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RECENT AND IMPORTANT LITERATURE RELATED TO GENDER AND STEM

Caitlin McMahon and Kyle Reeves
10.19.2015

KEY CONCEPTS

STEREOTYPE THREAT

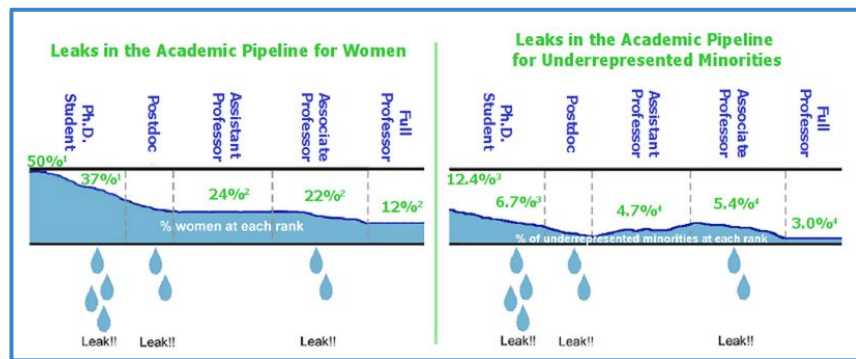
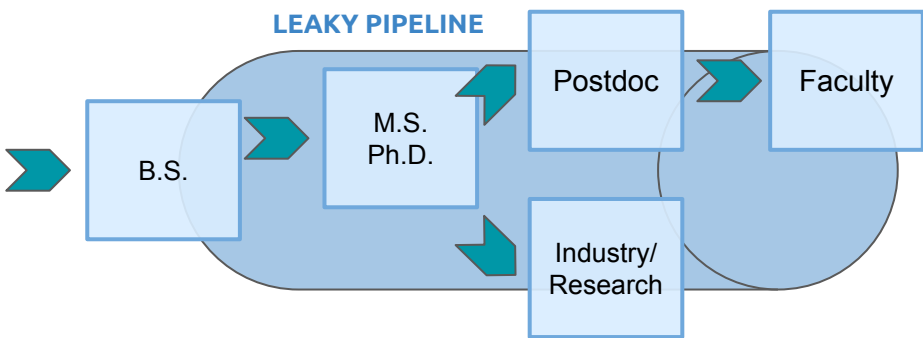
- “a situational predicament in which people are or feel themselves to be at **risk of confirming negative stereotypes** about their social group”

IMPOSTER SYNDROME

- “a collection of **feelings of inadequacy** that persist even in face of information that indicates that the **opposite is true**”

IMPLICIT BIAS

- “the bias in judgment and/or behavior that results from subtle cognitive processes (e.g., implicit attitudes and implicit stereotypes) that often operate at a **level below conscious awareness and without intentional control**”



REPRESENTATION

Diversity in Top-50 US Chemistry Departments (2014)

- Who is present? Who is not? How do these trends compare to national trends?
- What are the factors that explain differences in departmental-level patterns?

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JOURNAL OF CHEMICAL EDUCATION

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Trends in Ph.D. Productivity and Diversity in Top-50 U.S. Chemistry Departments: An Institutional Analysis

Sandra L. Laursen^{*,†} and Timothy J. Weston[†]

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ABSTRACT: The education of doctoral chemists contributes to the chemical research enterprise and thus to innovation as an engine of the economy. This quantitative analysis describes trends in the production and diversity of chemistry Ph.D. degrees in the top-50 U.S. Ph.D.-granting departments in the past two decades. Time series data for individual departments from the Integrated Postsecondary Educational Data System are compared with aggregate data from the National Science Foundation. The results highlight departments that stand out from their peers in educating a diverse group of Ph.D. chemists. Best practices for diversity in doctoral education in chemistry are recommended.

KEYWORDS: Graduate Education Research, Chemical Education Research, Women in Chemistry, Minorities in Chemistry

FEATURE: Chemical Education Research

A recent report on graduate education from the American Chemical Society asserts, "A vital program of graduate education in the chemical sciences is essential to assure the continued success of the enterprise and to sustain our nation in an ever more technical and globalized world" (ref 1, p 1). The quality and quantity of Ph.D. chemists is an important indicator of the health of the chemical research enterprise,² which in turn "powers the U.S. innovation engine."³ Indeed, more than one-quarter of the jobs in the U.S. depend on chemistry in some way.⁴ Yet concerns are widespread about the supply of Ph.D.-trained chemists, owing to retirement of the baby boomers and a continuing decline in the number of U.S. students pursuing doctoral study.^{5,6}

The diversity of the Ph.D.-trained workforce is also of concern. A workforce that is not representative of society is wasteful and inefficient, failing to exploit the full range of talent available in the population.⁷ It is also ironic, denying some groups equal access to the greater prestige, income, and job security offered by STEM jobs. Moreover, diverse work groups have been shown to outperform high-ability but homogeneous teams,⁸ and businesses with a diverse workforce outperform less diverse competitors.⁹ The economy needs scientists and innovators who can work effectively with diverse collaborators and respond to the needs of diverse consumers in an increasingly global marketplace,¹⁰ skills learned as students pursue a degree in a diverse setting.¹¹

In the present report, we examine doctoral education in chemistry from a quantitative perspective, analyzing public data to extract time-based trends in the production and diversity of Ph.D.s at the departmental level. Departmental trends are compared with national trends from aggregated data to identify individual departments that stand out in the representation of women and minorities among their doctoral graduates, or in the rate of growth in women's and minority representation over time. Most prior studies have examined single time points, often using aggregated data at a national level. This study is focused on individual departments, where specific local conditions

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■ PREVIOUS STUDIES OF GRADUATE EDUCATION IN CHEMISTRY

In recent years, about 2400 Ph.D.s in chemistry have been awarded per year.^{13,14} This accounts for about 7% of all Ph.D.s in science and engineering, and 60% of doctorates in physical science. Recent scholarly work has focused on the persistent problem of underrepresentation of women and minority groups in chemistry and other STEM fields, and potential explanations and remedies for this disparity.

Relatively little work has been done on the "supply side" of doctoral education, examining students' choice to pursue a Ph.D. or enrollment in programs, and good data on graduate school entrance are hard to obtain.¹⁵ Thus, it is unclear whether

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Diversity in Top-50 US Chemistry Departments (2014)

Methods

- “Top 50” Chemistry Doctoral Programs (US News, 2007 and National Research Council 1995)
- These institutions account for 60% of chemistry Ph.D.s each year
- Degree data from Integrated Postsecondary Educational Data System (U.S. Department of Education) - 1987-2009
- Faculty data from Nelson Diversity Surveys

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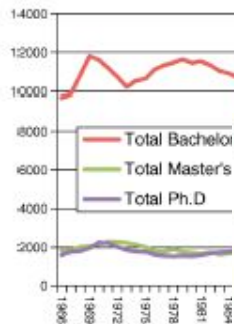


Figure 2. Total chemistry degrees

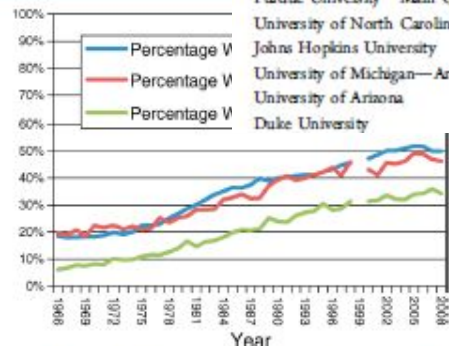


Figure 3. Percentage of women receiving chemistry degrees (1966–1998, 2000–2008), from national data.

Table 4. Representation and Growth in Ph.D. Degrees Granted to Women

Institutions in the 50-School Data Set	Ph.D. Degrees to Women (2005–2009), %	Rank in Percentage Women	Growth in Degrees Granted to Women (1987–2009), %	Rank in Percentage Growth in Women Students (1–50)
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College	49	1	23	7
University of Washington—Seattle Campus	47	2	30	1
Michigan State University	47	2	29	2
University of Florida	45	4	27	4
Emory University	44	5	10	34
Georgia Institute of Technology—Main Campus	41	6	20	10
Purdue University—Main Campus	40	7	15	24
University of North Carolina Chapel Hill	40	7	11	33
Johns Hopkins University	40	7	4	47
University of Michigan—Ann Arbor	39%	10	20	10
University of Arizona	39	10	17	18
Duke University	39	10	15	24



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Women in Chemistry, Minorities in Chemistry

How can we shape an environment that is effective in retaining, mentoring, and supporting students from diverse backgrounds? The research questions address the nature and extent of these trends.

How do demographic trends in chemistry Ph.D.s relate to individual departments compared to each other and to national aggregate trends?

What factors may explain observed differences in department-level patterns of educating Ph.D. chemists to be women or underrepresented minorities?

Analysis relates departmental data on Ph.D.s awarded to and underrepresented minorities to available quantitative data on other departmental features, such as department faculty composition. Then, drawing in well upon the time series and qualitative data from a prior interview study, we offer perspectives on the challenges and opportunities for these departments.

Finally, we suggest explanations for some of the aggregate trends and offer examples of departmental practices that are effective in ensuring a productive and diverse graduate student body.

KEYWORDS: MINORITIES IN CHEMISTRY; WOMEN IN CHEMISTRY; GRADUATE EDUCATION; CHEMISTRY

In the past few years, about 2400 Ph.D.s in chemistry have been awarded per year.¹ This accounts for about 7% of all Ph.D.s in science and engineering, and 60% of doctorates in physical chemistry.

Recent scholarly work has focused on the persistent underrepresentation of women and minority groups in other STEM fields, and potential explanations for this disparity.

Very little work has been done on the “supply side” of science education, examining students’ choice to pursue a Ph.D. or enrollment in programs, and good data on graduate school entrance are hard to obtain.² Thus, it is unclear whether

Diversity in Top-50 US Chemistry Departments (2014)

Table 6. Percentages of Chemistry Ph.D.s Granted, by Racial/Ethnic Group (2005–2009)^a

Racial/Ethnic Group	Mean
White	51%
African-American	2%
Hispanic	3%
Native American	>1%
Nonresident	37%
Asian	7%

^aTotals reflect percentage of all students with those of unknown ethnicity removed.

Institution ^a	2005–2009							1995–2009		
	White, %	African-American, %	Hispanic, %	Native American, %	Nonresident, %	Asian, %	URM, %	Rank for URM	Growth URM, %	Rank for Growth URM
Harvard University	56	1	8	0	32	4	9	5	6	10
University of California—Santa Barbara	51	3	6	0	24	16	9	5	2	19
Texas A & M University	41	3	5	1	43	8	9	5	−7	47
University of California—Berkeley	66	2	4	2	15	12	8	10	7	6
Rice University	44	1	7	0	39	9	8	10	4	14
University of Virginia—Main Campus	70	4	3	0	22	2	7	12	7	6
Washington University in St. Louis	37	7	0	0	57	0	7	12	7	6
University of Florida	39	4	3	0	50	4	7	12	2	19
Johns Hopkins University	45	3	2	2	46	3	7	12	−1	34
Georgia Institute of Technology—Main Campus	52	4	3	0	39	2	7	12	−13	49
Colorado State University	61	0	5	1	28	4	6	17	4	14
University of California—Davis	43	3	3	0	44	7	6	17	1	24
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	72	2	4	0	18	4	6	17	0	29
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	59	3	2	0	35	8	5	20	5	11
University of Washington—Seattle Campus	62	1	4	0	24	9	5	20	5	11
California Institute of Technology	66	2	3	0	14	15	5	20	4	14
Pennsylvania State University—Main Campus	68	3	2	0	22	5	5	20	4	14
Ohio State University—Main Campus	44	1	3	1	49	2	5	20	3	18

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The diversity of the Ph.D.-trained workforce is also of concern. A workforce that is not representative of society is wasteful and inefficient, failing to exploit the full range of talent available in the population.⁶ It is also unfair, denying some groups equal access to the greater prestige, income, and job security offered by STEM jobs. Moreover, diverse work groups have been shown to outperform high-ability but homogeneous teams,⁷ and businesses with a diverse workforce outperform less diverse competitors.⁸ The economy needs scientists and innovators who can work effectively with diverse collaborators and respond to the needs of diverse consumers in an increasingly global marketplace,⁹ skills learned as students pursue a degree in a diverse setting.¹⁰

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- What are the factors that explain differences in departmental-level patterns?
 - ❖ Women concentrate in less prestigious institutions?
 - ❖ Correlation with women faculty?
 - Unable to find significant statistical relationship - all departments below “critical mass”
 - ❖ Departments with high minority representation had high minority growth
 - Institutions actively worked in increase representation
 - High success departments had explicit statements and plans relating to diversity

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Women in Industry - C&EN (2011)

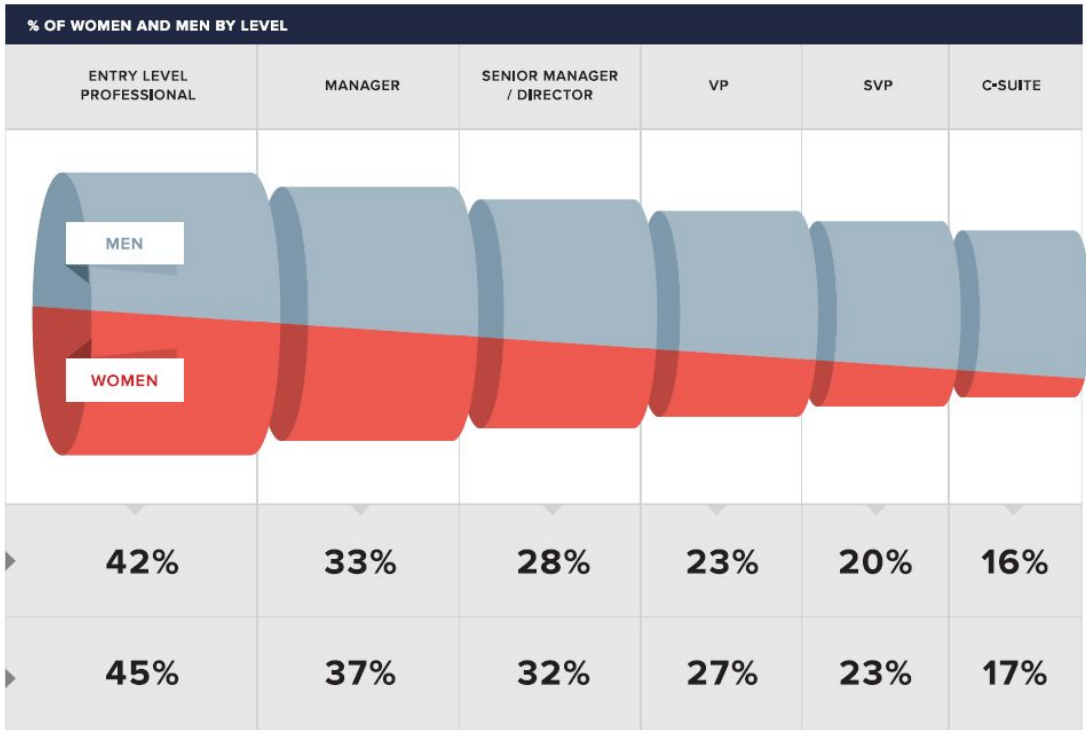
WIN SOME, LOSE SOME									
The number of female directors is down from last year, but women represent a greater proportion of executives									
COMPANY	2010 CHEMICAL SALES (\$ MILLIONS)	BOARD OF DIRECTORS		EXECUTIVE OFFICERS				FUNCTION	
		WOMEN	TOTAL	CEO	CFO	WOMEN	TOTAL		
Air Products & Chemicals	\$8,554	2	11	0	0	1	8	Senior VP, human resources and communications	
Albermarle	2,363	2	11	0	0	2	16	Senior VP, general counsel and corporate secretary; VP, deputy general counsel and chief compliance officer	
Arch Chemicals	1,377	1	7	0	0	2	8	Senior VP, strategic development and chief legal officer; controller	
Ashland	3,986	2	11	0	0	2	12	VP, human resources and communications; VP, chief information and administrative services officer	
Cabot	2,893	1	12	0	0	0	5		
Cambrex	227	2	9	0	0	0	6		
Celanese	5,918	1	9	0	0	1	9	Senior VP, human resources	
CF Industries	3,965	0	10	0	0	1	7	VP, human resources	
Chemtura	2,760	0	8	0	0	2	8	Senior VP, general counsel and secretary; VP, treasurer	
Cytec Industries	2,748	2	10	0	0	1	8	VP, human resources	
Dow Chemical	53,674	3	12	0	0	1	16	Group senior VP and president, chemicals and energy	
DuPont	31,312	3	12	1	0	1	6	CEO	
Eastman Chemical	5,842	1	12	0	0	1	10	Senior VP, chief legal and administrative officer	
ExxonMobil	35,521	1	11	0	0	0	20		
Ferro	2,102	2	10	0	0	1	6	VP, human resources	
FIAC	3,116	1	10	0	0	1	8	Executive VP, general counsel and secretary	
H.B. Fuller	1,356	1	8	0	0	1	8	VP, human resources	
Georgia Gulf	2,270	0	8	0	0	0	6		
Goodyear	1,130	3	13	0	0	1	18	VP, government relations	
W.R. Grace	2,675	1	9	0	0	1	8	VP, chief human resources officer	
Honeywell	4,726	1	10	0	0	1	9	Senior VP, general counsel	
Huntsman	9,250	1	10	0	0	1	20	VP, chief information officer	
Innophos	714	2	7	0	0	1	12	VP, human resources	
Koppers	796	2	8	0	0	2	13	VP, safety and environmental affairs; treasurer	
Kronos Worldwide	1,450	0	7	0	0	1	11	VP, tax director	
Lubrizol	5,418	1	10	0	0	2	16	Corporate secretary and counsel; VP, general counsel	
Monsanto	2,891	2	11	0	0	3	12	Senior VP, chief of staff and community relations; VP, vegetable business; VP, controller	
Mosaic	6,759	1	12	0	0	2	10	VP, public affairs; VP, human resources	
Nalco	4,251	1	8	0	1	2	8	CFO, chief marketing officer and group VP, commercial operations for water and process services, Americas	
NewMarket	1,786	1	7	0	0	0	7		
Occidental Petroleum	4,016	2	15	0	0	0	8		
Olin	1,037	0	9	0	0	1	9	VP, human resources	
Omnova	528	0	8	0	0	0	7		
PPG Industries	12,438	2	11	0	0	1	9	Senior VP, automotive coatings	
Praxair	10,116	2	10	0	0	1	11	VP, controller	
Rockwood Specialties	2,649	1	7	0	0	0	3		
Sigma-Aldrich	1,363	1	10	0	0	1	11	Senior VP, strategy and corporate development	
Solutia	1,950	0	8	0	0	1	10	President and general manager, technical specialties	
Stepan	1,431	0	7	0	0	0	9		
Sunoco	1,089	2	8	1	0	3	10	CEO, senior VP, refining; senior VP, general counsel and corporate secretary	
Tronox	701	0	6	0	0	0	4		
Westlake Chemical	3,172	1	7	0	0	0	11		
TOTAL		52	399	2	1	43	413		
				2011	2010				
WOMEN DIRECTORS PER COMPANY		1.2	1.3						
WOMEN DIRECTORS AS % OF BOARD POSITIONS		13.0	13.3						
WOMEN EXEC PER COMPANY		1.0	1.0						
WOMEN EXEC AS % OF POSITIONS		10.4	9.5						

CEO = chief executive officer; CFO = chief financial officer; VP = vice president.
SOURCE: Company documents

Women in the Workplace (2015)

GENDER REPRESENTATION IN THE CORPORATE PIPELINE

WOMEN ■ MEN ■



Women
in the
Workplace
2015



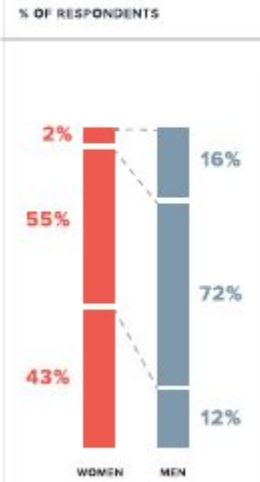
LEAN IN

McKinsey&Company

Women in the Workplace (2015)

PERCEIVED IMPACT OF GENDER ON OPPORTUNITIES AND ADVANCEMENT

IN YOUR ORGANIZATION, DO YOU THINK THAT WOMEN HAVE MORE, FEWER, OR THE SAME OPPORTUNITIES TO ADVANCE AS MEN?



Women have **more** opportunities than men

Women and men have the **same** opportunities

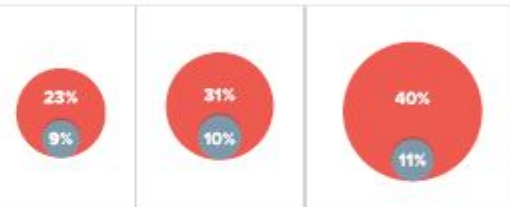
Women have **fewer** opportunities than men

WOMEN MEN

IS YOUR GENDER INHERITING YOUR SUCCESS?

ENTRY LEVEL MIDDLE MANAGEMENT SENIOR MANAGEMENT

YOUR EXPERIENCE TO DATE (% YES)



YOUR EXPECTATIONS FOR THE FUTURE (% YES)



Women in the Workplace
2015



LEAN IN

McKinsey&Company

Women in the Workplace (2015)

Roadmap to Gender Equality:

- Track key metrics so you understand the problem
- Demonstrate that gender diversity is a top priority
- Identify and interrupt gender bias
 - Likeability
 - Performance evaluation
 - Performance attribution
 - Maternal
- Rethink work
- Create a level playing field
- Create a virtuous cycle of female leadership



Women in the Workplace 2015



LEAN IN

McKinsey&Company

HIRING TRENDS AND GENDER BIAS

GENDER BIAS IN STEM FAVORS MALE STUDENTS (2012)

“The present study sought to test for differences in faculty perceptions and treatment of equally qualified men and women pursuing careers in science and, if such a bias were discovered, reveal its mechanisms and consequences within academic science.”

THE STUDY

Request 127 STEM (chemistry, biology, and physics) faculty to evaluate applications for a lab manager position. Their evaluation results in:

- 1) Perceived student **competence**
- 2) Offered **starting salary**
- 3) Deserving of **mentorship**

Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students

Corinne A. Moss-Racusin^{1,2}, John F. David³, Victoria L. Brencoff¹, Mark J. Graham^{1,4}, and Jo Handelsman^{1,5}

¹Department of Molecular, Cellular, and Developmental Biology, ²Department of Psychology, ³School of Management, and ⁴Department of Psychiatry, Yale University, New Haven, CT 06520

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diversity | lifestyle choices | science education | science workforce

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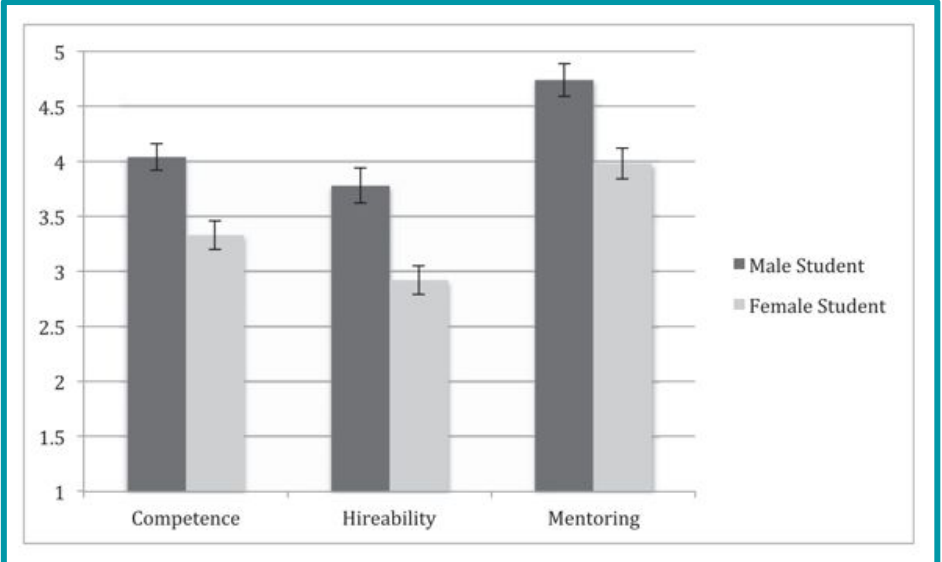
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10.1073/pnas.1211288109

GENDER BIAS IN STEM FAVORS MALE STUDENTS (2012)



Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students

Corinne A. Moss-Racusin^{1,2}, John F. Davidov³, Victoria L. Brencoff⁴, Mark J. Graham^{1,2}, and Jo Handelsman^{1,3}

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diversity | lifestyle choices | science education | science workforce

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 To whom correspondence should be addressed: E-mail: jo.handelsman@yale.edu.
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GENDER BIAS IN STEM FAVORS MALE STUDENTS (2012)

Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students

Corinne A. Moss-Racusin^{1*}, John F. Davidso², Victoria L. Brescoll³, Mark J. Graham^{4,5}, and Jo Handelsman^{1*}

¹Department of Molecular, Cellular and Developmental Biology, ²Department of Psychology, ³School of Management, and ⁴Department of Psychiatry, Yale University, New Haven, CT 06520

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The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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Variable	Male target student				Female target student				d
	Male faculty		Female faculty		Male faculty		Female faculty		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Competence	4.01 _a	(0.92)	4.1 _a	(1.19)	3.33 _b	(1.07)	3.32 _b	(1.10)	0.71
Hireability	3.74 _a	(1.24)	3.92 _a	(1.27)	2.96 _b	(1.13)	2.84 _b	(0.84)	0.75
Mentoring	4.74 _a	(1.11)	4.73 _a	(1.31)	4.00 _b	(1.21)	3.91 _b	(0.91)	0.67
Salary	30,520.83 _a	(5,764.86)	29,333.33 _a	(4,952.15)	27,111.11 _b	(6,948.58)	25,000.00 _b	(7,965.56)	0.60

Gender Bias?

Male faculty ✓
 Female faculty ✓

Bias may be stronger.



GENDER BIAS IN STEM FAVORS MALE STUDENTS (2012)

BUT WHY?

Concurrent with this study, participants were rated based on the Modern Sexism Scale¹, used to measure **implicit bias**.

“Results of multiple regression analyses indicated that participants’ **preexisting subtle bias against women significantly interacted with student gender** to predict perceptions of student composite competence ($\beta = -0.39, P < 0.01$), hireability ($\beta = -0.31, P < 0.05$), and **mentoring ($\beta = -0.55, P < 0.001$).**”



Access to mentoring very sensitive to individual’s unconscious biases.

PNAS PNAS

Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students

Corinne A. Moss-Racusin^{1,2}, John F. Dovidio³, Victoria L. Brescoll⁴, Mark J. Graham^{1,5}, and Jo Handelsman^{1,6}

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Keywords: | lifestyle choices | science education | science workforce

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The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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GENDER BIAS IN STEM FAVORS MALE STUDENTS (2012)

AND IT ISN'T BECAUSE A FEW PARTICIPANTS JUST DON'T LIKE WOMEN...

In keeping with a large body of literature (15), faculty participants reported **liking the female** (mean = 4.35, SD = 0.93) **more than the male student** [(mean = 3.91, SD = 0.1.08), $t(125) = -2.44, P < 0.05$]. However, consistent with this previous literature, **liking the female student more than the male student did not translate into positive perceptions of her composite competence or material outcomes in the form of a job offer, an equitable salary, or valuable career mentoring**

Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students

Corinne A. Moss-Racusin^{1,2}, John F. Davidoff³, Victoria L. Brescovi⁴, Mark J. Graham^{1,2}, and Jo Handelsman^{1,3}

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With evidence suggesting that biological sex differences in inherent aptitude for math and science are small or nonexistent (6–8), the efforts of many researchers and academic leaders to identify causes of the science gender disparity have focused instead on the life choices that may compete with women's pursuit of the most demanding positions. Some research suggests that these lifestyle choices (whether free or constrained) likely contribute to the gender imbalance (9–11), but because the majority of these studies are correlational, whether lifestyle factors are solely or primarily responsible remains unclear. Still, some researchers have argued that women's preference for nontenure disciplines and their tendency to take on a disproportionate amount of child- and family-care are the primary causes of the gender disparity in science (9–11), and that it "is not caused by discrimination in these domains" (10). This assertion has received substantial attention and generated significant debate among the scientific community, leading some to conclude that gender discrimination indeed does not exist nor contribute to the gender disparity within academic science (e.g., refs. 12 and 13).

Despite this controversy, experimental research testing for the presence and magnitude of gender discrimination in the biological and physical sciences has yet to be conducted. Although acknowledging that various lifestyle choices likely contribute to the gender imbalance in science (9–11), the present research is unique in investigating whether faculty gender bias exists within academic biological and physical sciences, and whether it might exert an independent effect on the gender disparity as students progress through the pipeline to careers in science. Specifically, the present experiment examined whether, given an equally qualified male and female student, science faculty members would show preferential evaluation and treatment of the male student to work in their laboratory. Although the correlational and related laboratory studies discussed below suggest that such bias is likely (contrary to previous arguments) (9–11), we know of no previous experiments that have tested for faculty bias against female students within academic science.

If faculty express gender biases, we are not suggesting that these biases are intentional or stem from a conscious desire to impede the progress of women in science. Past studies indicate that people's behavior is shaped by implicit or unintended biases, stemming from repeated exposure to pervasive cultural stereotypes (14) that portray women as less competent but simultaneously emphasize their warmth and likeability compared with men (15). Despite significant decreases in overt sexism over the last few decades (particularly among highly educated people) (16), these subtle gender biases are often still held by even the most egalitarian individuals (17), and are exhibited by both men and women (18). Given this body of work, we expected that female faculty would be just as likely as male faculty to express an unintended bias against female undergraduate science students. The fact that these prevalent biases often remain undetected highlights the need for an experimental investigation to determine whether they may be present within academic science and, if so, raise meaningful potential.

Whether these gender biases operate in academic sciences remains an open question. On the one hand, although considerable research demonstrates gender bias in a variety of other domains (19–23), science faculty members may not exhibit this

Author contributions: C.A.M.-R., J.F.D., V.L.B., M.J.G., and J.H. designed research; C.A.M.-R. performed research; C.A.M.-R. analyzed data; and C.A.M.-R., J.F.D., V.L.B., M.J.G., and J.H. wrote the paper.

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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GENDER BIAS IN STEM FAVORS MALE STUDENTS (2012)

CONCLUSIONS

- **Both** male and female faculty we shown to have a bias in favor of male applicants.
- Female applicants are **perceived to be less competent.**
- Female applicants were offered a **lower starting salary** (by as much as \$15,000), and less likely likely to receive mentorship if hired.

PNAS PNAS

Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students

Corinne A. Moss-Racusin^{1,2}, John F. Davidov³, Victoria L. Breccol¹, Mark J. Graham^{4,5}, and Jo Handelsman^{1,6}

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Edited by Shirley T. Lingham, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, and approved August 21, 2012 (received for review July 2, 2012)

Despite efforts to recruit and retain more women, a stark gender disparity persists within academic science. Abundant research has demonstrated gender bias in many demographic groups, but has yet to experimentally investigate whether science faculty exhibit a bias against female students that could contribute to the gender disparity in academic science. In a randomized double-blind study ($n = 122$), science faculty from research-intensive universities rated the application materials of a student—who was randomly assigned either a male or female name—for a laboratory manager position. Faculty participants voted the male applicant as significantly more competent and hireable than the (identical) female applicant. These participants also selected a higher starting salary and offered more career mentoring to the male applicant. The gender of the faculty participants did not affect responses, such that female and male faculty were equally likely to exhibit bias against the female student. Mediation analysis indicated that the female student was less likely to be hired because she was viewed as less competent. We also assessed faculty participants' preexisting subtle bias against women using a standard instrument and found that preexisting subtle bias against women played a moderating role, such that subtle bias against women was associated with less support for the female student, but was unrelated to reactions to the male student. These results suggest that interventions addressing faculty gender bias might advance the goal of increasing the participation of women in science.

Keywords: | lifestyle choices | science education | science workforce

A 2012 report from the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology indicates that training scientists and engineers at current rates will result in a deficit of 1,000,000 workers to meet United States' economic demands over the next decade (1). To help close this formidable gap, the report calls for the increased training and retention of women, who are starkly underrepresented within many fields of science, especially among the professoriate (2–4). Although the proportion of science degrees granted to women has increased (5), there is a persistent disparity between the number of women receiving PhDs and those hired as junior faculty (1–4). This gap suggests that the problem will not resolve itself solely by more generations of women moving through the academic pipeline but that, instead, women's advancement within academic science may be actively impeded.

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Whether these gender biases operate in academic science remains an open question. On the one hand, although considerable research demonstrates gender bias in a variety of other domains (19–23), science faculty members may not exhibit this

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The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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2:1 FACULTY PREFERENCE FOR WOMEN IN STEM (2015)

There remains a gap between %women PhD recipients and % women in assistant professorships in nearly every STEM discipline (especially in math-intensive fields).

This winnowing of women in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) tenure-track pipeline is a result of **women Ph.D.s being far less likely than men to apply for tenure-track jobs**, rather than to women applying but being rejected at higher rates than men (14).

THE STUDY

Request 873 tenure-track STEM (371 institutions throughout all 50 states) faculty to evaluate applications for a tenure-track faculty position.

National hiring experiments reveal 2:1 faculty preference for women on STEM tenure track

Wendy M. Williams¹ and Stephen J. Ceci

Department of Human Development, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853

Editor: Richard E. Nisbett, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, and approved March 5, 2015 (received for review September 30, 2014)

National randomized experiments and validation studies were conducted on 873 tenure-track faculty (439 male, 434 female) from biology, engineering, economics, and psychology at 371 universities/colleges from 50 US states and the District of Columbia. In the main experiment, 363 faculty members evaluated narrative summaries describing hypothetical female and male applicants for tenure-track assistant professorships who shared the same lifestyle (e.g., single without children, married with children). Applicant profiles were systematically varied to disguise identically rated scholarship profiles were counterbalanced by gender across faculty to enable between-faculty comparisons of hiring preferences for identically qualified women versus men. Results revealed a 2:1 preference for women by faculty of both genders across both math-intensive and non-math-intensive fields, with the single exception of male economists, who showed no gender preference. Results were replicated using weighted analyses to control for national sample characteristics. In follow-up experiments, 144 faculty evaluated competing applicants with differing lifestyles (e.g., divorced mother vs. married father), and 204 faculty compared same-gender candidates with children, but differing in whether they took 1-y parental leaves in graduate school. Women preferred divorced mothers to married fathers, men preferred mothers who took leaves to mothers who did not. In two validation studies, 35 engineering faculty provided rankings using full curricula vitae instead of narratives, and 127 faculty rated one applicant rather than choosing from a mixed-gender group; the same preference for women was shown by faculty of both genders. These results suggest it is a prepatience time for women launching careers in academic science. Messages to the contrary may discourage women from applying for STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) tenure-track assistant professorships.

gender bias | hiring bias | underrepresentation of women | faculty hiring | women in science

Women considering careers in academic science confront stark portraits of the treacherous journey to becoming professors. Well-publicized research depicts a hazy of obstacles standing between female graduate students and tenure-track positions, including inadequate mentoring and networking (1); a chilly social climate (2); downgrading of work products such as manuscripts (3); grant proposals (4), and lectures (5); and gender bias in interviewing and hiring (6–9). Numerous blue ribbon panels and national reports have concluded that implicit, and sometimes explicit, attitudes pervade the hiring process and negatively influence evaluations of female candidates and their scholarship, contributing to women's underrepresentation within the academy (e.g., refs. 10–13).

Women's underrepresentation in academic science is hardly trivial. In life and social sciences, women now earn the majority of doctorates, but they make up a minority of assistant professors. In 1993–1995, 28.4% of assistant professors were women, but 41.6% of Ph.D.s awarded in the same cohort went to women. That is, almost one-third of women who graduate from receiving their Ph.D. to an assistant professorship (see ref. 14, figure 5). More recently, in 2008–2010, this gap widened to 22 percentage points (53.2% of doctorates to women; 31.0% of assistant professorships to women), and this gap persisted after

controlling for demographics, degree characteristics, and field (15). [This winnowing of women in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) tenure-track pipeline is a significant barrier to women Ph.D.s being far less likely than men to apply for tenure-track jobs, rather than to women applying but being rejected at higher rates than men (14)]. Against this bleak backdrop, it is perhaps no surprise that talented young women opt out of the STEM tenure track either by not applying for assistant professorships at the same rate as men (*i.e.*, in some fields, by not majoring in them in college in the first place (14)).

The point at which scientists choose to apply for tenure-track assistant professorships is a key juncture in understanding the problem of women's underrepresentation. Once hired, women prosper in the STEM profession (14, 16–18). They are remunerated, promoted, and are promoted at rates roughly comparable to men's (14) after controlling for observable characteristics, including academic productivity. However, to be hired and eventually tenured, women must first apply. Unfortunately, despite their success once hired, women apply for tenure-track positions in far smaller percentages than their male graduate student counterparts (14, 16, 18). Why might this be?

One reason may be omnipresent discouraging messages about women in hiring, but does current evidence support such messages? Despite this question's centrality to any informed discussion about women's underrepresentation in academic science, only one experimental study (7) contrasted faculty ratings of the relative "hireability" of hypothetical identically qualified women and men. Results showed that both female and male psychology faculty members downgraded a hypothetical woman's academic record compared with an identical man's. However, this study

Significance

The underrepresentation of women in academic science is typically attributed, both in scientific literature and in the media, to sexist hiring. Here we report five hiring experiments in which faculty evaluated hypothetical female and male applicants, using systematically varied profiles disguising identical scholarship, for assistant professorships in biology, engineering, economics, and psychology. Contrary to prevailing assumptions, men and women faculty members from all four fields preferred female applicants 2:1 over identically qualified males with matching lifestyles (single, married, divorced) with the exception of male economists, who showed no gender preference. Comparing different lifestyles revealed that women preferred divorced mothers to married fathers and that men preferred mothers who took parental leaves to mothers who did not. Our findings, supported by real-world academic hiring data, suggest interventions for sex-segregated academic science careers.

Author contributions: W.M.W. and S.J.C. designed research, performed research, analyzed data, and wrote the paper.

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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National hiring experiments reveal 2:1 faculty preference for women on STEM tenure track

Wendy M. Williams¹ and Stephen J. Ceci

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Editorial by Richard E. Nisbett, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, and approved March 5, 2015 (received for review September 30, 2014)

National randomized experiments and validation studies were conducted on 873 tenure-track faculty (439 male, 434 female) from biology, engineering, economics, and psychology at 371 universities/colleges from 50 US states and the District of Columbia. In the main experiment, 363 faculty members evaluated narrative summaries describing hypothetical female and male applicants for tenure-track assistant professorships who shared the same lifestyle (e.g., single without children, married with children). Applicant profiles were systematically varied to disguise identical, rated scholarship profiles were counterbalanced by gender across faculty to enable between-faculty comparisons of hiring preferences for identically qualified women versus men. Results revealed a 2:1 preference for women by faculty of both genders across both math-intensive and non-math-intensive fields, with the single exception of male economists, who showed no gender preference. Results were replicated using weighted analyses to control for national sample characteristics. In follow-up experiments, 144 faculty evaluated competing applicants with differing lifestyles (e.g., divorced mother vs. married father), and 204 faculty compared same-gender candidates with children, but differing in whether they took 1-yr parental leaves in graduate school. Women preferred divorced mothers to married fathers, men preferred mothers who took leaves to mothers who did not. In two validation studies, 35 engineering faculty provided rankings using full curricula vitae instead of narratives, and 127 faculty rated one applicant rather than choosing from a mixed-gender group; the same preference for women was shown by faculty of both genders. These results suggest it is a protracted time for women launching careers in academic science. Messages to the contrary may discourage women from applying for STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) tenure-track assistant professorships.

gender bias | hiring bias | underrepresentation of women | faculty hiring | women in science

Women considering careers in academic science confront stark portraits of the treacherous journey to becoming professors. Well-publicized research depicts a bumpy road of obstacles standing between female graduate students and tenure-track positions, including inadequate mentoring and networking (1); a chilly social climate (2); downgrading of work products such as manuscripts (3), grant proposals (4), and lectures (5); and gender bias in interviewing and hiring (6-9). Numerous blue ribbon panels and national reports have concluded that implicit, and sometimes explicit, attitudes pervade the hiring process and negatively influence evaluations of female candidates and their scholarship, contributing to women's underrepresentation within the academy (e.g., refs. 10-13).

Women's underrepresentation in academic science is hardly trivial. In life and social sciences, women now earn the majority of doctorates, but they make up a minority of assistant professors. In 1993-1995, 28.4% of assistant professors were women, but 41.6% of Ph.D.s awarded in the same cohort went to women. That is, almost one-third of the women did not advance from receiving their Ph.D. to an assistant professorship (see ref. 14, figure 5). More recently, in 2008-2010, this gap widened to 22 percentage points (53.2% of doctorates to women; 31.0% of assistant professorships to women), and this gap persisted after

controlling for demographics, degree characteristics, and field (15). [This widening of women in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) tenure-track pipeline is a result of women's Ph.D.s being far less likely than men's to apply for tenure-track jobs, rather than to women applying but being rejected at higher rates than men (14)]. Agree that this bleak backdrop, it is perhaps no surprise that talented young women opt out of the STEM tenure track either by not applying for assistant professorships at the same rate as men or, if some fields, by not majoring in them in college in the first place (14).

The point at which scientists choose to apply for tenure-track assistant professorships is a key juncture in understanding the problem of women's underrepresentation. Once hired, women prosper in the STEM profession (14, 16-18). They are remunerated, promoted, and are promoted at rates roughly comparable to men's (14) after controlling for observable characteristics, including academic productivity. However, to be hired and eventually tenured, women must first apply. Unfortunately, despite their success once hired, women apply for tenure-track positions in far smaller percentages than their male graduate student counterparts (14, 16, 18). Why might this be?

One reason may be outrageously discouraging messages about women in hiring, but does current evidence support such messages? Despite this question's centrality to any informed discussion about women's underrepresentation in academic science, only one experimental study (7) compared faculty ratings of the relative "hireability" of hypothetical identically qualified women and men. Results showed that both female and male psychology faculty members downgraded a hypothetical woman's academic record compared with an identical man's. However, this study

Significance

The underrepresentation of women in academic science is typically attributed, both in scientific literature and in the media, to sexist hiring. Here we report five hiring experiments in which faculty evaluated hypothetical female and male applicants, using systematically varied profiles disguising identical scholarship, for assistant professorships in biology, engineering, economics, and psychology. Contrary to prevailing assumptions, men and women faculty members from all four fields preferred female applicants 2:1 over identically qualified males with matching lifestyles (single, married, divorced), with the exception of male economists, who showed no gender preference. Comparing different lifestyles revealed that women preferred divorced mothers to married fathers and that men preferred mothers who took parental leaves to mothers who did not. Our findings, supported by real-world academic hiring data, suggest advantages for women launching academic science careers.

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2:1 FACULTY PREFERENCE FOR WOMEN IN STEM (2015)

THE EXPERIMENTS

'Candidate Lifestyle'

Experiment 1

- unmarried, childless (narrative summaries)

Experiment 2

- a) married father, two kids stay-at-home partner
b) single mother, two kids

'Fertility Decisions'

Experiment 3

- Identical fathers/mothers who took or did not take 1-yr parental leave.

Verifying Soundness of Study

Experiment 4

- unmarried, childless (full CV)

Experiment 5

- evaluation of only one application to avoid socially-desirable responses.

National hiring experiments reveal 2:1 faculty preference for women on STEM tenure track

Wendy M. Williams¹ and Stephen J. Ceci

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Editor's choice | Richard E. Nisbett, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, and approved March 5, 2015 (received for review September 30, 2014)

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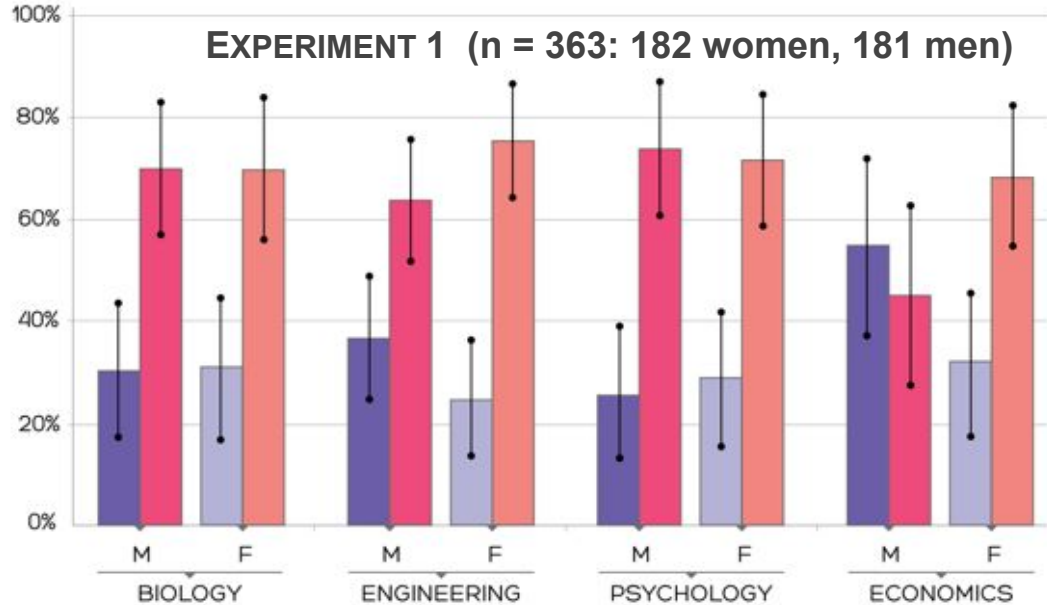
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2:1 FACULTY PREFERENCE FOR WOMEN IN STEM (2015)

EXPERIMENT 1 (n = 363: 182 women, 181 men)



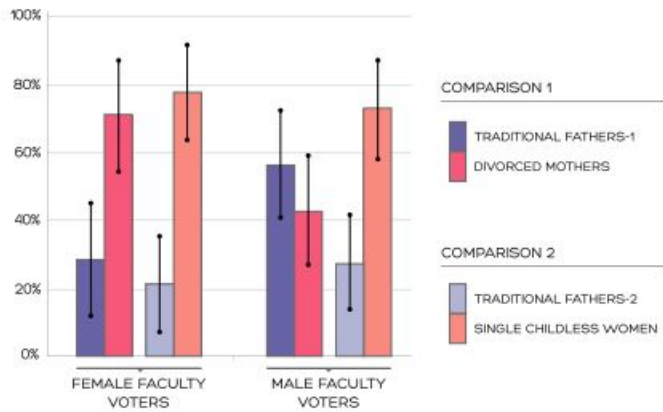
FACULTY VOTERS



2:1 FACULTY PREFERENCE FOR WOMEN IN STEM (2015)

EXPERIMENT 2 (n = 144: 64 women, 80 men)

Where are the traditional mothers?



EXPERIMENT 3 (n = 204: 109 women, 95 men)

Taking parental leave during graduate school (preferences)

Male Applicants Female Applicants

No preference 2:1 to take leave

Male Faculty

No preference 1.6:1 to not take leave

Female Faculty

National hiring experiments reveal 2:1 faculty preference for women on STEM tenure track

Wendy M. Williams¹ and Stephen J. Ceci

Department of Human Development, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853

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gender bias | hiring bias | underrepresentation of women | faculty hiring | women in science

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The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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2:1 FACULTY PREFERENCE FOR WOMEN IN STEM (2015)

CONCLUSIONS

- Conclusions are valid for discrimination/bias at the point of hiring. (interview not included).
- “Our experimental findings do not support omnipresent societal messages regarding the current inhospitality of the STEM professoriate for women at the point of applying for assistant professorships”
- Disparity stems from **supply** rather than demand. (e.g. Number of applications versus number of hires.)

How do the two articles relate to one another? Is there a conflict or are the just asking different questions?

National hiring experiments reveal 2:1 faculty preference for women on STEM tenure track

Wendy M. Williams¹ and Stephen J. Ceci

Department of Human Development, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853

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*This article's lead sentence was not approved by editors.

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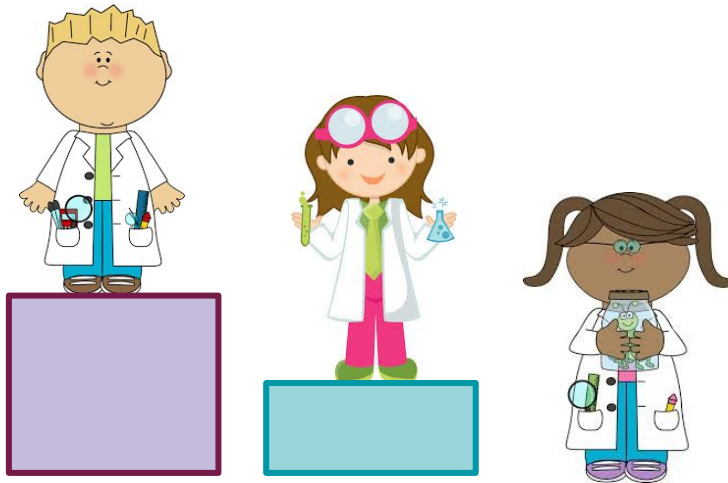
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2:1 FACULTY PREFERENCE FOR WOMEN IN STEM (2015)

EQUALITY VS. EQUITY

RESOURCES

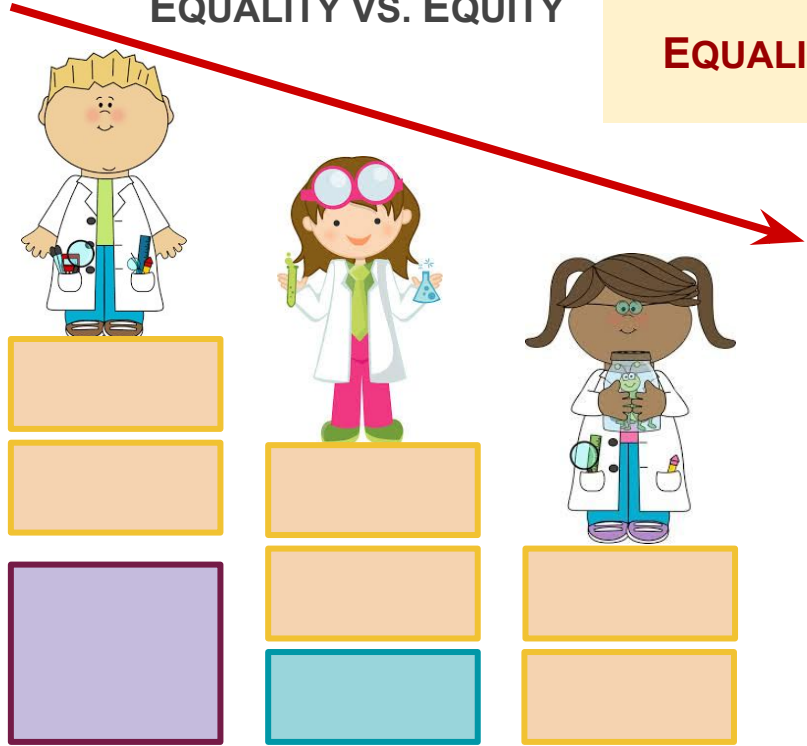


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