters during the day on an 'on-call' basis, but are similarly 'on-call' for University meetings and functions during evenings and weekends.

It is also the case that gender appears to enter the picture in complex ways. Men who cut back on hours of faculty work in order to care for children received positive treatment from other focus group members relative to women who had done so. Some individuals felt that men should be using existing policies more frequently, while others mentioned the need for policies

specific to women (e.g., special parking privileges during pregnancy, and accommodations for breastfeeding).

Opportunities for Improvement

Following a general discussion, focus group respondents were asked to indicate any changes in policies or practices they would like to see at Penn State regarding work and family. The ideas for improving work/family balance mentioned at least once included:

- Improve coordination of University and local school district schedules.
- Initiate after school programs for faculty children.
- Provide sick child and back-up childcare.
- Create pre-tenure reduced workload option for parents.
- Make biological father leave (currently 2 weeks) consistent with other parental leaves (currently 6 weeks).
- Make adoptive parent leave for older children (currently 2 weeks) consistent with other parental leaves (currently 6 weeks).
- Create a culture that says it is okay to spend time with family.
- Reduce committee and evening commitments, especially for untenured faculty.
- Create environment where existing policies could be utilized.
- Make policies such as stopping the tenure clock and leave for a new child automatic, occurring unless the faculty specifically requests no stoppage.
- Improve job opportunities for faculty spouses and partners.
- Provide clearinghouse so faculty could hire grad students to care for their children when the faculty must travel.
- Offer more childcare on-campus.
- Increase subsidies for childcare.
- Provide a referral network for services such as dentistry, medicine, insurance.
- Improve health insurance to cover in-vitro procedures.
- Provide special parking privileges for women in later stages of pregnancy.
- Subsidize costs of child care.
- Monitor the utilization of parental leave, reduced workload and tenure clock staying policies.
- Increase child care availability during non-standard hours.

Absent information on the strength of opinion across the University regarding these options, we do not rank these suggestions. Nor do we believe the list, alone, should be used as the basis recommendations *per se*. However, the list does provide some understanding of the issues and possibilities faculty are thinking about and the flavor of this list is relatively consistent with the policy directions we suggest later (see Section VI).

Conclusions

The findings from the focus groups suggest that faculty, particularly those who have not yet achieved tenure, experience substantial time pressure due to their careers and the environment at Penn State. Such pressures to perform as ideal workers are, in turn, linked to efforts to avoid discrimination by hiding, delaying or avoiding parenthood. Faculty who take on childcare commitments may suffer discriminatory behavior in response, but such behavior may be highly variable across the University. As expected, the evidence is consistent with the possibility that the problems identified here disproportionately affect women on the faculty.

As stated earlier, the negative tone of the focus group results is in large part by construction, and cannot inform us as to the overall pattern of practices at the University. Nonetheless, many of the issues and opportunities identified in the focus groups provide valuable information for further research and for improving policies and practices.

IV. Patterns of Family for New Penn State Faculty in the 1990s

Introduction

As part of the Faculty & Families project, data were gathered by the Penn State Office of Human Resources (OHR) on two samples of faculty across Penn State: those hired onto the tenure-track and those hired with tenure during the academic years ranging from 1992-1993 to 1996-1997. The purpose of collecting such data was to test several hypotheses regarding the potential for “discrimination” or “discrimination avoidance” behavior in the tenure process and beyond. The tenure track may be a “discriminatory” structure in the sense used by Williams (1999), causing failed careers for individuals who make substantial commitments to their families. It was argued earlier in this report (Section I) that direct evidence of such “discrimination” is unlikely to be found in the academy. Instead, we expected to find evidence of “discrimination avoidance.” In this case, individuals strive to minimize or hide commitments to family so that commitment to the institution is not questioned by others. Career success might then be achieved, but only at the expense of family commitments, particularly for faculty women.

Below, the hypotheses and theory behind the analysis are described and the data are detailed. Results are presented, followed by a conclusion.

Theory

The hypotheses considered here flow from the more general discussion in section I of this report. These concern the possibilities of direct discrimination and of discrimination avoidance.

Specific hypotheses of interest concerning “discrimination” are:

- (1) Women will experience higher rates of attrition than men, and
- (2) Mothers will experience higher rates of attrition than other women.

The logic of these two hypotheses is reasonably straightforward. Because of potential or actual motherhood and the childcare expectations placed upon mothers in the U.S., women might either leave the University to pursue careers that are ‘mother-ready,’ or experience “discrimination” from co-workers and superiors, particularly if the woman is a parent, again raising the attrition rate.

Hypotheses concerning “discrimination avoidance” include:

- (3) Women faculty will be less likely to be parents than men faculty.
- (4) Over one-quarter of the children of women faculty will be born during the summer months.
- (5) Women faculty at campuses other than University Park will exhibit higher rates of parenthood.
- (6) Women who do become parents will avoid commitments to multiple children.
- (7) Utilization rates of leave and reduced workload policies will be low.

The reasoning behind these hypotheses lies in the possibility that faculty women realize that explicit commitments to children are likely to generate discriminatory behavior from others at the University, thereby reducing the probability of career success. To prevent such an outcome, women will take on fewer commitments to children than men (hypotheses 3 and 7), avoid using existing policies designed to provide time for parenting (8), or plan childbearing such that children are born during the summer months (4). Finally, it is possible that a greater emphasis is placed on research when tenure is considered at University Park as opposed to other Penn State locations on average. Prospective women faculty might therefore strategize to avoid discrimination by seeking faculty positions at other locations (5). The same pattern of behavior would appear if women faculty perceived that the culture is more welcoming to children at campuses other than University Park.

Hypotheses are not formally tested for this report. Instead, we ask the simpler question of whether the data are consistent with the hypotheses.

Data

The original intent of this portion of the project was to collect information on newly tenured faculty at Penn State. It became apparent that many of the important questions around tenure and family structure required the collection and analysis of data on tenure-track faculty as well. Therefore, data sets were constructed for newly hired tenured and for newly hired tenure-track faculty.

For both data sets, OHR generated information on gender, tenure status, and faculty location as revealed by personnel records. Family structure is taken from matched health insurance records. Because insurance records tend to pick up the arrival of new children relatively quickly due to hospital bills for childbirth, the data on the arrival date of the child should be reasonably accurate. The variable created to capture the arrival of children during the summer months specified arrival during the months of May, June and July, as opposed to other months of the year.

In addition, schools and colleges were surveyed by OHR to identify cases where faculty in either data set had taken leave or reduced work during the period under consideration. We suspect these data are of low quality, since there was no system in place during the 1990s to track informal leaves or reductions in workload. Underreporting of leaves and reduced workload is therefore extremely likely. Moreover, this underreporting may be particularly severe when the reason for leave or reduced workload had to do with family because the cost of health insurance benefits rises dramatically when the employee drops below full-time status (except in the case of sabbaticals), and because there may be fears that the reporting of such activities will make a unit look bad. For both of the latter reasons, faculty and administrative heads may seek informal accommodations and avoid utilization or reporting of formal policies.

The tenure-track data set includes all tenure-track Penn State faculty hired during or between the academic years 1992-1993 and 1996-1997, although the variables cover the academic years ranging from 1992-1993 to 1998-1999. The data were designed to provide some initial observations for an on-going longitudinal study. For present purposes, the data are aggregated to

obtain a single glance at each individual over the entire time period. For example, an individual will be labeled a parent if the individual's health care plan covered a child at any point during the time period. Similarly, if two or more children appeared under the faculty member's health care coverage (even if covered during different years), the faculty member's family is classified as having multiple children. As a result, parenthood figures are probably overstated for many in this group.¹¹ A total of 210 women and 360 men are included in the tenure-track data.

The data set for newly hired tenured faculty was created in a similar fashion. Penn State faculty who were hired with tenure during the academic years ranging from 1992-1993 to 1996-1997 were included. Again, the variables cover two additional academic years, running up to and including 1998-1999. A total of 160 women and 465 men are included in the sample.

Results

The analysis begins with a glimpse at attrition figures for the tenure-track sample. These figures understate the probability that a newly hired tenure-track individual will leave prior to the tenure decision since information on many individuals in the sample only covers two or a few years (e.g., individuals who started employment in the fall of 1996).

Figures are presented in Table 1. The overall attrition rate for men is just above 27 percent, while the comparable figure for women is almost 33 percent, a finding that is consistent with hypothesis 1. Among new tenure-track hires, more women than men left Penn State. The results for parents as opposed to non-parents are opposite to those predicted. Indeed, the percentage of mothers leaving was around half the comparable figure for non-mothers among women faculty. The figures for men exhibit the same pattern.

The finding that parents are less likely to leave than non-parents might appear to undercut the notion of "discrimination" affecting parents. The possibility of "discrimination avoidance" may help to explain the pattern. If parents successfully identify ways to hide or reduce their commitments to children, career success may follow. Moreover, as breadwinning parents, these faculty members may have a stronger incentive to succeed in tandem with a lesser ability to easily relocate to another institution. The figures here, alone, cannot go further toward explaining the reason for this pattern.

¹¹ Note that Penn State has historically provided very reasonable and high quality health care coverage such that it is unlikely that many if any individuals on the faculty would pick up health care coverage for their children through another employer (e.g., that of a spouse or partner). It is still, of course, theoretically possible that some understatement of parenthood occurs due to alternative health care coverage.

Table 1: Attrition Pre-Tenure by Gender and Parental Status, Tenure-Track Faculty 1992-1999, Penn State

	Women	Men
Overall Attrition	32.9%	27.2%
Attrition Parents	20.3%	16.9%
Attrition Non-parents	39.7%	37.8%
Number of faculty	210	360

We next consider evidence relevant to hypotheses (3) and (4), that women on the faculty will be associated with fewer children than men, and that there will be evidence of a timing strategy such that more than one quarter of all faculty children (particularly for women) will arrive during the summer months.¹²

Table 2 presents evidence regarding the sample of tenure-track faculty. The figures are the ratio of children to faculty, so could rise above one if the average faculty family included more than one child. For these faculty, women average around half a child and men around one child, consistent with hypothesis (3).

The table also breaks down these ratios for women and for men into two components, that accounted for by summer arrivals, and that accounted for by non-summer arrivals. For both women and men, the numbers appear to be about what is expected by chance, with around one quarter of children accounted for by summer births. There is no evidence of systematic reliance upon a summer birth strategy.

¹² The term “arrive” is used here because we cannot distinguish between biological and adoptive parents.

Table 2: Ratio of Children to Faculty by Gender and Time of Year Children Born, Tenure-track Faculty 1992-1999, Penn State

	Women	Men
Overall	.57	.95
Summer	.14	.24
Academic Year	.43	.72
Number of faculty	210	360

Table 3 provides parallel figures for the sample of newly hired tenured faculty. The divergence in the ratio of children to faculty among the tenured faculty is far more striking in this case, with men averaging almost three times the ratio of children that women do. This evidence is again consistent with hypothesis (3).

Note further that the ratio for women is lower in the tenured relative to the tenure-track sample. This finding is consistent with the claim that there is a fundamental mismatch between the child-bearing years and the tenure system. That is, women may tend to avoid children while on the tenure track in order to achieve career success but may not wish to run the medical risks associated with delayed childbearing (Varner, 2000a) after achieving tenure. Men, on the other hand, appear to be able to ‘have it all,’ enjoying some children during the tenure-track years, and even more once tenure is secured, presumably because wives are performing much of the childcare for these men. Recall, however, that these are two different samples and the same results would emerge if, for example, the more recent cohort of women were choosing to have more children while men from that cohort were selecting fewer children. Again, note that the decomposition of the ratio into summer and academic year arrivals does not support the hypothesis concerning the strategic timing of children (4) (although see Section V results on attempted timing of childbearing).

Table 3: Ratio of Children to Faculty by Gender and Time of Year Children Born, Tenured Faculty 1992-1999, Penn State

	Women	Men
Overall	.46	1.30
Summer	.10	.33
Academic Year	.36	.97
Number of faculty	160	465

Another way of looking at the data is found by asking whether lower rates of children for women are linked to lower rates of marriage by faculty women relative to men (Astin & Milem, 1997). Table 4 provides figures similar to those just discussed for subsamples of married faculty.¹³ The ratio of children to women on the faculty almost doubles in both the tenure-track and tenured samples. For men, the ratios also rise, although in far smaller increments.

There are many potential explanations for this pattern. It might be that the women attracted to the academy tend to be more committed to their careers than the men. If men seek younger women and women older men to partner with, the available pool at Penn State may favor higher marriage rates for men. Finally, it may be that lower marriage rates reflect another form of discrimination avoidance among women faculty. Given the continuing inequality in the division of labor in the home, women may have more to fear in terms of damage to their careers flowing from marriage. Regardless of these possible explanations, the basic pattern of faculty women raising fewer children than men continues to hold, even if we control for marriage.

Table 4: Ratio of Children to Married Faculty by Gender, Tenure-track and Tenured Faculty 1992-1999, Penn State (sample size)

	Women	Men
Tenure-track	.98 (89)	1.16 (278)
Tenured	.93 (68)	1.54 (361)

¹³ These data were obtained from health insurance records. Because Penn State does not provide same-sex partner benefits, such individuals are necessarily treated as single in the data.

Hypothesis (5) suggests that women faculty may select campuses other than University Park in order to better meet commitments to family. The underlying logic is that research requirements, hence workload, is lower at other campuses. If this hypothesis is correct, then we should see a higher child/faculty ratio at other campuses. To control for gender and tenure status (each of which alter the ratio), the relevant figures reported in Table 5 are broken down by gender, tenure status, and then by location.

In no case is the hypothesis supported. Indeed, looking across men and women, whether tenured or untenured, the ratio of children to faculty is higher at University Park. It is possible that additional teaching requirements help to explain the finding. That is, the higher course load found at most campuses away from University Park, may completely replace the higher research load found at the latter location. Further, teaching tends to involve very inflexible time commitments, while much research can be performed whenever the individual is motivated to do so. This inflexibility in the structure of faculty jobs at other campuses could help to explain the lower ratio of children. Regardless of the specific reason, there is no evidence consistent with the argument that women are avoiding research institutions in order to have families.

Table 5: Ratio of Children to Faculty by Location, Tenure Status, and Gender, Tenure-track and Tenured Faculty 1992-1999, Penn State (Number of faculty)

	Overall	Women	Men
Tenure-track			
University Park	.84 (346)	.55 (134)	1.02 (212)
All Other Campuses	.76 (223)	.60 (75)	.84 (148)
Tenured			
University Park	1.23 (377)	.57 (107)	1.50 (270)
All Other Campuses	.87 (247)	.48 (52)	.97 (195)

We next turn to information relevant to Hypothesis (6), that women faculty will tend to limit the number of children to one at most. This practice has been called the “China policy,” after the Chinese government’s tight strictures against multi-child families during the late 20th century.¹⁴

¹⁴ Thanks to Carolyn Sachs for suggesting the use of this term.

Relevant figures are provided in Table 6. The proportion of women faculty with multiple children is less than .2 for the tenure-track sample, and falls slightly to .17 for the newly tenured sample. For men, around a third experience multi-child families while on the tenure track, a figure that rises to .44 for the sample of tenured men. This evidence is consistent with Hypothesis (6), and with the possibility of discrimination avoidance behavior among women on the faculty.

Table 6: Proportion of Multi-Children Families among Faculty by Gender, Tenure-track and Tenured Faculty 1992-1999, Penn State

	Overall	Women	Men
<i>Tenure-track</i>	.28	.19	.33
Number of tenure-Track faculty	570	210	360
<i>Tenured</i>	.37	.17	.44
Number of tenured faculty	625	464	161

Parental leave of absence is one way that employees can help to meet commitments to family. Penn State policies regarding leave and reduced workload are detailed elsewhere (see Focus Group Results). Importantly, one reason that some individuals avoid leave upon the arrival of a new child, the absence of income continuation under the provisions of the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, is not relevant to Penn State faculty, since fully paid leave is guaranteed for a limited period of time. Even so, we expect low rates of utilization for leave and reduced workload policies (hypothesis 8). However, recall from the description of the data that there are reasons to expect underreporting of the relevant figures. Both underreporting and discrimination avoidance serve to push the numbers down.

An additional reason for low rates and reporting of leave and reduced workload is that any formal reduction of workload below the full-time level results in a substantial increase in health care costs. For example, after the FMLA 12 week period the Penn State contribution to health care insurance costs falls from the range of 74-89 percent for family coverage (depending upon the plan) to the range of 40-45 percent if a faculty member formally reduces his or her workload and pay by so much as a single course for a single semester. The Penn State contribution falls to zero for a faculty member on a leave of absence. Some reduction in institutional contribution would be expected in such situation, but the steepness of the decline serves to both reduce the incentives to take leave or reduced workload. It may also lead faculty who do use the policies to do so informally, and therefore to avoid reporting usage. Therefore, the structure of health care

benefits at Penn State provides additional reasons why low reported rates of policy utilization might appear.

With this caveat in mind, Tables 7 and 8 present information on the utilization of leave and reduced workload by gender and parental status for the samples of tenure-track and tenured faculty, respectively. As shown in Table 7, among the tenure-track faculty, only four incidences of family leave, and one instance of reduced workload for family purposes was identified. All five cases involved women on the faculty. To provide some perspective for these numbers, note that 47 new children arrived in the families of the tenure-track faculty in 1997 and 1998 alone. Regardless of underreporting, these utilization figures seem very low.

Table 8, covering the tenured faculty, reveals over 200 documented leaves, but the vast majority of these were for sabbaticals. For family purposes, only three leaves and zero reduced workload arrangements were identified. Again, the three leaves all involved women faculty. For this sample, a total of 32 children arrived in their households in 1997 and 1998, consonant with the possibility of very low policy utilization rates.

Table 7: Utilization of Leave and Reduced Work-load Policies among Faculty by Gender and Parental Status, Tenure-track Faculty 1992-1999, Penn State (number eligible in parentheses)

	Overall	Women	Men
Parents			
Family Leave	4 (257)	4 (74)	0 (183)
Other Leaves	18 (257)	7 (74)	11 (183)
Family Reduced Workload	1 (257)	1 (74)	0 (183)
Other Reduced Workload	21 (257)	6 (74)	15 (183)
<i>Non-parents</i>			
Leaves	39 (315)	17 (136)	22 (177)
Reduced Workload	19 (315)	9 (136)	10 (177)

Table 8: Utilization of Leave and Reduced Work-load Policies among Faculty by Gender and Parental Status, Tenured Faculty 1992-1999, Penn State (number eligible in parentheses)

	Overall	Women	Men
Parents			
Family Leave	3 (334)	3 (48)	0 (286)
Other Leaves	144 (334)	22 (48)	122 (286)
Family Reduced Workload	0 (334)	0 (48)	0 (286)
Other Reduced Workload	9 (334)	1 (48)	8 (286)
<i>Non-parents</i>			
Leaves	79 (290)	35 (111)	44 (179)
Reduced Workload	3 (290)	1 (111)	2 (179)

Assuming that this pattern is not entirely attributable to underreporting, low rates of leave and reduced workload utilization may reflect widespread behavior related to discrimination avoidance. In part, Penn State policy may be responsible, as the relevant policies require that the coverage of teaching duties during leaves or reduced workload periods be negotiated with the Department Head. For many tenure-track faculty, such arrangements can implicitly involve asking some of the tenured faculty who will later vote on the individual's tenure case to teach a course overload. Therefore, the policy provides an incentive to avoid utilization. In addition, however, faculty may simply avoid policy utilization in order to appear committed to their careers, departments, and the institution. Further data are needed in order to pin down the precise reasons for this pattern.

Conclusion

The evidence presented here suggests there is little direct “discrimination” against parents and particularly mothers. Attrition rates, although higher for women, are lower for parents regardless of gender. This finding is not surprising in light of theoretical arguments regarding “discrimination avoidance.” The logic of “discrimination avoidance” hinges on the possibility that women know that family commitments are likely to result in discriminatory behavior, and so reduce or hide such commitments.

The evidence is largely consistent with the possibility of “discrimination avoidance.” Specifically, for samples of tenure-track and of tenured faculty, the child to faculty ratio is far lower for women than for men. Marriage rates are lower for women as well, which is also consistent with the logic, and even in subsamples of married faculty, the same pattern is identified – faculty women raise fewer children. No evidence was found in support of the

possibilities that faculty women successfully strategize so that children are born during the summer to avoid the possibility of childbirth interfering with the job. Nor did the figures support the possibility that women take jobs in environments with less of an emphasis on research in order to raise children. Evidence was found, however, suggesting that women faculty often feel constrained to a limit of one child only, the so-called “China policy,” a finding that is very consistent with the notion of “discrimination avoidance.” Similarly, the evidence suggests very low take-up rates for policies around leave and reduced workload to meet family commitments.

V. Pilot Survey Results

Introduction and Survey Development

For this portion of the project, a pilot survey was designed and administered with the purposes of:

- Identifying policy options around work and family that would attract widespread faculty support.
- Uncover the forms and prevalence of “discrimination avoidance” behavior.
- Check the reliability of scales to indicate the organizational climate around work/family, supervisory support for the work/family needs of subordinates, negative and positive affect, and turnover intentions.

The results of that pilot are reported here. Like many other facets of the overall project, the survey was largely designed to uncover problems around the ability of faculty to successfully make and meet commitments to work and family, and to categorize these problems by gender, tenure, and family status.

To uncover work/family problems, five scales, along with a list of policies to obtain utilization rates, and a list of specific “discrimination avoidance” behaviors were developed. The five scales are standard, and include the organizational climate around work/family issues (Bond, Galinsky, & Swanberg, 1998), supervisor support for the work/family commitments of respondents (revised from a parent-specific scale developed by Thomas & Ganster, 1995), turnover intentions (Bond, Galinsky, & Swanberg, 1998), and scales for positive and negative affect (Watson & Tellegen, 1988). The latter scales provide an opportunity to control for broad attitudinal variation among respondents whose objective circumstances might be similar. The list of work/family policies for utilization rates was developed from various sources, and intentionally covers some policies that most colleges and universities, to the best of our knowledge, do not currently offer (Friedman, Rimsky, & Johnson, 1996; Drago & Williams, 2000). The list of items concerning “discrimination avoidance” behavior was developed from the results of focus groups (see Section III).

In addition to the items just described, respondents were asked about the fairness of various policies, and whether the respondent would use the policy if it were available. Previous work/family research on fairness suggests that even individuals who could not use such policies may view them as fair (Grover & Crooker, 1995; Bond, Galinsky, & Swanberg, 1998) or would even contribute monetarily to funding the policies (Drago, et al, forthcoming). Grandey (forthcoming) argues that an understanding of how different policies are perceived in terms of fairness is crucial to any effort to select policies that will attract widespread support.

Survey Administration

For the pilot survey, it was believed that at least 50 responses would be required for two specific purposes. The first objective was to test the validity of the scales on a sample of university faculty to ascertain whether validity would be affected by anything unique to academics. The second objective was to check whether specific “discrimination avoidance” behaviors, identified

in the focus groups administered to Penn State faculty, were sufficiently widespread to warrant inclusion in a larger survey effort.

Because the survey might later be administered to Penn State faculty, another research university was selected for the pilot survey. At that university, a list of 329 tenured and tenure-track faculty was obtained. Such a large list was desirable given that time constraints led us to administer the survey during December of 2000, a time when faculty tend to be particularly busy. A low response rate was therefore expected. In addition, no follow-up request for survey completion was provided, again leading to a low response rate. The brevity of the survey, and ease of return in a self-stamped, self-addressed envelope, on the other hand, should have improved the response rate.

Survey administration generated the return of 78 surveys in five weeks, for a response rate of 23.7 percent. Response rates on scales and various specific items ranged from a high of 78 for demographic questions, to a low of 64 for items regarding intent to turnover (19.5 percent response rate). The reason for the particularly low response rate on the latter scale was, we believe, due to unclear directions for those items (i.e., the scale was not provided immediately above the specific items).

Several demographic items that would be useful to include in a larger scale survey were excluded from the pilot survey to ensure that responses were anonymous. Excluded items included the race and marital status of the respondent, as well as the specific disciplinary area of the faculty member.

Survey Results

Table 1 provides the demographic characteristics of the respondents. Somewhat surprisingly, over 60 percent of respondents were male. Less surprisingly, almost two-thirds of respondents held tenure. Around one-ninth of respondents were currently responsible for elder care.

Table 1. Demographic Information, n=78 faculty

SEX		TENURED	
<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>NO</u>
62.2%	37.8%	66.7%	33.3%

Responsible for the care of an elder or disabled person for at least 3 hours per week?

<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
13.7%	86.3%

Number of Children at Home

	(n < 78)			
	<u>Tenured</u>	<u>Tenure-Track</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
None	29	9	14	23
One	5	5	5	5
Two or more	16	10	8	18

By tenure status, parenthood is relatively more common for tenure-track faculty. As was true for the larger sample of new Penn State faculty, men are relatively more likely to be parents than women (see Section IV of this report).

Table 2 presents results from a series of questions concerning the fairness of work/family policies, as well as intended and actual utilization of those same policies. On a scale of one to five, with five representing respondents who strongly agree that the policy seems fair, a majority of policies attracted average responses above a four. Those policies receiving positive responses included the options for a semester of unpaid leave following the birth or adoption of a first child, a similar leave for a second child, the option to stop the tenure clock for one year following the birth or adoption of a new child, partly subsidized or non-subsidized on-site child care, and the option for tenured faculty to reduce their teaching and service load along with pay in order to meet long-term care-giving commitments. Policies receiving less positive responses included leaves with pay, a second year of stopping the tenure clock, subsidies of up to \$10,000 for adoption, and reduced workload options for new parents on the tenure-track. In comparing these lists, note that money was not the dividing line, as subsidized on-site childcare enjoyed a high level of support while paid leave and subsidized adoption costs did not. Rather, there seemed to be much support for policies that are currently widespread, including unpaid leave and a single year of stopping the tenure clock, with less support for any further tinkering with the tenure system (e.g., a second stoppage or reduced workload for tenure-track parents).

Turning to intent, and using the neutral response cut-off of three, only a few policies generated positive responses on average to the question of whether the faculty member would use the policy. These policies included: one semester of paid leave following the arrival of a new child, subsidized or non-subsidized on-site child care, and a reduction in pay and workload for tenured faculty with long-term care-giving commitments. With the exception of whether new parent leave should be paid or unpaid, it is intriguing that on-site child care, reduced workload arrangements for tenured faculty, and new parent leave seem to attract support both in terms of perceived fairness and relatively high intentions to use.

As reported in the final column of Table 2, actual utilization rates are uniformly low. The only policy used by more than five percent of respondents was on-site child care. Even here, less than

10 percent of respondents reported using the facilities. In part, low utilization rates may reflect the heavily male, and mainly tenured character of the sample.

Table 3 reports information similar to Table 2, but here broken down by gender. In terms of fairness, in no case do the average responses for men and for women deviate by a full point on the scale. In terms of intent to use the policy, in one instance a one point difference emerges: women appeared more likely to take a semester of paid leave following the birth or adoption of a new child. For actual policy utilization, men rarely used any of the policies except for on-site child care. Women also used on-site child care. In addition, over 10 percent of women had taken a one semester unpaid leave following the arrival of a new child, and around seven percent of the women had stopped the tenure clock following childbirth or adoption. The more frequent utilization of work/family policies by women as opposed to men is standard across national samples of employees (Gerstel & McGonagle, 1999).

Responses to questions about “discrimination avoidance” are provided in Table 4. An item on whether the respondent avoided breastfeeding at the workplace (asked only of women) received no positive responses, so is not reported in the Table. Considering the overall pattern of responses by gender, women report higher levels of “discrimination avoidance” for eight of the 13 items (12 survey questions, plus the 13th item concerning dependent children, which we take as an inverse indicator of discrimination avoidance). As discussed above, it was expected that women would more frequently engage in behavior intended to reduce the potential for discrimination against parents, and the results fit this expectation.

Men do exhibit a high prevalence of avoiding either parental leave or stopping the tenure clock (over 40 percent of respondents in each case). Further, over one-quarter of men did not request a reduced workload when it was needed for family reasons, over one-third of men missed important events in their children’s lives in order to appear committed to the job, and 10 percent of the men stayed single to achieve academic success. All of these figures are higher than those for women in the sample. By implication, “discrimination avoidance” is not exclusively a women’s issue.

Nonetheless, “discrimination avoidance” behaviors seem more common among the women sampled. Many of the women engaged in sequencing (Blair-Loy, 1999), with over one-fifth delaying an academic career in order to start a family first, and a full quarter of the women sequenced by delaying a second child until after the tenure decision. Over one-quarter of the women reported having fewer children than they wished in order to achieve academic success, one-third claimed to avoid bringing children to the office during school breaks so that others would not be bothered, and over two-fifths of the women attempted to time the arrival of children during a summer break. The most common forms of “discrimination avoidance” among the women sampled, affecting over one-half of respondents, were missing important events in their children’s lives, and coming back to work sooner than respondents would have liked in order to be taken seriously as an academic.

Even though the sample is comprised of only 71 respondents, responses to the “discrimination avoidance” questions suggest that the problems may be widespread and warrant serious attention and further examination. That is, many faculty members seem to have concluded that various

formal options around issues of work and family are not in practice available to them as academics.

Generic items concerning work and family outcomes are covered in Table 5. The work/family climate scale (Bond, Galinsky, & Swanberg, 1998) uses three items to address attitudes at the level of the organization, and is framed negatively so that a lower score reflects a more positive climate for work and family. The scale is reliable for this sample ($\alpha=.842$), and the pattern of results suggests that tenured faculty, men, and non-parents view the organizational climate as more favorable to meeting work and family commitments. This pattern fits our prior expectations that difficulties in combining work and family are more substantial for mothers on the tenure track, so they will perceive a more negative organizational climate around these issues.

The scale for supervisor support (Thomas & Ganster, 1995), also reported in Table 5, includes nine items and is framed positively such that a higher score reflects greater supervisor support for the work and family commitments of faculty. The scale is also reliable for this sample ($\alpha=.867$). Although differences by gender are small, there is some reversal from the organizational climate findings, with women rising slightly above men and parents slightly above non-parents in their average responses.

Results for turnover intentions are presented in Table 6. The scale for turnover intent is reasonably reliable for this sample ($\alpha=.617$). Differences by tenure status, gender and parental status are not surprising. Those without tenure, women, and non-parents report being more likely to leave the institution.

Finally, positive and negative affect scales are covered in Table 7. Reliability is found for both the positive affect ($\alpha=.849$) and negative affect ($\alpha=.751$) scales in these data. Slightly higher levels of positive affect are associated with tenured faculty, men, and parents. Slightly elevated levels of negative affect are found for non-tenured faculty, for parents, and especially for men.

Discussion

The results presented here in large part fulfilled our expectations. The scales for work/family climate, supervisor support, turnover intentions, and positive and negative affect all exhibit reasonable reliability. The scales could therefore be used with confidence in a broader study of faculty and families.

Results with regard to the fairness of work/family policies are also sensible. The average respondent is highly supportive of what are now relatively standard work/family policies for faculty, including a semester of unpaid leave for new parents on the tenure track and a one year stoppage of the tenure clock, and on-site child care. The only novel policy option receiving this level of support was a reduced workload (with reduced pay) opportunity for tenured faculty with long-term care-giving responsibilities. Reduced workload options for tenure-track faculty received less support, as did subsidies for adoptive parents. When asked about policies they would use if available, paid parental leave, on-site childcare and reduced workload for tenured

faculty with care-giving commitments appeared to be the policies that would generate the highest utilization rates.

It is worth pausing a moment to reflect on the only relatively novel policy receiving a positive response in terms of perceived fairness: reduced workload arrangements for tenured faculty with caregiving responsibilities. Most policies discussed in this section and elsewhere in this report tend to focus on the difficulties tenure-track faculty face in simultaneous commitments to children and to achieving tenure. The family commitments of tenured faculty tend to be downplayed as a result. Yet such needs exist, and at least this particular policy option received considerable positive support. Moreover, the need for such policies is likely to rise in the future because faculty, along with the rest of the population, are aging, and adults who typically shoulder elder care responsibilities are older than the parents of dependent children. For example, the 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce found 19 percent of employees between the ages of 30 and 39 with current elder care responsibilities, a figure that rises to 37 percent for employees age 50 or above (Bond, Galinsky & Swanberg, 1998). Most elder care demands therefore seem likely to fall on faculty who are already tenured. Perhaps the positive response to the fairness of a policy that would help here is due to an implicit recognition of this phenomenon.

Returning to the results, as was also expected, rates of utilization for work/family policies were extremely low. The one option that was used by even five percent of all respondents – men and women -- was on-site child care. This result fits the “discrimination avoidance” hypothesis, since on-site child care can help to reduce the time an employee spends commuting for child care purposes and obviates the need for back-up child care arrangements. However, over 10 percent of women sampled had taken a one semester unpaid leave following the arrival of a new child, and seven percent had stopped the tenure clock for one year.

Perhaps the most intriguing results are those yielded by questions concerning “discrimination avoidance.” Many of the women reported strategizing to have children either before stepping on to the tenure track or after tenure was achieved. Many women attempted to time childbirth to coincide with summer break, came back early from parental leave to help ensure that they would be taken seriously as academics, did not bring children into the office when schools were closed, and missed important events in their children’s lives in order to appear committed to the job. “Discrimination avoidance” is not for women only, but the forms appear to be distinct for men. For that group, the behaviors that appeared most prevalent included an avoidance of stopping the tenure clock and not taking parental leave when it was needed.

These differences suggest the possibility of a double standard. Faculty mothers may be implicitly permitted to tinker around the edges of the tenure system by stopping the tenure clock once and taking a single semester of unpaid leave for a first child. Faculty fathers may not even be provided with that much leeway. Faculty mothers, probably because they perform most child care in the home, are cut some slack but still feel the need to engage in extensive “discrimination avoidance” behavior in order to appear to be committed workers at their institution.

In sum, these results are disturbing in terms of the depth of the problems facing faculty striving to be successful in their work and family roles. The results are also promising in terms of directions for future research.

Table 2. Fairness, Intended Use and Actual Use of Work/Family Policies, n=71.

	This Policy Seems Fair(1-5)		I Would Use This(1-5)		I Have Used(√)	
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Mean	Std. Deviation	HAVE NOT=1 Mean	Std. Deviation
The option for tenure-track faculty to take one semester of <i>unpaid</i> leave following the birth or adoption of a new child...	4.55	1.06	2.89	4.55	.962	2.89
The option for tenure-track faculty to take a <i>second</i> semester of <i>unpaid</i> leave following the birth or adoption of a <i>second</i> child.....	4.22	.962	2.60	4.22	1.00	.000
The option for tenure-track faculty to take one semester of <i>paid</i> leave following the birth or adoption of a new child...	3.44	1.56	3.08	4.55	.987	.113
The option for tenure-track faculty to <i>stop the tenure clock</i> for one year (without leave) following the birth or adoption of a new child.....	4.01	1.47	2.95	1.79	.974	.159
The option for tenure-track faculty to stop the tenure clock for a <i>second</i> year (without leave) following the birth or adoption of a <i>second</i> child.....	3.24	1.62	2.32	1.65	.987	.113
The provision of on-site child care for faculty that is <i>not subsidized</i> by the institution.....	4.14	1.28	3.11	1.77	.935	.248
The provision of on-site child care for faculty that is <i>partly subsidized</i> by the institution.....	4.36	.075	3.62	1.77	.948	.223
Coverage of up to \$10,000 per child for the costs of adoption (costs can range up to twice as much).....	2.23	1.30	2.08	1.55	.986	.115
The option for new parents to reduce their teaching and service load, with a proportional reduction in salary for up to one year.....	4.51	1.01	2.90	1.71	1.00	.000
The option for tenured faculty with long-term care-giving commitments (e.g., elderly, ill or disabled relative) to reduce their teaching and service load, with a proportional reduction in pay, for an indefinite period.....	4.17	1.23	3.08	1.58	1.00	.000
The option for new parents to reduce by one-half their teaching, research, and service load, and to receive half their normal pay and benefits, for a period of up to four years.....	3.37	1.49	2.50	1.62	1.00	.000
The option for new <i>tenure-track</i> parents to reduce by one-half their teaching, research, and service load, to receive half their normal pay and benefits, and to slow the tenure clock by one-half, for a period of up to four years.....	3.27	1.48	2.15	1.46	1.00	.000

Table 3: Gender, Fairness, Intended Use, and Actual Use of Work/Family Policies, n=71.

	This Policy Seems <u>Fair(1-5)</u>	I Would Use <u>This(1-5)</u>	I Have <u>Used(√)</u>
	Female [Male]	Female [Male]	Female [Male]
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Mean</u>
The option for tenure-track faculty to take one semester of <i>unpaid</i> leave following the birth or adoption of a new child...	4.32 [4.65]	3.35 [2.65]	.893 [1.00]
The option for tenure-track faculty to take a <i>second</i> semester of <i>unpaid</i> leave following the birth or adoption of a <i>second</i> child.....	4.36 [4.12]	3.35 [2.63]	1.00 [1.00]
The option for tenure-track faculty to take one semester of <i>paid</i> leave following the birth or adoption of a new child...	3.93 [3.15]	4.00 [2.47]	.964 [1.00]
The option for tenure-track faculty to <i>stop the tenure clock</i> for one year (without leave) following the birth or adoption of a new child.....	4.36 [3.91]	3.26 [2.83]	.929 [1.00]
The option for tenure-track faculty to stop the tenure clock for a <i>second</i> year (without leave) following the birth or adoption of a <i>second</i> child.....	3.82 [3.00]	2.87 [2.03]	.964 [1.00]
The provision of on-site child care for faculty that is <i>not subsidized</i> by the institution.....	3.85 [4.42]	2.95 [3.16]	.893 [.956]
The provision of on-site child care for faculty that is <i>partly subsidized</i> by the institution.....	4.46 [4.42]	3.83 [3.49]	.964 [.933]
Coverage of up to \$10,000 per child for the costs of adoption (costs can range up to twice as much).....	2.44 [2.71]	2.30 [1.94]	1.00 [.978]
The option for new parents to reduce their teaching and service load, with a proportional reduction in salary for up to one year.....	4.82 [4.28]	3.05 [2.75]	1.00 [1.00]
The option for tenured faculty with long-term care-giving commitments (e.g., elderly, ill or disabled relative) to reduce their teaching and service load, with a proportional reduction in pay, for an indefinite period.....	4.39 [3.98]	3.09 [3.02]	1.00 [1.00]
The option for new parents to reduce by one-half their teaching, research, and service load, and to receive half their normal pay and benefits, for a period of up to four years.....	3.57 [3.11]	2.64 [2.33]	1.00 [1.00]
The option for new <i>tenure-track</i> parents to reduce by one-half their teaching, research, and service load, to receive half their normal pay and benefits, and to slow the tenure clock by one-half, for a period of up to four years.....	3.39 [3.15]	2.41 [1.97]	1.00 [1.00]

1=HAVE NOT

Table 4: The Prevalence of Discrimination Avoidance Behaviors by Gender, n=71.

	YES/NO YES=1			Std. Deviation Total
	Mean Men	Mean Women	Mean Total	
Delayed starting my academic career in order to start a family.....	.043	.222	.117	.323
Stayed single because I did not have time for a family and a successful academic career.....	.109	.037	.078	.270
To achieve academic success, I had fewer children than I wanted to have	.152	.286	.2051	.4064
Did not ask for a reduced teaching load when I needed it for family reasons, because it would put an undue burden on others.....	.273	.192	.243	.432
Did not ask for a reduced teaching load when I needed it for family reasons, because it would lead to a heavier load later.....	.136	.040	.096	.297
Had one child, but delayed considering another until after the tenure decision	.056	.267	.132	.342
Did not ask for parental leave even though it would have helped me to take it	.417	.143	.365	.486
Did not ask to stop the tenure clock for a new child even though it would have helped me to take it.....	.417	.231	.373	.488
Missed some of my children's important events when they were young, because I did not want to appear uncommitted to my job.....	.361	.533	.434	.500
Came back to work sooner than I would have liked after having a new child because I wanted to be taken seriously as an academic.....	.139	.643	.308	.466
Timed new children to arrive during the summer break.....	.139	.429	.212	.412
Did not bring children to the office during their school breaks because I worried that other faculty would be bothered.....	.250	.357	.289	.458
Number of children at home.....	1.00	.852	.948	1.06

Table 5: Work/Family Outcome Scales

Work/Family Climate Scale

[Alpha=.842], N=76



Disagree Somewhat disagree Neutral Somewhat agree Agree

AT MY INSTITUTION

There is an unwritten rule that you cannot take care of family needs during working hours

Faculty who put their family or personal needs ahead of their jobs are not looked on favorably

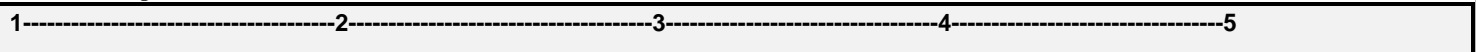
If you have a problem managing your work and family responsibilities, the attitude is: "You made your bed, now lie in it!"

Work/Family Climate Scale Mean

Tenure		Sex		Parents	
<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
6.48	7.88	7.61	6.52	7.46	6.42

Supervisor Support Scale

[Alpha=.867], N=70



Disagree Somewhat disagree Neutral Somewhat agree Agree

MY DEPARTMENT CHAIR OR IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR

Listens to my problems

Shares ideas or advice

Is understanding or sympathetic

Helps me to figure out how to solve problems

Shows resentment of the needs of working parents in the Dept. (r)

Is critical of how some faculty combine work and family (r)

Schedules courses and committee meetings to accommodate faculty's family needs

Juggles his or her own duties to help faculty meet their family needs

 Holds faculty's family responsibilities against them (r)

Supervisor Support Scale Mean

Tenure		Sex		Parents	
<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
32.57	32.33	33.20	32.70	33.32	31.8

Table 6: Turnover Intent Scale

[Alpha=.617], N=64

1-----2-----3-----4-----5					
Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neutral	Somewhat agree		
Agree					
<u>FOR MY OWN FUTURE</u>					
I intend to remain with this job as long as I can (reversed)					
I intend to leave this job before the next academic year					
I would leave this job if I could					
Turnover Intent Scale Mean					
Tenure		Sex		Parents	
<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
4.22	4.75	5.41	3.55	3.52	4.97

Table 7. General Mood State. Indicate to what extent you GENERALLY OR TYPICALLY feel this way:

1-----2-----3-----4-----5					
Very Slightly or never	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit		
Extremely					
Positive Affect Scale		Negative Affect Scale			
[Alpha=.849], N=70		[Alpha=.751], N=71			
interested		irritable			
alert		distressed			
excited		ashamed			
inspired		upset			
strong		nervous			
determined		hostile			
attentive		jittery			
enthusiastic		afraid			
active		guilty			
proud		scared			
Positive Affect Scale Mean					
Tenure		Sex		Parents	
<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
39.1	37.5	37.7	39.1	39.1	38.0
Negative Affect Scale Mean					
Tenure		Sex		Parents	
<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
18.2	20.4	19.9	39.1	19.2	19.1

VI. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

The research for the Faculty and Families project at Penn State sought to uncover problems that faculty face in attempting to make and meet commitments to both the University and to their families. A key problem studied was that of “discrimination” against individuals with substantial family commitments. As Williams (1999) argues, ideal workers in many careers, including those in academia, demonstrate their commitment by working long hours throughout their careers. Such individuals are rewarded with career success. Individuals who take on substantial family commitments are therefore likely to suffer career penalties as a result. Since women tend to take on such commitments, whether for children or for elder care, the ideal worker model effectively discriminates against women. Types of direct “discrimination” were analyzed through the project, including the potential for high rates of attrition among faculty mothers, and questions were asked in focus groups to elicit information regarding “discrimination.”

However, as detailed earlier in this report, we believe that much of the relevant behavior takes the form of “discrimination avoidance.” Faculty men and particularly women may be aware that “discrimination” would follow in the wake of substantial and public commitments to family. They may therefore respond by either avoiding family commitments they would otherwise make, failing in fulfilling family commitments, or spending time developing and implementing strategies so that parenthood and caregiving are hidden from others at work. Evidence of “discrimination avoidance” would imply that for many faculty, men as well as women, choices around family are severely constrained.

On balance, the bulk of the evidence uncovered in the various analyses is consistent with the possibility of “discrimination avoidance”. To be sure, some evidence from the focus groups suggests that co-workers and administrators directly “discriminate” against parents on occasion. But even there, much evidence of “discrimination avoidance” appears, including cases where faculty avoid taking on commitments to children, avoid bringing children into the workplace, and avoid taking leave as new parents to avoid the appearance of low commitment. The focus groups also highlighted perceived inflexibilities due to teaching commitments and time pressures, a problem that is particularly glaring in cases when a child is sick.

The new Penn State faculty data from the 1990s further supports the possibility that “discrimination avoidance” is more common than direct “discrimination.” Evidence of direct “discrimination” might have appeared in terms of higher attrition rates among parents on the tenure track. In fact the opposite result was found: parents were less likely to leave than non-parents. Instead, we found evidence supporting the possibility of “discrimination avoidance”. Women on the tenure track were far less likely to marry and, even if married, had fewer children than men on the faculty. Relatedly, we uncovered evidence suggesting the existence of an implicit “one child strategy,” such that women on the faculty are more likely to limit their families to one child than their male counterparts.

Perhaps most troubling is the possibility that many women on the tenure track appear to be attempting to delay childbearing, perhaps in order to achieve career success. For men, this strategy appears to be viable, as the average child/faculty ratio was much higher within the sample of tenured men relative to the tenure track sample. For women, however, this strategy is

likely to fail as rates of bearing healthy children decline quickly as prospective mothers pass through their late 30s and into their early 40s (Varner, 2000a). The numbers are consistent with this possibility, as both the ratio of children to faculty and the percentage of multi-child families fall as we move from the sample of tenure-track women to the tenured group. Therefore, many faculty women who wish to bear and raise children may be caught, unable to bear children due to the need to appear as an ideal worker while on the tenure track, and unable to bear children after tenure is achieved due to biological aging.

The pilot survey, although it was directed at faculty from another University, provides further information supportive of “discrimination avoidance”. Over one-quarter of the female sample reported that, in order to achieve academic success, they had fewer children than they wished, and an overlapping quarter reported waiting until after tenure to have a second child. Over one-half of the women sampled reported that in order to appear highly committed to their jobs, they missed important events when their children were young, while almost two-thirds of the women reported coming back to work sooner than they would have liked following childbirth in order to be taken seriously as an academic. In addition, although we found no evidence in birth timing patterns for Penn State faculty of successful “summer birth” strategies, over 40 percent of the women in the pilot survey reported attempting to do so. All of these findings can be taken as evidence of “discrimination avoidance”.

The phenomenon does not only affect women. Over 40 percent of faculty men responding to the pilot survey wished to but did not ask for parental leave and (in a separate response) to stay the tenure clock following the arrival of a new child.

In addition to issues around children, rising needs for elder care among faculty parents, part of a phenomenon likely to affect many Americans in the near future (Varner, 2000b), are likely to create further difficulties in simultaneously meeting commitments to the institution and to family. The demands posed by elder care are very different than those associated with children. The timing of such demands is far less controllable, and adults who shoulder elder care responsibilities are typically older than the parents of dependent children. For example, the 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce found 19 percent of employees between the ages of 30 and 39 with current elder care responsibilities, a figure that rises to 37 percent for employees age 50 or above (Bond, Galinsky & Swanberg, 1998). Most elder care demands therefore seem likely to fall on faculty who are already tenured.

It might seem that the tenure system would make it easy for tenured faculty to take care of aging parents. The faculty member could simply come to work periodically to meet teaching and committee responsibilities but would otherwise concentrate on elder care. Even if this situation occurred, it is not ideal from the perspective of either the institution or the individual. For the individual, the entire brunt of elder care is born by reductions in research, a phenomenon with severe long-term consequences for academics (even if the loss of job security is not one). For the institution, a surreptitious reduction in workload is involved. Both parties could be better served by a policy motivating the faculty member to make such commitments explicit in order to better meet family needs and the needs of the institution.

The context for these findings is important. As detailed in earlier in this report (Section I), Penn State arguably has an array of policies placing it above the average U.S. college or university in terms of explicit efforts to address conflicts between work and family commitments. Although we cannot document that claim in quantifiable terms, the current existence of various policies and the provision of related benefits certainly demonstrates a serious institutional commitment to resolving these issues.

Regardless of this institutional commitment, the severe problems discussed above remain. That the problems remain implies the existence of severe constraints on the ability of faculty, and particularly women on the faculty, to make and meet commitments to family. It also suggests that successful efforts to weaken those constraints will need to be substantial, long-term, and involve men as well as women. The University should not be in the business of promoting marriage, childbirth, or adoption. By the same token, however, a career at Penn State should not be viewed as requiring faculty to abstain from taking on such commitments. The following policy recommendations therefore represent opportunities to loosen the constraints on faculty wishing to make and fulfill commitments to family.

Specific policy recommendations fall into three categories: A) the enhanced utilization of existing policies, B) the improvement of existing policies, and C) the implementation of new policies.

A) Communicate and Institutionalize Existing Policies:

- vi) Establish a culture where leave, one year of tenure-clock staying, or reduced hours for caregivers are the norm (e.g., used by at least 40% of those eligible). Results from the focus groups and the data for new Penn State faculty suggest that many and perhaps most faculty members do not view existing policy options as open to them. Although we cannot pin down the extent to which specific factors are responsible for this perceived limit on utilization of existing policies, the focus group results suggest that some mixture of the following is involved: fear of adverse career consequences flowing from policy utilization by tenure-track faculty, policies placing a heavy burden on individuals and departments, and variance in the work/family climate across disciplines, departments, and schools and colleges within Penn State. Specific efforts to improve utilization rates might include:
 - a. Provide prospective or new parents with just-in-time and easily accessible information on Penn State policies and practices on the world-wide web. At present, such information is available at www.ohr.psu.edu, but could be placed in a format such that all relevant information on a particular issue can be accessed by linking through topics such as “Information for prospective parents,” “Information on elder care,” “Information for dual-career couples,” or “Information on faculty leaves.” Additional efforts to get the word out would be required so that faculty needing the information can find it easily.
 - b. A third party, such as an ombudsman, could be introduced into negotiations for parental leave and reduced workload to provide information and knowledge of successful arrangements in related cases. The present system of faculty who are prospective or actual new parents negotiating with their department heads for

- leaves or reduced hours places a heavy burden on both parties in terms of knowing the relevant policies and identifying any necessary resources.
- c. Monitor leave, tenure-clock staying and reduced hours arrangements for new biological or adoptive parents and those responsible for elder care across the University on an annual basis and reward and recognize administrators who successfully promote policy utilization.
 - d. Monitor the perceived work/family climate across the University on an annual basis and include results from monitoring in the evaluation of applicable administrators. Results could be reported separately by parental status, marital status, tenure status, and by gender, with the objective being to demonstrate improvement in the perceived climate for individuals in all categories, including men as well as women, tenured as well as tenure-track faculty, married as well as single individuals, and parents as well as non-parents.
 - e. Include recognition in annual statements by various administrators of units where most new parents use one or more of existing policies for caregiving.
 - f. Promote and advertise existing policies around dual-career opportunities, parenting, elder care, and family and medical leave.
 - g. Review applicable policies and culture with the Committee of Academic Deans, Faculty Senate, and the Committee of Human Resource Representatives.
- vii) Promote “Family Hours.” Consistent with existing Penn State policies, faculty with primary or co-primary caregiving responsibilities for a dependent could, with proper documentation, be permitted to take a reduction in salary in exchange for a one course per semester reduction in workload so long as those caregiving commitments continued. The need for such a policy is suggested by the low rates of child rearing found in the analysis of new Penn State faculty women, as well as specific comments on the issue made by focus group participants. Such a policy would likely make Penn State more attractive to prospective faculty and thereby enhance faculty recruitment efforts. However, any family hours policy would need to be implemented carefully so that long-term difficulties are not created for small departments and so the policy is not utilized only by women. Specifics of a family hours policy could include: A one-course reduction in load per semester, with other academic duties continuing as usual; individuals receiving the reduced workload compensating their department by taking a reduction in pay for each semester sufficient to provide for the hiring of a high-quality replacement teacher; the development of a “single caregiver fund,” to cover compensation costs for individuals who are providing care but do not have another adult living in the home capable of providing either additional care or additional income.
- viii) Provide partially paid, full semester leaves for the semester when a new child is due. At present, such leaves can be negotiated, but the expectation is that the administrative head agreeing to the leave will use existing faculty and financial resources to cover any resulting shortfall of teaching. The focus group results suggest that some tenure-track faculty are fearful of requesting leave because of the resulting burden on other faculty members, a finding that could help to explain the low rates of leave utilization found for new Penn State faculty. By providing a funding mechanism through a standardized reduction in pay, faculty might be in a stronger position to make such requests.

- ix) Make children more welcome in the workplace for faculty and staff. The focus groups and pilot survey results suggested that the perceived friendliness of the University to children is highly variable across disciplines, departments, schools and colleges. A comprehensive approach to these issues might reduce this variance. Although the project did not analyze work/family issues for Penn State staff, it also seems likely that policies related to welcoming children need to include staff both to be effective and to be fair. Examples of potential policies include:
 - a. Stated formal or informal policies permitting parents among the faculty and staff to bring children to work for short-duration elementary and secondary school closings, such as those occurring for teacher in-service days or due to inclement weather. Whether formal or informal, such policies should state that subordinates and students are not to be used for caregiving purposes at such times.
 - b. Stated formal or informal policies permitting women with young children to care for children at work in order to promote breast-feeding and the health benefits for children that go along with the practice.
 - c. The design of new buildings or refitting of existing buildings to make them friendly to young children and parents. For example, restrooms might include additional lounge space for diaper changing, breastfeeding, or resting, or offices might be designed to be safe for children.
- x) Make caregiving an issue for faculty women *and* men. Virtually all of the policies discussed here apply to men as well as women, yet the evidence on new Penn State faculty as well as the pilot survey results imply that most policy utilization will be by women unless there is an explicit and public attempt to encourage men to use the policies. Gender equity in this regard could be promoted by highlighting units where both men and women utilize policies.

B) Enhance Existing Policies

- vi) Make existing policies regarding new parent leave consistent across lines of gender and biological versus adoptive parent status. At present, children adopted at age five or above are defined by the National Adoption Clearinghouse as special needs children, yet faculty who adopt such children receive a minimum of two weeks of paid leave, as is also true of new biological fathers. All other new parents are guaranteed a minimum paid leave of six weeks. Standardization on the six weeks policy would enhance the fairness of existing policies. Further, by making the policy more universal, the low rates of leave utilization found among new tenure-line faculty at Penn State might be raised.
- vii) Provide a consistent policy regarding requests for external letters in tenure cases for faculty who stay the tenure clock. At present, outside reviewers for tenure cases are sometimes alerted to the fact that a year was stayed and at other times provided no information. In the latter case, an external reviewer might reasonably conclude that the individual is in the terminal year. Penn State policy OHR23, IV, 7. B. states that during such stays, “the faculty member would not be evaluated according to the tenure guidelines, and the year would not be counted toward the provisional period.” Without alerting external reviewers as to the reason for the stay, the reviewers might be alerted to the fact that one year out of those covered by the materials was not

- counted in the provisional period. Rates of staying the tenure clock might be increased if faculty members knew that external reviewers would be instructed to ignore the year the clock was stayed.
- viii) Shift the burden for a request of new parental leave from the faculty member to the University. Although a prospective parent would always need to notify the administrative head of the situation, policies could be redrawn such that, upon notification, leave will be automatic unless the faculty member explicitly requests that no leave be provided. The low rates of leave utilization found here, and fears expressed by focus group participants that careers could be adversely affected by asking for leave, might be alleviated if such a policy were in place
 - ix) Review policies regarding healthcare insurance benefits for caregivers who elect either a reduced workload or leave of absence. By reducing the financial penalties for leave and reduced workload arrangements, the possibility of faculty using the policies would be significantly enhanced.
 - x) Request the Benefits Committee of the Faculty Senate to review policies, practices and culture around work and family, and to suggest revisions to policies as necessary.

C) Implement New Policies

- v) Provide handicapped parking privileges to women faculty in cases of a difficult pregnancy or post-pregnancy condition as defined by the individual's personal physician. Implementation of such a policy might help the affected individuals directly, as suggested in the focus groups, and also help to improve the work/family climate at Penn State.
- vi) Add child care support in terms of:
 - a. Subsidies for faculty with child care needs. Such subsidies could be universal across all Penn State campuses, and could be implemented in a flexible (or "cafeteria") fashion so that faculty can use the subsidies at Penn State facilities, at non-Penn State facilities, or for back-up or sick child care. For faculty who travel, or for those whose research or teaching involves non-standard hours, such subsidies could be extremely helpful, as mentioned in the focus groups.
 - b. Offer "flexible" schedules for childcare at Penn State facilities. The focus groups highlighted the existence of the need for intermittent and non-standard hours child care. Existing Penn State facilities can offer one option for such arrangements.
 - c. Provisions for sick child care in the home. Evidence of the need for such arrangements appeared in the focus groups. Two approaches might be considered. One would be the possible rescheduling of classes as appropriate when a child is sick. The other would involve resource and referral services for in-home sick child care.
 - d. Cooperative initiatives to enhance the quality and number of child care facilities in the various communities associated with Penn State, and to increase the number of qualified caregivers in those communities. A shortage of quality child care facilities was mentioned repeatedly in the focus groups, and these initiatives could help to improve the situation.

- vii) Provide subsidies to help defray the expenses associated with adoption. As both the child-rearing evidence on new Penn State faculty and the pilot survey results suggest, delayed attempts to bear children are a fairly common strategy among faculty women for gaining tenure. Such delays, however, can lead to infertility and hence the need for adoption. Out-of-pocket expenses for adoption are typically at least \$12,000, far more than those associated with new biological children (Yang, 2000). If Penn State wished to support adoption, monetary subsidies might help.
- viii) Develop policies for circumstances where tenured faculty are engaged in long-term or potentially long-term caregiving for elders or other dependent family members. A surprising result of the pilot survey was a fairly high level of support among both men and women for such policies. Further, as the background paper on elder care implies, the need for long-term caregiving by faculty members is likely to rise in the future. It seems possible that policies could be designed to benefit the faculty member, the affected unit, and the University in such circumstances. We therefore recommend that an existing or new committee be charged with developing relevant policies.

It is worth highlighting that fact that even if a substantial subset of the policies listed above were implemented, improvement in the work and family circumstances of faculty would likely be slow. For substantial improvement, sustained leadership will be required over a long period of time. Leadership in this sense implies a coordinated effort among a combination of relevant individuals and organizations, including the highest levels of administration, but also including various deans and administrative heads, the Office of Human Resources, the Faculty Senate, the Commission for Women, the Women in Science and Engineering Institute, and other interested parties. Further, as suggested at various points in the report and the policy recommendations above, successful improvement will likely involve a constituency, and related policies and practices, that expands well beyond faculty or parents to include administrators, staff and students. Together, these individuals and organizations could move Penn State forward, enabling faculty and other members of the Penn State community to better meet their commitments to the institution and to their families.

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Appendix 1: Equity Indicator¹⁵

Consistent with the rest of the benchmark analysis, we here provide gender equity figures and summary indicators for the 1998-1999 year. All figures apply to the year beginning October 1, 1998, and ending September 30, 1999. Figures for previous and subsequent years will be added later.

The data cover full-time, regular, tenured and tenure-track academic faculty and academic administrators. The figures are broken down to capture any differences between University Park (UP) and all other (AO) campuses. Tenured or tenure-track librarians and scientists were included after applying an equivalent rank formula obtained from the Penn State Office of Budget and Resource Analysis, as specified in Penn State Policy HR23, Promotion and Tenure Procedures and Regulations. The equivalence table is provided at the end of this document.

Table 1: Construction of the Equity Indicator for 1998-1999

	<u>UP</u>	<u>AO</u>
New Hires	31.4% (27/86)	36.5% (23/63)
Asst. Profs	37.4% (153/400)	30.6% (130/425)
Assoc. Profs	29.0% (163/563)	24.0% (95/396)
Full Profs	11.1% (91/821)	17.5% (48/274)
<i>Equity Indicator</i>	27.2	27.2

The similarity of the equity indicator between the UP and AO campuses tends to mask underlying differences. First note that, in terms of absolute numbers, the AO campuses employ more assistant professors than the UP campus, but have approximately two-thirds the number of associate professors, and only one-third the number of full professors.¹⁶ Second, note that for both the UP and AO campuses, the percentages of women decline as we move from new hires to assistant, to associate, and to full professors. There is insufficient research to pin down the reasons for that pattern, since differences in movement to other universities, other industries, and the reasons for such moves are complex. It is not safe to assume that rates of promotion diverge

¹⁵ All data here were extracted by Tom Gesell of the Penn State Affirmative Action Office from the HUMORS file data, although the calculations were performed independently.

¹⁶ In part, this difference is due to the presence of tenured assistant professors at some of the AO campuses. Until recent years there was a practice of granting tenure without promotion to faculty members at AO campuses, and the effects of earlier traditions will be exhibited in the numbers for some time to come.

by gender without further information. However, it seems likely from other research undertaken as part of the Faculty & Families project that improvements in policies and practices around work and family could improve retention rates for faculty in general and women in particular.

A rough figure for the availability of women faculty is calculated by taking the percentage of women among all new Ph.D.s in specific disciplines at all U.S. universities, and weighting those percentages by the distribution of current Penn State faculty across those same disciplines. The resulting figure for the 1998-1999 year is 34.9 percent.

Comparing the availability figure of 34.9 percent with the equity indicators of 27.2 suggests there is substantial room to improve gender equity among the faculty at Penn State. On a positive note, gender rates of hiring were close to the availability figure, a fact that may bode well for the future.

Table 2: Academic Equivalence Table

<u>EEO-6 Academic Rank Categories</u>	<u>Equivalent Ranks</u>
Professor (A10)	Senior Scientist (D10) Librarian (L10)
Assoc. Professor (A20)	Senior Res. Assoc. (D20) Assoc. Librarian (L20)
Asst. Professor (A30)	Research Assoc. (D30) Senior Asst. Librarian (L30)

Source: Penn State Office of Budget & Resource Analysis, 1993.

Appendix 2: Focus Group Instrument

The topics covered in the focus group sessions included the following, with some leeway given to participants regarding the order of discussion:

1. We would like each of you to think about your family and work commitments—the aspects of your family and work roles that require your time, energy, and attention. In your experience as faculty members, have these two roles ever interfered or conflicted with each other?
2. Penn State has some policies intended to assist faculty balance their work and family roles. Are you aware of any of these policies and if so, which ones? Have you used any of these policies?
3. In addition to formal policies, we understand that faculty might utilize informal means by which to help them balance work and family commitments. Do you know of such arrangements, or of cases where such arrangements would have been helpful?
4. Do women and men face different challenges in balancing their work and family roles? If so, what are some of those differences and why do you think they exist?
5. What do you think is the biggest issue facing faculty members when attempting to balance their work and family commitments?
6. With what you know right now about the University, how would you rate the University as a “family-friendly” workplace on a scale from 1 to 10 (ten being the most family friendly)? How would you rate your department using the same scale?