

Advancing Faculty Diversity Through Self-Directed Mentoring

BY YVONNE M. DUTTON, MARGARET RYZNAR, AND LEA SHAVER*

Abstract

Mentoring is widely acknowledged to be important in career success, yet may be lacking for female and minority law professors, contributing to disparities in retention and promotion of diverse faculty. This Article presents the results of a unique diversity mentoring program conducted at one law school. Mentoring is often thought of as something directed by the mentor on behalf of the protégé. Our framework inverts that model, empowering diverse faculty members to proactively cultivate their own networks of research mentors. The studied intervention consisted of modest programming on mentorship, along with supplemental travel funds to focus specifically on travel for the purpose of cultivating mentors beyond one's own institution. Participants were responsible for setting their own mentorship goals, approaching mentors and arranging meetings, and reporting annually on their activities and progress. Both quantitative and qualitative evidence demonstrate that the program has been effective along its measurable goals in its first year. Participants report growing their networks of mentors, receiving significant advice on research and the tenure process, and being sponsored for new opportunities. The authors conclude that this type of mentoring initiative, if more broadly applied, could have a significant impact on reducing disparities in retention and promotion in the legal academy. To facilitate such replication, the Article describes both the process of designing the program and the actual operation of the program as carried out at one school. In sum, the Article offers a concrete starting point for discussions at any law school interested in advancing faculty diversity through improved mentoring.

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INTRODUCTION

For decades, there have been calls for law schools to increase faculty diversity, particularly among the schools' tenured and leadership ranks.¹ The institutional benefits of faculty diversity for law schools—in both teaching and scholarship—are well documented.² Research in the corporate context also

1. See, e.g., Kevin R. Johnson, *How and Why We Built a Majority-Minority Faculty*, Chronicle of Higher Education, July 26, 2016, at <http://www.chronicle.com/article/HowWhy-We-Built-a/237213> [<https://perma.cc/V4KY-8JB9>] [hereinafter *How and Why*]; Loftus C. Carson, II, *Employment Opportunities and Conditions for the African-American Legal Professoriate: Perspectives from the Inside*, 19 TEX. J. C. L. & C. R. 1, 8–10 (2013) (discussing the benefits of increasing the number of tenured African-American, and other faculty of color in American law schools); Kevin R. Johnson, *The Importance of Student and Faculty Diversity in Law Schools: One Dean's Perspective*, 96 IOWA L. REV. 1549 (2011) [hereinafter *One Dean's Perspective*] (summarizing the benefits of faculty diversity to legal scholarship and teaching, as well as arguing that faculty and student diversity are components of law school excellence that merit inclusion in the U.S. News & World Report rankings methodology); Ann C. McGinley, *Reproducing Gender on Law School Faculties*, 2009 B.Y.U. L. REV. 99, 116–18, 123–125 (2009) (criticizing a gender divide in law schools whereby women are hired into lower-paying, lower-status faculty positions); Marjorie E. Kornhauser, *Rooms of Their Own: An Empirical Study of Occupational Segregation By Gender Among Law Professors*, 73 U.M.K.C. L. REV. 293, 294–95 (2004) (noting that women hold fewer prestigious positions in the legal academy, which deleteriously affects law students and the legal profession); Jon C. Dubin, *Faculty Diversity as a Clinical Legal Education Imperative*, 51 HASTINGS L.J. 445 (2000); Randall Kennedy, *In Praise of the Struggle for Diversity on Law School Faculties*, 22 SETON HALL L. REV. 1389 (1992), available at <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1087&context=uclf> [<https://perma.cc/RNA4-WEHZ>] (situating the ongoing “diversity” movement in law schools within a tradition of resistance to racial subordination). For examples of the scholarship going back more than twenty-five years, see Ian Haney-Lopez, *Community Ties, Race and Faculty Hiring: The Case for Professors Who Don't Think White*, 1 RECONSTRUCTION 46 (1991), available at <https://www.law.berkeley.edu/php-programs/faculty/facultyPubsPDF.php?facID=301&pubID=26> [<https://perma.cc/5BXG-Z3Y7>]; Charles R. Lawrence III, *Minority Hiring in AALS Law Schools: The Need for Voluntary Quotas*, 20 U.S.F. L. REV. 429 (1986).

2. See, e.g., Johnson, *One Dean's Perspective*, *supra* note 1, at 1557–1563 (summarizing the benefits of faculty diversity to legal scholarship and teaching). A diverse faculty can help minority and female students feel more comfortable in the law school environment and offer them role models they can emulate. See Meera E. Deo, Maria Woodruff, & Rican Vue, *Paint by Number? How the Race and Gender of Law School Faculty Affect the First-Year Curriculum*, 29 CHICANO-LATINO L. REV. 1, 9–10 (2010) (referencing studies concluding that the absence of a diverse faculty can lead to feelings of isolation among female students and students of color). See also Johnson, *One Dean's Perspective*, *supra* note 1, at 1557 (“[L]aw students want and need role models. This is especially the case for women and minority students, two groups that historically have been systematically excluded from law schools and the legal profession in the United States.”). But see Anita L. Allen, *On Being a Role Model*, 6 BERKELEY WOMEN'S L. J. 22 (1990-91) (arguing that while diverse faculty have an important role to play in educating diverse students as “templates, symbols, and nurturers,” overemphasizing “the role model argument” may reflect or reinforce biases by suggesting that diverse candidates do not deserve to be hired on the basis of their scholarly qualifications, by encouraging heightened expectations or requirements of diverse faculty, or by subtly undervaluing the other contributions and qualifications of excellent candidates who happen to be diverse). Faculty diversity also helps to instill an appreciation for diversity in the next generation of lawyers and leaders. See Carson, *supra* note 1, at 4–6 (noting the benefits African-American faculty members can have on law schools and society writ large); Deo, Woodruff, & Vue, *supra* at 36–37 (showing that women faculty and faculty of color are more likely to engage in diversity discussions in the classroom). Additionally, studies have shown that exposing students to women faculty and faculty of color breaks down stereotypical gender beliefs and prejudiced attitudes. Chris

supports the benefits of diversity to organizations, showing that “[d]iverse teams and companies produce better results and higher revenue and profit.”³ Indeed, the bylaws of the American Association of Law Schools (AALS) identify diversity—along with academic freedom and excellence in teaching and research—as a core value.⁴ The AALS bylaws require member schools to demonstrate their commitment to a diverse faculty,⁵ and the outgoing and incoming presidents of AALS have just launched a two-year focus on diversity.⁶

A recent law review article argues that the diversifying task is done:⁷ “Now that the important work of race and gender integration has succeeded on law school faculties—with the traditional affirmative action groups now matching or exceeding their percentages in the broader lawyer population—the next step should be to desegregate law schools politically.”⁸ We are less convinced that law schools should be content with racial and gender underrepresentation that mirrors the underrepresentation in the broader legal profession. Achieving true parity in all faculty ranks remains important to transforming law schools into truly inclusive and egalitarian communities.⁹

Chambers Goodman & Sarah E. Redfield, *A Teacher Who Looks Like Me*, 27 J. OF CIV. RTS. & ECON. DEV. 105, 122 (2013). For information on additional benefits of a diverse faculty, see Goodman & Redfield, *supra* at 117–18 (arguing for greater ethnic diversity among law school faculty) and Johnson, *One Dean’s Perspective*, *supra* note 1.

3. See Sheryl Sandberg, *Women Are Leaning In—but They Face Pushback*, WALL ST. J. Sept. 27, 2016, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/sheryl-sandberg-women-are-leaning-inbut-they-face-pushback-1474963980> [https://perma.cc/VN64-ZX2K]. See also McKinsey & Co., *Women in the Workplace 2016*, 7–8 (2016) (noting that while companies’ commitment to gender diversity is high, they are not delivering results in terms of promoting women to positions of power – especially not CEOs).

4. *Bylaws of the Association of American Law Schools, Inc.*, Ass’n of Am. Law Schs., (amended through Jan. 2016), <https://www.aals.org/about/handbook/bylaws/> [https://perma.cc/LG7D-5P9A] (“The purpose of the [AALS] is the improvement of the legal profession through legal education – to uphold and advance excellence in legal education by promoting the core values of excellence in teaching and scholarship, academic freedom, and diversity, including diversity of backgrounds and viewpoints, while seeking to foster justice, and to serve our many communities—local, national, and international.”).

5. See *id.* (stating that the AALS expects its member schools to value “diverse faculty hired, promoted, and retained based on meeting and supporting high standards of teaching and scholarship and in accordance with principles of nondiscrimination”).

6. *Call for Papers: AALS President’s Program on Diversity*, Ass’n of Am. Law Schs., <https://www.aals.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AALS-Presidential-Program-on-Diversity-Call-for-Papers.pdf> [https://perma.cc/U8C3-UTT4].

7. See, e.g., James Lindgren, *Measuring Diversity: Law Faculties in 1997 and 2013*, 39 HARVARD J. L. PUB. POL’Y 89 (offering a statistically-supported argument that discrimination against women and people of color is no longer as significant in law schools as discrimination against white Christian men).

8. *Id.* at 151.

9. Additionally, achieving a degree of diversity that reflects American society as a whole is important so that female and minority faculty are not viewed as tokens. Goodman & Redfield, *supra* note 2, at 118. Treating faculty as tokens has a negative impact on diverse students whose token status is then also magnified—making the student feel like a member of the “out group.” *Id.* at 125–26. Underrepresentation of women and minorities also results in these groups performing a disproportionate share of service work. See, e.g., Devon W. Carbado & Mitu Gulati, *Tenure*, 53 J. LEGAL EDUC. 157, 171 (2003) (“A second complication is that the pressure minority candidates experience to take on service work is part of a more general pressure minorities feel to demonstrate institutional fit.”);

Although progress has been made over time,¹⁰ law schools still have a substantial distance to travel. The United States population is 51% female and 38% minority.¹¹ Representation of women and minority faculty comes closest to these figures at the entry level, but falls off higher up the faculty ladder. Women comprise 48% of tenure-track law faculty, but only 33% of tenured faculty, and 29% of law school deans.¹² Ethnic minorities comprise 30% of tenure-track law faculty, but only 17% of tenured faculty and 21% of law school deans.¹³ A similar “pyramid problem” pattern prevails in academia generally.¹⁴

Unfortunately, it cannot be assumed that the upper-level figures will eventually “catch up” to the entry-level rates. A statistical analysis of 324 tenure-track law faculty hired in 1996-97 found significant gender and ethnic disparities in the rates at which new hires persisted in academia and achieved tenure: 77% for non-minority men, 65% for non-minority women, 52% for minority women, and 42% for minority men.¹⁵ Law schools are still not hiring diverse faculty members

Paula A. Monopoli, *Gender and the Crisis in Legal Education: Remaking the Academy in Our Image*, 2012 MICH. ST. L. REV. 1745, 1770 (“Women pick up a disproportionate share of the ‘housework’ portion of such governance work.”).

10. Among tenured faculty, the percentage of minority professors increased from 10% in 1998-99 to 14% in 2005-06. AALS 2005-06 report, Table 2B (Year 2005-06), ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN LAW SCHOOLS STATISTICAL REPORT ON LAW SCHOOL FACULTY AND CANDIDATES FOR LAW FACULTY POSITIONS – PRELIMINARY TABLES (2005-2006), Table 2B Seven-Year Comparison: Minority Faculty in Directory of Law Teachers. During the same time period, female professors increased from 20% to 26%. *Id.* at Table 2A Seven-Year Comparison: Women Faculty in Directory of Law Teachers.

11. U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, U.S. DEP’T OF COMMERCE, QUICKFACTS, available at <http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/00> [<https://perma.cc/EU5L-TK3S>] (July 1 estimate).

12. The most recent available data are published by the American Bar Association (ABA), based on law schools reports submitted in 2013. *Data from the 2013 Annual Questionnaire, ABA Approved Law School Staff and Faculty Members, Gender and Ethnicity: Fall 2013*, AM. BAR ASS’N, available at http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/administrative/legal_education_and_admissions_to_the_bar/statistics/2013_law_school_staff_gender_ethnicity.xlsx [<https://perma.cc/F8H6-5WWE>]. There were 5,398 tenured full-time teaching faculty, of whom 3,632 (67.3%) were male and 1,766 (32.7%) were female. There were also 1,509 tenure-track full-time teaching faculty, of whom 778 (51.6%) were male and 731 (48.4%) were female. *Id.* Among deans, there were 144 men and 58 women. *Id.*

13. *Id.* Within the ABA data, the “Total Minorities” category includes Hispanics, American Indian, Asian American, African American, Native Hawaiian Pacific Islander, and Two or More Races, but excludes Non Resident Aliens. Of the (1,509) tenure-track faculty, there were 208 minority men and 252 minority women, for a total of 30.5% of the tenured full-time teaching faculty. Of the 5,398 tenured full-time teaching faculty, there were 508 minority men and 399 minority women, for a total of 16.8% of the tenured full-time teaching faculty. Of 202 law school deans, there were 25 minority men and 17 minority women, for a total of 20.8% of law school deans.

14. Women constitute 52% of non-tenure-track faculty, 41% of tenure-track faculty, and 26% of tenured faculty at doctoral universities, according to 2005-06 AAUP data. Martha S. West & John W. Curtis, *AAUP Faculty Gender Equity Indicators 2006*, AM. ASS’N OF UNIV. PROFESSORS, available at <https://www.aup.org/NR/rdonlyres/63396944-44BE-4ABA-9815-5792D93856F1/0/AAUPGenderEquityIndicators2006.pdf> [<https://perma.cc/9SZW-F89S>] See also Mary Ann Mason, *The Pyramid Problem*, CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUC., Mar. 9, 2011, <http://www.chronicle.com/article/The-Pyramid-Problem/126614/> [<https://perma.cc/3T26-7U2G>].

15. RICHARD A. WHITE, INDIANA UNIVERSITY REPORT ON THE PROMOTION, RETENTION, AND TENURING OF LAW SCHOOL FACULTY: COMPARING FACULTY HIRED IN 1990 AND 1991 TO FACULTY HIRED IN 1996 AND 1997 13-14 (2004).

in sufficient numbers to achieve parity, and the hiring gap is worsened by significant inequalities in promotion and tenure.

Improving faculty diversity may be more challenging in the current environment due to declining rates of student enrollment and faculty hiring freezes at many schools.¹⁶ However, this context makes it more important than ever to retain, develop, and promote diverse faculty. Yet, hiring diverse faculty members does not necessarily ensure that they are retained and promoted,¹⁷ and studies recognize that early-career mentoring helps improve the odds of retention.¹⁸ Making additional investments in already-hired law faculty also represents a particularly cost-effective diversity strategy.

This Article not only argues that law schools should make more systematic use of early career mentoring to promote faculty diversity, but also offers a cost-effective, replicable model for doing so. Importantly, the mentoring program described here was designed by and for diverse early-career faculty, informed by the scientific literature on mentoring and adapted to the specific context of legal academia.

Most mentoring programs within law schools follow a standard model that assigns a protégé to one or more designated mentors within the school. Our program flips that model on its head, providing diverse early-career faculty members with training and resources to cultivate their own team of informal mentors. This reflects a finding within the mentoring literature that informal mentorship may be more effective than formal mentorship. A second unique feature of our mentorship program is the incorporation of both quantitative and qualitative techniques to evaluate its effectiveness. This Article presents the resulting data, allowing readers to judge for themselves the program's effectiveness, and providing insight into how and why mentorship can improve faculty outcomes.

Part I introduces the relevance of mentoring for enhancing faculty diversity. Part II draws upon the literature on mentoring within law faculties more broadly and explains the special concerns of early-career legal scholars that informed the program design. Part III describes the program model in sufficient detail to allow for its replication, including the evaluation methods. Part IV presents the results after the program's first year, drawing on both quantitative measures and participant narratives. Part V reflects on the potential for programs like this to contribute to broader change in the legal academy. For readers who would like to replicate or adapt this program at their own law schools, sample assessment forms are provided as appendices, as well as the grant proposal.

16. Meera E. Deo, *Looking Forward to Diversity in Legal Academia*, 29 BERKELEY J. GENDER L. & JUSTICE 354, 354, 358 (2014).

17. WHITE, *supra* note 15, at 10–11; Ray K. Haynes, *An Exploration and Assessment of Mentoring within the American Law Professoriate* 724 (2006) (citing the AALS Statistical Report on Law School Faculty and Candidates for Law Faculty Positions 2000–2001).

18. See, e.g., Kelley Y. Testy, *Best Practices for Hiring and Retaining a Diverse Law Faculty*, 96 IOWA L. REV. 1707, 1714–15 (2011) (stating that retaining faculty of color requires effort because such faculty members often suffer burdens not imposed on other faculty, including the burden of serving as the diversity representative on committees and other assignments); Ray K. Haynes & Joseph M. Petrosko, *An Investigation of Mentoring and Socialization Among Law Faculty*, 17 MENTORING AND TUTORING: PARTNERSHIP IN LEARNING 41, 49 (2009).

I. MENTORING IN THE LEGAL ACADEMY

The benefits of professional mentoring are numerous. Mentors provide protégés with both career and psychosocial support.¹⁹ According to an analysis of empirical literature, individuals who have been mentored report higher compensation, more promotions, greater career satisfaction, commitment, and optimism that they will advance further.²⁰ For academics, professional mentoring has importance not only in the gatekeeping stages of landing the first job and surviving tenure review, but also in the ongoing process of pursuing excellence as a scholar and colleague, negotiating lateral moves, and advancing to a chaired position or deanship.

The literature on mentoring draws a distinction between formal and informal mentoring. “Formal” mentoring is more artificially structured and takes place in a setting where the mentor and mentee explicitly agree to undertake a mentoring relationship with specific goals and boundaries.

Mentoring can also take place informally, without an explicit agreement. A senior faculty member provides informal mentoring when she takes an interest in a young scholar, encourages her, offers feedback on her scholarship, provides her with professional opportunities, or makes introductions to others in the field. When a junior faculty member approaches a respected colleague to seek advice or assistance, she is initiating informal mentoring.

Informal mentoring remains the predominant mode in which junior faculty members are socialized to the expectations and methods of legal research and collegiality. In a 2009 study, only 23% of law faculty reported receiving formal mentoring, while 75% reported receiving informal mentoring. This might seem to call for greater emphasis on expanding formal mentoring. However, law faculty protégés are substantially more likely to characterize the mentoring they received as *effective* when it was informal (81%) rather than formal (56%).²¹ This mirrors a broader trend documented in the mentoring literature: mentees receiving informal mentoring report better satisfaction and outcomes than those receiving formal mentoring.²² Fortunately, these two forms of mentoring are not mutually exclusive, and a combination of formal and informal mentoring approaches is likely to be most effective.²³

19. KATHY E. KRAM, MENTORING AT WORK: DEVELOPMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS IN ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE 5 (Scott, Foresman and Co. 1985). *See also* Darlene F. Zellers et al., *Faculty Mentoring Programs: Reenvisioning Rather than Reinventing the Wheel*, 78 REV. OF EDUC. RES. 552, 557–58 (2008) (listing the many benefits of mentoring).

20. *See* Tammy D. Allen et al., *Career Benefits Associated with Mentoring for Protégés: A Meta-Analysis*, 89 J. APPLIED PSYCHOL. 127, 130 (2004). *See also* Neil Hamilton & Lisa Montpetit Brabbitt, *Fostering Professionalism Through Mentoring*, 57 J. LEGAL EDUC. 102, 107–08 (2007) (discussing the career mentoring function and psychosocial mentoring in detail).

21. *Id.*

22. Belle Rose Ragins & John L. Cotton, *Mentor Functions and Outcomes: A Comparison of Men and Women in Formal and Informal Mentoring Relationships*, 84 J. OF APPLIED PSYCHOL. 529, 543 (1999).

23. *But see* Peg Boyle & Bob Boice, *Systematic Mentoring for New Faculty Teachers and Graduate Teaching Assistants*, 22 INNOVATIVE HIGHER EDUC. 157, 159 (1998) (noting that it is overly “optimistic” to assume that new faculty will find spontaneous support, as well as warning that a laissez-faire approach has unfavorable results).

Unfortunately, diverse faculty are at a disadvantage when it comes to mentoring. Studies show that women and minorities are less likely than individuals in majority groups to spontaneously develop informal mentoring relationships.²⁴ According to Haynes, “[an] injurious consequence of the lack of formal mentoring programs is the likelihood that women and people of color [are] intentionally or unintentionally excluded from these informal mentoring relationships because they are demographically different from law faculty mentors.”²⁵ Formal mentoring programs—whether open to everyone or specifically targeted at underrepresented groups—have been identified as important to achieving diversity goals in a broad range of contexts.²⁶ While formal mentoring programs have the advantage that diverse faculty are more likely to participate in them, the data suggest that informal mentoring may be more effective.²⁷ Thus, a key challenge in the design of mentoring initiatives for diverse faculty is how to leverage the strengths of both formal and informal mentoring.

The legal academy also presents unique challenges for ensuring that early-career faculty are adequately mentored as scholars. Because law faculty members are generally not required to complete a PhD program,²⁸ they do not have the advantage of the scholarly mentoring foundation that such programs provide. Many law schools discourage co-authorship prior to tenure,²⁹ depriving junior law faculty of yet another prime opportunity for informal mentoring. Law departments also tend to seek a diversity of research interests in hiring, in order to offer the broadest variety of courses and expert faculty to students. For this reason, research collaborations in the law most commonly take place between faculty from two or more different law schools. Even if scholarly mentoring is possible within the law school, it may create conflicts of interest at the time of the tenure vote.³⁰ Thus, the organic opportunities for mentoring through research collaboration that would be found within many other university departments tend to be lacking in the law.

24. See Zellers et al., *supra* note 19, at 553 (citing studies in the corporate and academic world suggesting that women and minorities face “significant barriers in developing informal workplace mentoring relationships”); *id.* at 558–59 (summarizing literature on the “cloning” phenomenon in academic and business settings, whereby informal mentors disproportionately cultivate protégés who remind them of themselves).

25. Haynes & Petrosko, *supra* note 18, at 49.

26. See, e.g., Deborah A. Olson & Deborah Jackson, *Expanding Leadership Diversity Through Formal Mentoring Programs*, 3 J. OF LEADERSHIP STUD. 47 (2009).

27. See *supra* note 22 and accompanying text. But see Hamilton & Brabbit, *supra* note 20, at 121 (“The early research suggesting that informal mentoring relationships provide more benefit to protégés than formal programs does not control for characteristics of formal programs, and so the conclusion that informal relationships provide more benefit seems premature.”).

28. See, e.g., Brian Leiter, *Paths to Law Teaching*, The University of Chicago Law School, <https://perma.cc/M37W-4VLB> (last updated Dec. 2015).

29. Several factors contribute to this phenomenon, including difficulties assigning credit among authors and the effect on tenure committees’ deliberations. Tom Ginsburg & Thomas J. Miles, *Empiricism and the Rising Incidence of Coauthorship in Law*, 2011 U. ILL. L. REV. 1785, 1824 (2011).

30. See, e.g., Daniel Keating, *A Comprehensive Approach to Orientation and Mentoring for New Faculty*, 46 J. LEGAL EDUC. 59, 63 (1996) (noting that offering an internal faculty mentor to a junior faculty member may create a concern about conflicts regarding the eventual tenure vote).

To realize these opportunities, pre-tenure law faculty must actively engage research mentors and collaborators within their fields. The standard law school mentoring program—matching a junior faculty member with a senior member of the same faculty—generally does not achieve this. It is crucial that legal scholars develop mentors “beyond the building”—at other law schools, in other departments, or in related fields of practice.

Additionally, the new mentoring paradigm in the literature is not focused on having just one mentor, but rather a network of mentors that complement each other and fulfill different functions.³¹ “The notion of a single experienced faculty member being able to play the all-inclusive role of mentor to a protégé is probably wishful thinking.”³² Alternative models—including peer mentoring, collective mentoring, and multiple mentoring—have a particularly important role to play in supporting diverse early-career faculty.³³ We consider the multiple mentoring model—in which the mentee takes the initiative to cultivate a network of mentors fulfilling different needs—particularly appropriate for early-career legal scholars.

Some early-career faculty members may be at a disadvantage in developing these networks of mentors because of their more isolated geographical location or more limited institutional resources. Scholars in coastal corridors can travel at little expense to nearby law schools to present research, network with colleagues, and cultivate mentors and collaborators. Scholars based in other parts of the country typically require a flight and hotel to realize the same benefit. As a legal scholar rises in reputation, she will receive more and more invitations on an expense-paid basis. But in the early-career stage, when it is most important to establish a network of mentors, law faculty are more likely to be dependent on their own institution’s funding.

In sum, professional mentoring—particularly around research—is important to faculty retention and advancement. Relying on spontaneous mentoring, however, tends to disadvantage diverse faculty. The introduction of formal mentoring programs pairing junior and senior faculty members within an institution represents an improvement, but also has limits. The literature suggests that junior faculty members will realize the greatest benefit from having a network of informal mentors. Because of the unique characteristics of legal scholarship, mentoring around research, in particular, requires reaching beyond one’s own institution. Depending on the geographic location of a particular school, this may require allocating financial resources for junior faculty members to travel to where their potential mentors are located.

31. See Zellers et al., *supra* note 19, at 563 (“The new mentoring paradigm is epitomized by multiple mentoring relationships, which have been described in the literature as constellations or mosaics of supportive relationships. The concept of multiple mentoring encourages individuals to draw support from a diverse set or team of mentors.”) (citations omitted).

32. WILLIAM G. TIERNEY & ESTELA MARA BENSIMON, PROMOTION AND TENURE: COMMUNITY AND SOCIALIZATION IN ACADEME 52 (1996).

33. Naomi C. Chesler & Mark A. Chesler, *Gender-Informed Mentoring Strategies for Women Engineering Scholars: On Establishing a Caring Community*, 91 J. OF ENGINEERING EDUC. 49, 51–52 (2002).

II. DESIGNING A REPLICABLE MODEL

The impetus for developing this mentoring program at Indiana University Robert H. McKinney School of Law was a campus-wide initiative by the Office for Academic Affairs.³⁴ The campus initiative offered matching funding for departments proposing significant new mentoring programs to support faculty retention and promotion. Departments were strongly encouraged to focus their proposed initiatives on populations that would help to advance the diversity goals of the campus. Since our junior faculty at the time happened to comprise six women, including one woman of color, it was natural to take the junior faculty as our focus.³⁵ In proposing the program and securing institutional buy-in, we emphasized the benefits for faculty diversity, as well as broader goals of promoting research excellence and faculty retention. We noted that if our proposed program achieved its goals and all faculty members participating in the mentoring program were retained and tenured, the law school's tenured faculty would go from 30% female to nearly 40% female.³⁶ The proposal was ultimately approved and fully funded, under the name Mentoring Untenured Scholars for Clinical and Legal Excellence (MUSCLE).

In designing the program, we began by speaking informally to both junior and senior law school faculty to identify challenges related to mentoring on our campus. We found that our junior faculty were very satisfied with the mentorship available to them in the areas of teaching and institutional citizenship. Because of the universal nature of these responsibilities, this type of mentoring is easy to find within the law school. Senior colleagues at our school tend to be very generous with their time when questions or issues arise in these areas. Student evaluation data also bore out that there was little to no need for support in the field of teaching, as this population was already performing above the institutional average in the classroom.³⁷ It was during this process, however, that we identified the specific need for research mentorship. Both junior and senior faculty at IU McKinney noted research-focused mentoring as the top priority. Like most American law schools, ours has a strong expectation that non-clinical faculty should go up for tenure and promotion based on excellence in research. The law school's pre-tenure research faculty members also have a strong motivation to achieve this excellence, not merely for the purposes of tenure and promotion, but also for the more fundamental purposes of advancing their research agendas,

34. See GAIL WILLIAMSON ET AL., IUPUI OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE VICE CHANCELLOR WHITE PAPER ON FACULTY TALENT DEVELOPMENT EFFORT "MENTORING ACADEMY" (Apr. 22, 2014), *available at* <https://perma.cc/QR24-GSSC>.

35. No deliberate law school policy required hiring this female faculty. The reason that it "happened" to be all female is that the last male tenure-track faculty member had been tenured, recent male faculty hires were more senior laterals, and one junior male professor departed the faculty for another institution. Three of the six MUSCLE participants are authors of this paper.

36. Several female faculty had retired in recent years, decreasing the tenured female faculty to 30%.

37. LEA SHAVER ET AL., MUSCLE MENTORING UNTENURED SCHOLARS FOR CLINICAL AND LEGAL SCHOLARSHIP EXCELLENCE (2014), Robert H. McKinney School of Law proposal, as funded, *available at* <https://perma.cc/AFF7-RZA3>.

contributing to the profession and society as a whole, and fully enjoying their calling as scholars.

Because of factors specific to the structure of legal research,³⁸ we came to believe that it was particularly important for research mentoring to involve a network of mentors and collaborators “beyond the building.” Because of our Midwestern location, building these relationships requires significant travel. Although our institution provides all faculty with a moderate travel budget, there is currently no ability to seek additional travel funds from the dean based on special needs or opportunities. Early-career faculty noted that they are particularly dependent on institutional funding because they have not yet built the reputations and networks that lead to paid invitations. Yet early-career faculty at our institution did not enjoy any priority in the allocation of institutional travel funds. We therefore identified enhanced travel funding as a critical component of the program. Based on the Office of Academic Affairs budget guidelines, departmental matching requirements, and the number of faculty members in our target population, we arrived at the figure of \$1,500 of travel funds per person per year necessary to accomplish the goals of the program. Participants were told they could use these funds for travel to a conference with a significant mentorship component, or for a trip specifically focused on networking and mentoring unrelated to a conference.

If additional travel funding was the “dough” of our new mentoring initiative, the “yeast” was brief programming to sensitize participants to the importance of mentoring for their academic careers. The mentoring literature suggested that informal mentoring relationships may be most effective. We therefore devised a hybrid program with few formal aspects, which emphasized the need for participants to proactively activate and develop an informal mentoring network of their own that was consistent with the “multiple mentoring” model. Accordingly, participants attended a single hour-long discussion session, which focused on the “why and how” of developing their own network of informal mentors. Participants were encouraged to share their experiences with one another during the program, and were expected to write a brief self-evaluation memo at the end of the year. Ultimately, each participant spent many hours engaged in mentoring interactions, but these experiences were structured by the participants themselves, not by the program.

Perhaps the most important features of our program were the assessment components. Two different instruments were developed. Each participant prepared a short narrative self-report memo describing her participation in the program and what she accomplished. The self-reporting memos held participating faculty members accountable for setting their own mentoring goals, making mentorship development a priority, designing travel with mentorship in mind, and reflecting on their progress toward their mentorship goals. These were shared with law school leadership and among the participants. This had the benefit of further reinforcing the message about the importance of mentorship, and sharing strategies of how to most effectively use the funds. Participants also anonymously completed a survey that assessed their perceptions (on a one- to five-point scale) regarding measurable goals of the program. The quantitative instrument was

38. See *id.* at 5-6 (discussing “Methodology of Intervention”).

administered at the program's beginning and at the end of its first year, permitting comparisons across time. Both the quantitative and qualitative assessments were designed to evaluate the program's effectiveness, identify avenues for year-on-year improvement, and provide evidence to make a case for continuing the program beyond the initial grant term. We reproduce these assessment instruments in the appendices.

III. RESULTS AFTER THE FIRST YEAR

To objectively assess the program's success in achieving its goals, two different measurement instruments were used. Both assessments suggest the program was successful in advancing mentoring of the participating faculty members.

A. Quantitative Assessment Tool

The data obtained from the (anonymous) quantitative instrument reveal positive progress toward all of the program's measurable goals, with many measures improving dramatically. Participants were asked to score on a five-point scale their responses to thirteen questions regarding measurable goals at the beginning of the MUSCLE program in 2015, and then again after the first year of the program in 2016.

Four measures showed at least one full point improvement on a five-point scale. Compared to a year ago, participants now feel substantially better informed about the mentoring resources available to them at their law school and the broader university campus. Participants also express much greater confidence that they know how to effectively cultivate a network of mentors to help them achieve excellence in research, and that they have the necessary resources to do so. Participants further reported substantially stronger relationships with their mentors after the intervention. These measures suggest that MUSCLE participants feel significantly more empowered to cultivate their own networks of research mentors—the core goal of the program.

Several additional measures showed at least one-half point improvement on the five-point scale. Among these, MUSCLE participants increasingly report that they consider mentoring “very” important to their success as a legal scholar. They also report regarding research that they are more frequently in contact with mentors both within the law school and beyond. Participants additionally report that they feel more prepared and motivated to serve as a mentor to others. These measures all suggest an attitudinal shift: MUSCLE participants have become more sensitive to the value of mentoring, which has paid dividends not only “beyond the building,” but also within it.

Two measures from the survey instrument showed more limited improvement, of less than one-half point on the five-point scale. Included in these measures, MUSCLE participants report that they are somewhat more satisfied with the research-related mentorship they receive from outside the law school. They are only slightly more satisfied with the current progress of their research agenda. These “satisfaction” measures show the smallest improvement, perhaps because the MUSCLE program has also led participants to raise their expectations even higher.

Table 1. Improvement in Mentorship Indicators After First Year of MUSCLE

Survey Item	Average point change on five-point scale
How satisfied are you with the current progress of your research agenda?	0.1
How satisfied are you with the research culture at McKinney Law School?	0.5
How important do you consider mentoring to your success as a legal scholar?	0.5
How satisfied are you with the research-related mentorship you receive at McKinney?	0.5
How satisfied are you with research-related mentorship you receive from outside sources?	0.4
How frequently are you in contact with mentors within McKinney regarding research?	0.5
How frequently are you in contact with mentors outside the law school regarding research?	0.6
How strong are your relationships with the mentors in your network currently?	1.1
How well informed are you about mentoring resources available at McKinney and IUPUI?	1.0
How confident are you that you know how to develop a network of research mentors?	1.3
How confident are you that you have the resources necessary to cultivate mentors?	1.3
How satisfied are you with the level of research travel funds available to you this past year?	1.8
How prepared and motivated are you to serve as a research mentor to other legal scholars?	0.7

Quantitative improvements were observed along all of the program goals. Satisfaction is improving, the value placed upon mentoring has increased substantially, and participants' sense of empowerment to cultivate mentors has seen the greatest increase.

B. Narrative Assessment Tool

The individual narrative self-assessments reinforce the conclusion that the improvements in regard to cultivating mentors and the importance of mentoring are a direct result of MUSCLE. While we received responses identified by the

resondent's name, we reproduce selected anonymized comments to demonstrate five emerging themes.³⁹

1. Different Methods of Incorporating Mentorship into Travel Plans

Consistent with the program's focus on empowering participants to identify and meet their own mentoring needs, participants reported using the travel funding in diverse ways.

Most participants used at least part of the extra funding to attend conferences or workshops that they would ordinarily have had to skip.

I used a substantial amount of the MUSCLE funding to attend the . . . [c]onference, which specifically targets [minority] law school faculty (although all are welcome) and aims to provide a supportive network across the academy. More importantly, the conference deliberately works to facilitate mentor-mentee relationships between tenured and untenured faculty members.

With the funding, I was able to take two trips, each of which involved a significant mentoring component. Each of these trips has had significant follow-up effects for my work and career, and without the funding, I most likely would have had to choose between the trips.

The workshop operated on a slim budget so participants had to fund their own airfare. But for MUSCLE, I would have declined the invitation. And I am so glad I went! Somewhat to my surprise, the workshop turned out to be an excellent opportunity for cultivating mentors. I was the most junior scholar in the room, in the company of four superstar scholars in my field.

Other participants used their funds to conduct a trip focused on spending one-on-one time with mentors in their field, unconnected to a conference or workshop:

Prior to the MUSCLE program, I did not have this luxury because I did not have the funding to take mentoring trips, yet it is so important—I now see—because it is quality one-on-one time that would not be possible in a more hectic context, such as a national conference. Furthermore, taking a specific mentoring trip puts mentoring on the agenda as a priority, and it results in quality mentoring because of this prominence on the agenda.

I appreciated having the additional funds to use for me, not just for presentation appearances. It was really nice to have several days to connect one-on-one with people that I really admire and respect.

The remaining \$200 was used for a one-night hotel stay [in a nearby state capital]. The primary purpose of the visit was to meet and engage with two very well-respected lobbyists who work with issues related to my research area. This was a fruitful visit both on the mentor front as well as the research sphere. They both gave me great advice about my research and suggested other avenues that I ought to explore. Their advice included not only suggestions concerning important additional legislation but also other helpful contacts. They explained to me the "politics" behind much of the legislation I was interested in, and also put me in touch with important bureaucrats.

39. We received consent from MUSCLE participants and Institutional Review Board approval to use these narratives in any publications regarding the mentoring program. As part of the approval, we agreed to report them anonymously and to remove any identifying information.

Some trips combined both approaches: attending a conference and including an additional “mentoring day” with the extra funding.

I had been invited to participate in a workshop at [one university], with my flight and related expenses paid by the host institution. I used about \$250 of MUSCLE funds to cover a second night's hotel stay and a rental car, in order to add on a half-day visit to [a nearby university].

I booked a ticket allowing me to arrive early so that I could spend half a day meeting with faculty. I had never met most of these people before. I just emailed them three weeks in advance to say I would be in town and could I visit their office to seek some career advice as a young legal scholar. Everyone said yes.

Because the program gave protégées significant discretion over the use of their travel funds, each participant was able to put the resources to what she deemed the best use.

2. Mentoring on Research and Other Topics

Of the six participants in our program, the five tenure-track faculty will go up for tenure in research and the clinical professor will go up for long-term contract status in teaching. All of the participants reported focusing mentorship conversations on their research or clinical program design, and receiving valuable advice in these areas.

The narratives indicate that participants were able to obtain mentoring focused specifically on research, including advice on publishing a first book, reframing an article's argument, new issues within a field that should receive attention, scholarly blogging, and more. Mentoring conversations also extended to related topics such as pitfalls to avoid in going up for tenure and general career advice.

I used the bulk of the funding to attend a conference that attracts many scholars in my research area. It is also one that many junior scholars want to participate in because (1) it involves a competitive process for participation (double blind review of research abstracts) and (2) pairs participants with a discussant who is established in the same research field as the junior scholar. My discussant was an expert in my general area of research. She provided detailed comments on my paper and also gave me advice on avenues for publication. Indeed, she suggested that I could build on the draft article and propose a book project based on some of the ideas discussed in the draft. I also turned to her for additional comments on [a] grant application I submitted later. Another scholar in my area approached me after my presentation and has since provided me detailed comments on the draft article. I incorporated her fantastic comments.

Professor [so-and-so], an expert in [my field] commented on my most recent article. Her comments were invaluable and significantly contributed to an important doctrinal change in my piece. I continue to receive correspondence from this professor.

I reached out to friends as soon as I received [a nearby] invitation; they were able to put me on the schedule for a speaker series. I presented to an audience of about 30 law students and interdisciplinary scholars. I used the forum as an opportunity to broadly describe and reflect on the trajectory of my research during my path to tenure. During the discussion, I benefited from the perspectives and feedback of a diverse group of scholars.

[Professor such-and-such] is not in my field, but he has published many academic books that also reach a general audience. I wanted to get his advice on my own book project. I was

surprised to learn that it actually is now acceptable (and common practice) to simultaneously send a book proposal to multiple university presses. He gave me great advice on how to identify presses worth applying to, and how to frame my proposal and enquiry email. [Another professor] gave me great substantive feedback on many angles of my book project, as well as advice about non-research activities (such as consulting) that would or would not be a good idea to take on after achieving tenure.

I spent [several days] of my trip working with [two people in my field] and learning more about what they do, how they do it, and how we might be able to partner together in the future.

The nature of these conversations ran the gamut from tenure to reading additional drafts of my paper to advice on drafting grants to the possibility of a research collaboration in the near future.

I had many conversations with [a practitioner in my field] regarding my research . . . She also connected me to a number of conferences in my research area in [the region] and outside of the legal academy that I have found useful to understanding the practical effects of legislation and programming [in this field]. She is now someone I consider a mentor and she continues to advise me on my research.

3. New Opportunities as a Result of Mentoring Relationships

Several participants reported that their mentoring outreach resulted in additional invitations or other professional opportunities, in addition to research and career advice.

The additional MUSCLE funds caused me to think about reaching out to my senior colleagues to see if they could seek out some opportunities for me to present my work. Basically, I told a couple of senior colleagues that I had some funds that would allow me to pay to travel to another law school and give a talk, so that the other law school did not have to pay for me to visit. One of my colleagues made some calls and was successful in arranging for me to present.

A scholar I met [on a funded trip] agreed to make efforts to reach out to her contacts so that I might interview them for my research.

I garnered two conference invitations from mentoring conversations, each of which I accepted and each of which I am certain will lead to more relationships and scholarly development.

Because I was involved in designing the MUSCLE program, I actually began cultivating my mentorship relationships more intentionally about a year ago. These efforts have already begun to pay off. I would estimate that as a direct result of more intentionally cultivating relationships with external mentors, I benefitted from at least \$4000 in travel funding and \$7500 in research support from other institutions.

Because many of the seeds planted during mentorship travel may take time to grow, this early analysis likely underestimates the follow-on opportunities that will ultimately come about as a result of investments in mentorship.

4. An Attitudinal Shift: Appreciating and Prioritizing Mentorship

Another theme that emerges from the narratives is that participants report a shift in attitudes toward mentoring. More than one participant reported that the very fact of having a program focused on mentoring encouraged prioritization of

it. The funding and reporting held participants accountable. The program also required participants to consciously focus on mentoring and to reflect on its impact. The reflection process itself emerges as a significant component of the intervention, sensitizing participants to their own power to advance their careers by proactively seeking out mentoring.

The MUSCLE program support has made me really think about mentoring and made me feel that I have the additional resources to help me seek out opportunities to connect with senior scholars and other scholars in my field. Seeking out mentors is not easy work. But, this funding essentially forces me to get out there and ask for advice and input. I am at the beginning stages of "seeking out mentors." But, I feel that I am now on track. I am much more willing than I was before to reach out to people and ask for help and advice – and to ask them to read my work and comment on it. I hope to get even better next year at seeking out and building on my existing mentoring relationships.

The MUSCLE program influenced the way I view mentoring as part of my professional development by virtue of allocating funds specifically geared toward establishing mentoring relationship. This demonstrates a commitment by the University to mentoring as well as signals the importance of professional mentor relationships. I never thought about the importance of mentoring until the MUSCLE program. Prior to MUSCLE, I had two people that I consider mentors and I did not think to broaden my mentor circle until MUSCLE. With the MUSCLE funds, I was very deliberate in choosing where to go and the mentor objectives to be achieved. I am happy to report back that my experiences were wonderful. I now have at least eight people that I consider mentors and feel free to consult with.

MUSCLE opened my eyes to something that should have been obvious but was not: the importance of seeking out professional advice and tending to personal relationships. A year ago I would have said I had one mentor. Now, I would say there are several dozen people on my mentoring team. I have learned that cultivating mentoring relationships is actually quite emotionally fulfilling both for me and for my intended mentor, that it is surprisingly easy for me to do, and that people are actually very willing and happy to do it when they see that you appreciate it. I was surprised to see in my own life just how powerful the payoff of mentorship turned out to be. I feel this has had an enormous positive impact on my research and broader professional development.

The MUSCLE program has made apparent to me how immediate and influential the effects of mentoring can be. I actually was not aware of the direct and significant career benefits I had received from the mentoring component of the conferences I attended until working on this self-assessment.

The biggest impact that my participation in the MUSCLE program had was on the way I now approach mentoring—as worthy of a trip and time in itself.

5. Additional Themes

The program did not require participants to commit to investing a minimum number of hours in mentorship conversations. Nor did the assessment techniques directly ask how much time participants actually spent in mentorship activities. The narratives, however, make clear that participants ultimately chose to spend many hours on these activities. An improvement in the assessment documents for the future would be to ask participants to estimate the number of hours they spent in certain categories of mentorship activities.

Some participants also mentioned that they became more aware of their own role as potential mentors to scholars more junior than they are, and that they had invested additional time in these activities as a result of participation. Future iterations of assessment instruments might ask questions to specifically get at this dynamic, considering its potential benefits for the participants' colleagues and students within their own institution.

IV. CONCLUSION

Recognizing diversity as a core value in legal education, law schools continue to pursue the elusive goal of faculty parity. Mentoring diverse faculty for retention and promotion represents an important strategy, particularly in times of slow hiring. Mentoring is widely acknowledged to be important in career advancement, yet can be lacking for female and minority professors, which can contribute to disparities in retention and advancement. Empowering early-career faculty to proactively cultivate research mentors should be recognized as an important strategy to achieve law schools' diversity goals.

The mentoring program described in this Article has been in place for only one year. The results described here are necessarily preliminary, and limited to one institution. Yet both the quantitative and qualitative data demonstrate positive effects. Participants report taking mentorship more seriously, are investing significant time in mentorship, express greater satisfaction in the mentoring available to them, and are receiving advice and opportunities that they consider to be valuable to their academic careers.

In designing mentoring interventions, law schools should keep in mind the need to blend the advantages of formal and informal mentoring. Relying on organic or spontaneous mentoring alone is likely to disadvantage diverse faculty members and perpetuate gender and racial disparities in retention and promotion. Ultimately, however, the most effective mentoring occurs informally, not as part of an official "match." We believe that the best of both worlds can be found in a program that targets diverse faculty members, emphasizes the importance of mentoring, provides financial resources and moral support to empower them, and holds them accountable to cultivate their own network of informal mentors.

The particular approach described here may not be ideal for all law schools. Indeed, it is important to emphasize that this mentoring initiative was designed by listening and responding to faculty preferences at our institution. The points we consider most central to its success were encouraging early-career faculty members to take initiative in cultivating their own network of professional mentors, providing appropriate financial resources to facilitate these efforts, and using a narrative reporting obligation to hold participants accountable and facilitate reflective learning. We think that travel funding not only facilitated relationship-building with geographically distant mentors, but also represented an important hook to recruit participants who might not already be convinced of the value of mentoring for their academic careers. While the amount of additional travel support could be varied, we would caution against attempting to replicate this program without it.

Our hope is that this detailed model can serve as a starting point for discussions regarding effective efforts to bolster mentoring as a diversity strategy. We also hope that we can save future program champions significant time by

providing ready-made resources with which to work. In the appendices, we include templates for our assessment tools and a logic model mapping out the program, which can be used during the planning and implementation of a similar program. These help facilitate the reflective self-assessment that we found to be an important part of the program, as well as evidence collection to demonstrate the impact of a trial program. Many campuses have funds available to support department-level mentoring initiatives; we have made our grant proposal available as a model.⁴⁰

The model described here can also be implemented without establishing a formal program. Early-career faculty members who are persuaded of the potential benefits can adopt the multiple mentoring model and begin to cultivate their own networks immediately. If they think they need additional financial resources to support travel for this purpose, they can approach their dean directly and propose a pilot program, sharing the literature on mentorship and promising to hold themselves accountable for setting and achieving mentorship goals by reporting on their use of the mentorship funds on an annual or semiannual basis. Deans can also implement this approach themselves by offering small bonus funds to their most junior faculty members.

Although our experiment focused on enhancing gender diversity, the model can work to promote any dimension of diversity, including racial, socioeconomic, or political diversity.⁴¹ The model can also be adapted to target scholars at different points in their careers. For example, another program might focus on mid-career legal academics, with the goal of increasing diversity among future deans. Schools that send many graduates to legal academia can also adapt the program to serve current law students, as a way of improving the diversity pipeline. In this way, diversity mentorship can help to address the diversity gap in hiring, as well as in advancement.

40. See *supra* note 37.

41. Cf., Johnson, *One Dean's Perspective*, *supra* note 1, at 1566 (emphasizing the importance of multiple "dimensions" of diversity, not just racial and gender diversity, for law school excellence).

APPENDIX A: QUANTITATIVE ASSESSMENT TOOL

MUSCLE ASSESSMENT

Please complete and submit this assessment anonymously. Your answers will be aggregated with those of other participants. Thank you for your participation.

Please circle ONE number only for each of the following statements.	NOT VERY		SOME- WHAT		VERY
How satisfied are you with the current progress of your research agenda?	1	2	3	4	5
How satisfied are you with the research culture at McKinney Law School?	1	2	3	4	5
How important do you consider mentoring to your success as a legal scholar?	1	2	3	4	5
How satisfied are you with the research-related mentorship you receive at McKinney?	1	2	3	4	5
How satisfied are you with research-related mentorship you receive from outside sources?	1	2	3	4	5
How frequently are you in contact with mentors within McKinney regarding research?	1	2	3	4	5
How frequently are you in contact with mentors outside the law school regarding research?	1	2	3	4	5
How strong are your relationships with the mentors in your network currently?	1	2	3	4	5
How well informed are you about mentoring resources available at McKinney and IUPUI?	1	2	3	4	5
How confident are you that you know how to develop a network of research mentors?	1	2	3	4	5
How confident are you that you have the resources necessary to cultivate mentors?	1	2	3	4	5
How satisfied are you with the level of research travel funds available to you this past year?	1	2	3	4	5
How prepared and motivated are you to serve as a research mentor to other legal scholars?	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX B: NARRATIVE ASSESSMENT TOOL

*MUSCLE: Mentoring Untenured Scholars for Clinical and Legal
Scholarship Excellence*

To: MUSCLE Participants
From: Research Committee
Date: Summer 2016
Re: Participant self-evaluation

Thank you for participating in the inaugural year of MUSCLE. As part of the administration of this program, we expect all participants to complete an annual narrative self-assessment of their participation. Together with the anonymously gathered quantitative data, these narratives will help us to assess the effectiveness of the program, and to find ways to further improve it. This evidence can also be helpful to the Dean when seeking additional funding to continue the program.

Toward that end, please prepare a 2-3 page memo explaining how you have utilized the resources provided by MUSCLE over the past year, and with what results. These memos should be returned to the chair of the research committee by email no later than [DATE]. You may find it helpful to address some or all of the following questions, although you should also feel free to go beyond these questions as well. No particular format is required.

- Explain which MUSCLE components (workshops, assessment tools, travel funding, mentor MVP nominations) you personally found most helpful this year.
- Please describe how you used your additional travel funds; where you went, who you met with, what topics your mentoring conversations covered, etc.
- What follow-up has occurred building on this travel? For example, phone conversations with mentors, future invitations, reading drafts, coauthorship, etc.
- How has the funded travel impacted your research? Have you received additional invitations or opportunities as a result of relationships built?
- How has participation in the MUSCLE program influenced the way that you view and approach mentoring as part of your professional development?
- In what ways has your mentoring network gotten stronger over the past year? What actions of your own do you attribute that to?
- What steps do you want to take in the next year to further strengthen and best utilize these mentoring relationships? How do you propose to spend your travel funds?
- Do you consider it important to continue the MUSCLE program in the future? Please explain why or why not.

APPENDIX C: LOGIC MODEL

LOGIC MODEL					
RESOURCES	ACTIVITIES	OUTPUTS	OUTCOMES – IMPACT		
			Short-term (1-2 yrs)	Long-term (5-7 yrs)	
Goal: Achieve excellence in research or clinical teaching as the foundation for target population's promotion and tenure.					
Conference/ institution travel funds to cultivate a network of mentors.	Publicize MUSCLE program and disseminate timeline.	Workshop materials on Why and How of Mentoring for Research.	Increased perception of mentoring support for pre-tenure faculty.	Increased participant interaction with mentors inside and outside the building.	Participants report greater satisfaction with research support and mentorship.
Host initial gathering to identify best uses of mentors for participants.	Initial workshop and self-reflection of participants' goals from mentor program.	Evaluations of the Why and How workshop.	Increased awareness of the personal and institutional value of mentoring.	Increased invitations to participants to present their research on an expense-paid basis.	Participants continue to excel in research.
Law school senior faculty as mentors.	Aid participants with interdisciplinary research interests in identifying possible mentors in other IU departments/ campuses.	Mentoring team matches.	Participants are more aware of mentoring resources, and more confident about approaching mentors.	Increased placement of participants' scholarship in prestigious journals.	Final three participants achieve promotion and tenure.
Senior faculty from other departments or campuses as mentors (for some participants).		Conference presentations and mentoring conversations.			
"MVP" mentor annual awards to encourage mentoring in the law school.		Participant reports on travel to conferences or other institutions to develop mentoring contacts.			

Law school research committee as partner. Law school P&T committee as partner. Meeting space in the building. Supplies.	Assign mentoring teams to participants. Update annual faculty report to include reporting on mentoring. Spring workshop on submitting research to journals. Ongoing lunch and other meetings with participants and with school mentors to plan, strategize, share information, and assess progress. Bestow "MVP" mentor awards. Ongoing travel to meetings/phone calls/other interaction with outside mentors. Complete assessments, review the program, and refine the model.	MVP mentors identified within the building. Draft and completed research articles. Completed annual self-assessments Data for assessing success of the MUSCLE program. Interim report on progress of and refinements to the program.	Participants will have traveled and presented their work at least once. Participants have broadened and deepened their team of mentors and shared draft work with those mentors for input. Participants will be incorporating mentorship advice into their research strategies.	Participants report greater satisfaction with research support and mentorship. Increased collaborative faculty research projects. Three of six participants have achieved tenure and promotion. Participants rate the MUSCLE program as aiding in their success as scholars.	Female full-rank faculty have increased from 30% to 40%. Female full-rank research faculty have increased from 20% to 30%. Minority full-rank faculty have increased from 12.5% to 15%.
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Sex-based harassment and organizational silencing: How women are led to reluctant acquiescence in academia

Authors: Dulini Fernando and Ajnesh Prasad

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Abstract:

The #MeToo and the Time's Up movements have raised the issue of sexual harassment encountered by women to the level of public consciousness. Together, these movements have captured not only the ubiquity of sexual harassment in the everyday functioning of the workplace, but they have also demonstrated how women are silenced about their experiences of it. Inspired by the political and the social currents emerging from these movements, and theoretically informed by ideas of discursive hegemony, rhetorical persuasion and affective practice, this article draws on a qualitative study of early- and mid-career female academics in business schools to answer the following question: *How are victims who start to voice their experiences of sex-based harassment silenced within the workplace?* Our findings reveal that organizational silence is the product of various third-party actors (e.g. line managers, HR, colleagues) who mobilize myriad discourses to persuade victims not to voice their discontent. We develop the concept of 'reluctant acquiescence' to explain the victims' response to organizational silencing. In terms of its contributions to the extant literature, this article: (i) moves away from explanations of sex-based harassment that focus solely (or predominately) on the actions of individual perpetrators; and (ii) shows how reluctant acquiescence leads to maintaining the status quo in the organization. In highlighting features of academic work that facilitate reluctant acquiescence, we call for more contextualization of the dynamics of sex-based harassment specifically, and other forms of workplace mistreatment broadly.

Mothers and researchers in the making: Negotiating ‘new’ motherhood within the ‘new’ academia

Authors: Astrid S Huopalaainen and Suvi T Satama

[Volume 72, Issue 1](#)

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Abstract:

How do early-career academic mothers balance the demands of contemporary motherhood and academia? More generally, how do working mothers develop their embodied selves in today’s highly competitive working life? This article responds to a recent call to voice maternal experiences in the field of organization studies. Inspired by matricentric feminism and building on our intimate autoethnographic diary notes, we provide a fine-grained understanding of the changing demands that constitute the ongoing negotiation of ‘new’ motherhood within the ‘new’ academia. By highlighting the complexity of embodied experience, we show how motherhood is not an entirely negative experience in the workplace. Despite academia’s neoliberal tendencies, the social privilege of whiteness, heterosexuality and the middle class enables – at times – simultaneous satisfaction with both motherhood and an academic career.

The Diversity Delusion How Race and Gender Pandering Corrupt the University and Undermine Our Culture

Author: Heather Mac Donald

St. Martin's Press 2018

ISBN: 1250200911

About:

By the national bestselling author of *The War on Cops*: a provocative account of the erosion of humanities and the rise of intolerance

America is in crisis, from the university to the workplace. Toxic ideas first spread by higher education have undermined humanistic values, fueled intolerance, and widened divisions in our larger culture. Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton? Oppressive. American history? Tyranny. Professors correcting grammar and spelling, or employers hiring by merit? Racist and sexist. Students emerge into the working world believing that human beings are defined by their skin color, gender, and sexual preference, and that oppression based on these characteristics is the American experience. Speech that challenges these campus orthodoxies is silenced with brute force.

The Diversity Delusion ([now available in paperback](#)) argues that the root of this problem is the belief in America's endemic racism and sexism, a belief that has engendered a metastasizing diversity bureaucracy in society and academia. Diversity commissars denounce meritocratic standards as discriminatory, enforce hiring quotas, and teach students and adults alike to think of themselves as perpetual victims. From #MeToo mania that blurs flirtations with criminal acts, to implicit bias and diversity compliance training that sees racism in every interaction, Heather Mac Donald argues that we are creating a nation of narrowed minds, primed for grievance, and that we are putting our competitive edge at risk.

But there is hope in the works of authors, composers, and artists who have long inspired the best in us. Compiling the author's decades of research and writing on the subject, *The Diversity Delusion* calls for a return to the classical liberal pursuits of open-minded inquiry and expression, by which everyone can discover a common humanity.

Engaging diversity in academia: manifold voices of faculty

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine the perspectives of academic staff on issues of diversity and social schisms: capturing their perceptions of the complex relations at an academic campus positioned in an intricate sociopolitical context. It also explored how the faculty's construal of diversity and social divisions inform their educational practices.

Design/methodology/approach

The study employed a qualitative approach using grounded theory methodology. Data collection was based on semi-structured in-depth interviews with 20 diverse faculty members from different departments in a Northern Israeli college. The interviews were transcribed and processed into main themes and categories.

Findings

The findings revealed two main themes: "Diversity awareness" depicting recognition and sensitivity to the complex social context in the college, strategies of directly engaging with it, downplaying or overlooking the intricacies, and "Practices" describing the practical translations of the educational credos into teaching practice. Both themes reflected a myriad of faculty voices.

Social implications

The study illuminated the challenges posed by social schisms, inequalities, and diversity for the faculty who need to grapple with the intricacies on a daily basis. More open dialogue and debates by the protagonists are needed to increase awareness of diversity and experimenting with different ways of addressing the intricacies.

Originality/value

Empirical evidence of the organizational actors' predicaments, their diverse patterns of coping with intricacies, and the factors underlying their choices contribute to the body of knowledge on managing diversity *in vivo* by real women and men with different backgrounds and experiences.

Gender Stereotyping in Academia: Evidence from Economics Job Market Rumors Forum

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December 2017

Abstract

Stereotyping, the process of ascribing characteristics based on group membership, can exaggerate the contrast between *in-group* and *out-group* and foster an unwelcoming atmosphere. This paper examines the existence and extent of gender stereotyping on Economics Job Market Rumors, an anonymous online forum with academic and professional purposes. First, I use a Lasso Logistic model to directly capture the gender stereotyped language. Discussions about women tend to focus more on physical appearance or family information, whereas discussions about men are more on their academic or professional aspects. The topic analysis provides further evidence on this finding from a more aggregate perspective. In addition, I develop an econometric framework to study gender stereotyping in the dynamics of a conversation. I find that there is a significantly stronger deviation from an *Academic/Professional* focus when there is a prior mention of women; in contrast, the deviation from a *Personal/Physical* topic is stronger if the prior post is about men rather than women. Last, female economists tend to receive more attention online than their male counterparts, a pattern that further emphasizes the need to reduce stereotyping and maintain an inclusive environment.

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Despite the remarkable gains in educational attainment in recent decades, women are still underrepresented in math-intensive fields like economics, engineering and computer science (Ceci et al. 2014; Bayer and Rouse 2016; Kahn and Ginther 2017). The persistent gender gap can consolidate the perception of *in-group* versus *out-group*, and social identity theory suggests that members of the well-represented *in-group* are likely to engage in stereotyping – the act of ascribing characteristics based on group membership – to emphasize “intragroup similarity” and “intergroup differences” (Tajafel and Turner 1986; Oakes et al. 1994).

Although there is a rising literature in economics formally modeling stereotype beliefs (Bordalo et al. 2016a) and testing for them in lab experiments (Bordalo et al. 2016b), it remains challenging to capture the stereotyping behavior in real world settings and evaluate its impact on the overall environment. One difficulty is that the day-to-day interactions between people are not easily observable. Another difficulty is that subjects who are concerned about their social or political correctness would not necessarily reveal their true attitudes in public.

This paper aims to fill in this gap of the literature by examining the existence and extent of gender stereotyping in everyday “conversations” that take place online between people in economics. I use text scraped from Economics Job Market Rumors¹ (EJMR), an online forum established to share information about job applications and results in each year’s hiring cycle, though it is now active all year round. EJMR users post anonymously about economics-related or miscellaneous issues. Anonymity presumably eliminates any social pressure participants may feel to edit their speech, and thus creates a natural setting to capture what people believe but would not openly say. I focus on threads initiated or updated within the last four years, from October 2013 to October 2017. About 62% of the threads in my dataset include at least one post that directly addresses female(s) or male(s). Gender-related threads are also more popular: the mean number of posts per thread is 11 in the overall sample, but 14 in the gender sample. In particular, a thread starting with a title related to women contains about 2 more posts than one starting with a title related to men.

I start from the question whether women and men are portrayed differently on EJMR. Assuming an underlying causal relationship between the gender of the subject being discussed and the characteristics the poster would emphasize, I take an inversion step to infer gender from the

¹More information about EJMR on <https://www.econjobrumors.com/topic/about-ejmr>

text, a strategy often used in the analysis of high-dimensional textual data (Taddy 2013; see Gentzkow 2017 for a summary). I train a Lasso-Logistic model on over four hundred thousand *Female* and *Male* posts, and it identifies the words with meaningful predictive power² on. The five words most uniquely associated with *Female* posts, in descending order of the marginal effect on $Pr(Female = 1|text)$, are: “hotter”, “pregnant”, “plow”, “marry”, and “hot”, , while the top five associated with *Male* posts are: “homo”, “testosterone”, “chapters”, “satisfaction”, and “fleckers”. The moderation of the forum is based on both automatic censoring and reports by users³. However, the terms captured by the Lasso Logistic model suggest that either the automatic system is not robust, or the EJMR users themselves do not find it necessary to report content of potential discrimination. A closer look into the contrast between top “female” vs. top “male” terms reveals that women are more likely to be characterized by their physical appearance or personal information, whereas men are more associated with academic or work-related content. To make inferences on the pervasiveness of the stereotyped language, I also consider the frequency of each word, and it gives a similar picture of the differential portrayal of women and men.

From a more aggregate perspective, I analyze the topics in gendered discussions. I measure the total occurrences of words under two topics of interest: *Academic/Professional* and *Personal/Physical*. The first topic is consistent with the original purposes of the forum to share job market information and discuss issues in economics, while the second topic includes descriptions of one’s physical appearance or family information that can be inappropriate in a professional setting. At the post level, on average a *Male* includes 3 academic or professional terms, whereas a *Female* post contains about 1.35 terms less under this topic, a significant 45% decrease. The gender gap in *Academic/Professional* is robust under different sample restrictions by gender classifiers⁴. For the other topic, *Female* posts consistently includes about 1.1 *Personal/Physical* terms on average, more than double of what shows up in a typical *Male* post. At the thread level, I consider the mean number of terms under each topic. Relative to threads mostly centered on men, a thread with more *Female* posts than *Male* posts contain over 50% less academic terms, but significantly more words in *Personal/Physical*.

The findings in the static analysis above can reflect two forces in tandem. First, as women

²That is, the marginal effect of the occurrence of each word on $Pr(Female = 1|text)$ is nonzero.

³Moderation policy: <https://www.econjobrumors.com/topic/request-a-thread-to-be-deleted-here>

⁴Gender classifiers include words like “he” or “she”, which I use to identify the gender of the subject of each post.

are underrepresented in economics, there are less mentions of women in an academic or professional discussion. Second, the theory of stereotyping in Bordalo et al. 2016a suggests that the contrast between women and men can be exaggerated as a result of representativeness-based discounting: that is, the *Academic/Professional* aspects of women are under-weighted, whereas the *Personal/Physical* aspects are over-weighted, relative to men.

To put stereotyping in a dynamic setting, I examine the flow of the conversation empirically, in particular, whether a thread is persistent in each topic, and how gender can potentially affect such persistence. I focus on gender-related threads that include at least one *Female* or *Male* post. Within each thread, a post can discuss about *Female*, *Male* or be *Neutral*, i.e. not directly related to gender. There is a mean reversion pattern on average: when the prior post talks about *Academic/Professional*, regardless of the gender in the prior, the next post is 5.0 ppt significantly less likely to stay on the same topic. Relative to the neutral group where the prior posts are genderless - *Neutral*, the deviation from an *Academic/Professional* focus is about 52% stronger in the *Female* group, and 32% stronger in the *Male* group. The effect of a mention of female(s) in the prior post is significantly different from that of a mention of male(s), with a p-value of 0.0001. I also break down the results by the initial conditions set up by the topic and the first post of each thread. The contrast between the effects of *Female* and *Male* on the persistence of an academic topic becomes even more salient under a thread that starts from an academic theme without any mention of women and men. From a behavioral perspective, a comment on the research by a female may contradict one's prior beliefs about women, resulting in an immediate deviation from the academic topic to protect the presumed stereotype. In contrast, the deviation from *Personal/Physical* is smaller in the *Female* group, which can reflect a confirmation bias.

Finally, I present a difference-in-difference analysis on the attention received by a comparable set of 190 female and 190 male high-profile economists who rank among the Top 5% of Authors on the RePEc ranking⁵, and a second analysis of a cohort of 204 assistant professors (45 women, 159 men) from Top 20 economics departments⁶ in the United States. I estimate the amount of attention each person receives by the number of results returned via a name search on EJMR.

⁵RePEc ranking of Top 5% Authors (Last 10 Years Publications), as of September 2016: <https://ideas.repec.org/top/top.person.all10.html>

⁶based on U.S. News ranking of best graduate programs in Economics as of 2013 and 2017, and RePEc ranking of top Economics Departments.

Among high-profile economists, women tend to get more attention than their male counterparts, and the difference is wider for relatively less prominent economists. Among junior faculty, women working at the top 5 departments are discussed more than men on the forum, but this trend is reversed for those at lower-ranked departments.

The rest of the paper is structured as follows. Section 1 provides an overview of the EJMR data and the construction of the gender sample, and discusses the popularity of threads in relation to gender. Section 2 presents the Lasso Logistic model I use to infer gender from the text and directly capture the gender stereotyped language online. Section 3 analyzes the topic differences in *Female* vs. *Male* posts, and how gender can affect the dynamics of the conversation. Section 4 uses an alternative design to analyze the attention comparable economists of different genders receive. Section 5 discusses the next steps and concludes.

1 EJMR Data and Sample Overview

As of October 28th, 2017, there were over three hundred thousand threads on the site of EJMR forum in a span of seven years. The threads are organized in reverse chronological order, by the time of each’s latest update. I take the following two steps to create my dataset. First, I scrape the main pages of the forum, numbered from 1 to 8,750. A typical page contains 35 threads, and it records each thread’s title, the time of the latest update, the number of posts, the number of views, and the votes by users. I then scrape the posts on the first page and the last page (if a thread exceeds one page⁷) of each thread initiated or updated within the last four years, from October 2013 to October 2017. As a result, I obtain a dataset of 2,217,046 posts across 223,475 threads.

Without a pre-existing dictionary, I use the open-vocabulary strategy (Schwartz et al. 2011) to consider the most frequent 10,000 words that emerge from the raw text. I record the word counts in a N -by-10,000 sparse matrix, where $N = 2,217,046$, the number of posts. In order to identify the gender-related posts, I extract a list of gender classifiers from the top 10,000 words, which contain 57 words indicating females, and 236 words indicating males. The most straightforward classifiers are pronouns - “she”, “he” etc., while others can refer to a group or identity such as “women”,

⁷A typical thread contains at most 20 posts on each page.

“men”, “wife”, “husband”. The imbalance in the total number of classifiers is mainly driven by the pattern that more male first names or male economists’ last names emerge among the 10,000 words than female ones. Based on the characteristics of the classifiers, I subsequently divide them into four groups, and define four increasingly restrictive levels as illustrated in Figure 1. Level 1 uses all classifiers, whereas Level 4 restricts to pronouns only. Such specifications are particularly useful for robustness checks in later sections. The more restrictive levels also help exclude cases where posters refer to themselves as “bros” or “guys” but the topic they are discussing is not gendered.

At each level, I define a post to be $Female = 1$ (“female”) if it includes any word indicating a female, $Female = 0$ (“male”) if it includes any word indicating a male, and NA (“neutral”) otherwise. Under this classification rule, at Level 1, there arise 44,081 “duplicate” posts that contain both female and male classifiers. To resolve this issue, I design a Lasso-Logistic model to infer gender from words other than the classifiers. This predictive model helps re-classify 14,028 (31.8%) of the duplicate posts as “female”, and the other 30,053 posts as “male”. Section 2.1 and Appendix A discuss the model and its training process in detail and display a list of words with the strongest predictive power for gender.

Table 1 provides a summary of the number of female and male posts identified at each level. Using all gender classifiers (Level 1), I find 444,810 posts to be either about females or males, which make up over 20% of the posts in the entire dataset. The gender-related posts span across 138,477 threads, about 62% of all threads in the past four years. I consider a thread to be related to gender if its title or at least one of its posts is discussing about females or males, i.e. $Female \in \{0, 1\}$. In later analysis, I examine the differences between “female” and “male” posts directly, and then extend to all 1,736,204 posts within gender-related threads to study the flow of the conversation.

Popularity of Threads in relation to Gender

Threads in the gender sample tend to be more popular: the mean number of posts per thread is 11 in the overall sample, whereas a gender-related thread at Level 1 attracts 14 posts on average⁸. From a user’s perspective, he or she first reads the title of a thread, and then decides whether to

⁸I use the number of posts shown on the main pages of the EJMR forum to calculate the means. The numbers are higher than $\frac{\text{No. Posts}}{\text{No. Threads}}$ in Table 1 because the dataset only preserves posts on the *First* page and the *Last* page (if more than one page) of each thread. About 2% of the threads span over 3 pages or more, and for them, posts in the middle pages are not scraped.

continue reading the posts under it and contribute to the discussion. Based on this observation, I further break down the popularity measure by gender in the title, which could be *Female*, *Male*, or *Neutral* (not related to gender). Table 2 shows that within the gender sample, a thread with a *Neutral* title contains 15 posts on average. A typical *Female* title attract about 12 posts, lower than *Neutral*, but about 2 more significantly than *Male*. The number of views per thread is an alternative measure of popularity in column (2). Gendered titles also get significantly less views than *Neutral* ones, but the difference between *Female* and *Male* is small and insignificant under this measure. In other words, *Female* titles initially get about the same amount of interests (measured by no. views) as *Male* ones, but there are some underlying incentives that motivate EJMR users to comment within a thread, resulting in a significant gap in the number of posts.

To further illustrate this point, Figure 2 plots the distribution of the no. posts under *Female* versus *Male* titles. For purposes of illustration, I “right-censor” the number of posts at 40 in the plot⁹. For threads with *Male* titles, the mass of the distribution is more highly concentrated on the left than that of threads with *Female* titles.

2 Capturing the Gender Stereotyped Language

I use a Lasso-logistic model to predict the gender a post discusses about by the counts of the most frequent 10,000 words, excluding the gender classifiers and additional last names¹⁰. Assuming an underlying causal relationship between the gender of the subject and the language patterns, I take an inversion step¹¹ to infer gender from text and the estimated model identifies words most uniquely associated with each gender. At the meantime, the model serves as an alternative classification strategy to resolve “duplicate” posts that include both “female” and “male” classifiers.

⁹For censoring I code the no. posts as 40 if it is ≥ 40 . Note there are only about 2% of all threads that contain more than 40 posts.

¹⁰The last names of celebrities (non-economists) and the names from which I cannot tell the gender are not used as gender classifiers. As a result, 9,545 words remain as predictors.

¹¹The inversion strategy that creates a map from high-dimensional text to lower dimensional attributes of interest is often used in logistic regression models (e.g., Taddy 2013; also see Gentzkow 2017 for a summary.)

2.1 Lasso-Logistic Model and Training Process

Given a post and a corresponding vector of token counts W_i , assume the posterior probability is:

$$P(Female_i = 1|W_i) = \frac{\exp(\theta_0 + W_i'\theta)}{1 + \exp(\theta_0 + W_i'\theta)}$$

$$P(Female_i = 0|W_i) = \frac{1}{1 + \exp(\theta_0 + W_i'\theta)}$$

Write the likelihood of each observation as:

$$P(Female_i|W_i) = P(Female_i = 1|W_i)^{Female_i} \times P(Female_i = 0|W_i)^{(1-Female_i)}$$

Assume the observations are independent, I estimate the coefficients on word counts that maximizes the log likelihood under a constraint on $\|\theta\|_1$ - the ℓ_1 -norm as follows:

$$\hat{\theta}_\lambda = \underset{\theta}{\operatorname{argmin}} -\log(\prod_{i=1}^N P(Female_i|W_i)) + \lambda\|\theta\|_1 \quad (1)$$

Lasso regularization, i.e. the ℓ_1 -norm penalty, promotes sparsity as the estimator shrinks the coefficients on variables with little explanatory power to zero, and thus is particularly useful for variable selection in high dimensional data. Lasso has become a popular approach in computational linguistics (e.g. Eisenstein et al. 2011). Gentzkow et al. (2016) also use this strategy to identify the most partisan phrases in Congressional speeches. In this case, the Lasso-logistic model sorts out words with the strongest predictive power on gender. The estimator $\hat{\theta}_\lambda$ is biased, but the variance of the model is reduced, and tends to yield more accurate predictions.

There are 401,734 *non-duplicate* posts that include only “female” words or only “male” words at Level 1. I use 75% of them, i.e. 300,788 posts, to train the model and select an optimal tuning parameter λ^* through 5-fold cross validation. I select the best p-score threshold by the prediction accuracy on the remaining 25% as the test set ($p^* = 0.40$ according to Appendix Figure A1). Finally, if the predicted probability of a *duplicate* post discussing females is ≥ 0.40 , I re-classify it to be a $Female = 1$ post, and a $Female = 0$ post otherwise. As a result, 31.8% of the duplicate posts that include both “female” and “male” classifiers are re-classified to $Female = 1$, and the rest

to *Female* = 0.

2.2 Word Selection

As for the variable selection, the coefficients on 5,034 words are shrunk to zero; that is, they are considered irrelevant to the classification of gender in each post. I sort the remaining words by each’s marginal effect - the increase in the probability of the subject of a post being *Female* when a given word occurs once more.

The left half of Table 3 displays the top 30 words with the strongest predictive power for gender at Level 1. None of the most “female” words are related to economics or the job market. Instead, most of them are related to physical appearance or attributes of women. The words “hot”, “attractive”, and “beautiful” increases the predicted probability of a post discussing about *Female* by approximately 24.0% – 27.1%. Although some of these words might seem positive by themselves, it is arguably inappropriate to discuss one’s look in a professionally-oriented forum. For example, there is a thread titled “Cute, unmarried HRM AP is doing a seminar at my school. Can I ask her out?”¹², which judges a female economist based on her appearance instead of her research ability. Words about personal or family information such as “marry”, “pregnancy”, “dating” also emerge on this list.

In contrast, the words most uniquely associated with “male” posts are more academically and professionally oriented. Terms like “macroeconomics”, “supervisor”, “adviser”, and “RFS” (The Review of Financial Studies) and names of institutions are among the top 30 most “male” words. The list still contains some very offensive terms, which might suggest an unwelcoming environment in a broader sense. However, the drastic differences in the gender stereotyped language at the word level do illustrate a differential treatment of *in-group* (men) and *out-group* (women).

To check the robustness of the words selected by Lasso, I train this predictive model on posts identified by Level 4 gender classifiers, and the results are shown in the right half of Table 3. Level 4 uses the most restrictive set of classifiers - “he”, “she” etc. (see Figure 1). There is a 60% turnover rate among the top 30 “male” words at Level 4 relative to Level 1. Additional terms related to research or one’s intellectual ability occur, e.g. “RePEc” and “genius”. Academic terms such as

¹²This thread (*id* = 143907 in the final dataset) was initiated and last updated 2 years ago. It contains 20 posts and gets 1,238 views. It lies in the top quintile of the popularity distribution as in Figure 2.

“adviser”, “supervisor” and “Nobel” show even stronger marginal effects on predicting posts about males¹³. On the one hand, using more restrictive gender classifiers does help identify “male” posts that are more academic or professionally oriented. On the other hand, the comparison between the top “female” words identified at Level 4 versus Level 1, with a mere 30% turnover rate, shows that the discussions related to women consistently tend to deviate from academic and professional topics, no matter how restrictive the sample selection is. Words like “nurse” or “humanities” emerge at Level 4, but they are not related to economics or the job market, which again reveals a strong tendency to promote gender stereotypes.

To make inferences on the pervasiveness of gender stereotyping, I consider the frequency of the words with the strongest association with gender (Appendix Table A1), and compare it with the most commonly used words that occur in $Female = 1$ and $Female = 0$ posts respectively (Appendix Table A2). It is true that Lasso picks up terms such as “hotter” and “chapters” that are mostly unique to one gender but that may not be frequent in the overall sample. However, words sorted by frequency reveal similar patterns: the five most frequent non-symbol words in *Female* posts are “life”, “work”, “hot”, “love”, “sex”, whereas the most frequent in *Male* ones are “work”, “paper”, “job”, “economics” and “great”.

To some extent, the analysis at the word level is similar to the idea of the Implicit Association Test in psychology, which capture one’s implicit bias by how fast he or she relates certain characteristics to different groups (Greenwald 1998). However, the patterns revealed here go beyond implicit biases, as the words occur in real online discussions among people in the economics community. The existence and extent of gender-stereotyped language deviates from the putative academic and professional purpose of this forum, and both illustrates and contributes to an unwelcoming atmosphere online.

3 Static and Dynamic Topic Analysis

As the word selection above reveals a divergence in themes between discussions about women and men, here I develop a more aggregate approach to study the topic differences at both the post

¹³At Level 1, an additional occurrence of “adviser”, “supervisor” and “Nobel” increases the chance of a post discussing about males by 14.1%, 14.6%, and 12.9% respectively. At Level 4, the marginal effects increase to 15.3%, 15.3% and 14.3% in the same order.

level and the thread level. In addition, I examine the flow of the conversation, in particular the persistence of a topic and its interaction with gender. I manually classify the top 10,000 words into 15 categories. Table 4 explains how I group certain categories to consider two main topics of interest: (i) *Academic/Professional*; (ii) *Personal/Physical*.

3.1 Static Topic Analysis

A. Topics at the Post level

First, I restrict my analysis to gender-related posts ($Female \in \{0, 1\}$), and the sample size varies by the level of gender classifiers defined in Figure 1. For each post, I count the number of occurrences of words from each category, which provides an explicit representation of the post’s association with a given topic. For example, a post that includes eight economics terms is considered more academic than a post with only three such terms. I use two benchmark models to estimate the gender differences in topics. The first model looks at the effects of gender on the sum of word frequencies in each topic, while the second uses an indicator for whether any word from a given topic occurs:

$$(i) : Topic_i = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 Female_i + e_i \quad (2)$$

$$(ii) : D_i = \theta_0 + \theta_1 Female_i + u_i \quad (3)$$

$$Topic \in \{No. Academic/Professional terms, No. Personal/Physical terms\}$$

$$D_i := 1[Topic_i > 0]$$

Table 5 presents the estimates of model (i) on the *Academic/Professional* topic. At Level 1 where all gender classifiers are used to identify gender-related posts, it shows that on average there are 3.00 academic or job-related words in each post associated with a male, but 1.35 fewer (a significant 45.0% decrease) when the post is associated with a female. In terms of probabilities, as shown in Table 6, 58.8% of the “male” posts include at least one academic/work term, while 12.2% of “female” posts do.

One potential issue with using Level 1 gender classifiers is that they pick up a large number of posts talking about “girlfriend” or “boyfriend” etc. that are necessarily not academic/work oriented.

The higher the level of classifiers, the more likely it is that the post focuses on people within the Economics community, including professors, colleagues and candidates. The sample restriction through gender classifiers is not a perfect filter, but Level 4 (using pronouns only) does successfully reduce the sample size by over 50% relative to Level 1, and the comparison across levels provides an opportunity for a robustness check. I test the models on the gender sample identified by each level, and find that the null hypothesis $E[Academic_i|Female_i = 0] = E[Academic_i|Female_i = 1]$ is rejected at 0.1% significance level across all four levels. The relative percentage gap in the number of *Academic/Professional* terms is estimated to fall between 44.1% and 47.5%, with Level 3 and Level 4 showing larger differences. As the sample becomes more selective by gender classifiers, the average number of *Academic/Professional* terms increase for both genders, which helps illustrate the validity of the sample restrictions - that is, the posts identified are more centered on the Economics community.

For the other topic - *Personal/Physical*, I also estimate the benchmark models on posts identified by each level of gender classifiers. As shown in Table 7, at Level 1, a “female” post on average includes 1.12 terms related to personal information or physical attributes, almost three times of what occurs in an average “male” post. Even though the overall number of *Personal/Physical* terms seems smaller than the number of *Academic/Professional* ones, it is worth noting that this category includes a significant portion of words related to physical appearance or sexual content, which are arguably inappropriate in a forum for economists. In terms of probability (Table 8), 46.9% of “female” posts at Level 1 includes at least one term associated with this topic, more than double of the proportion of “male” posts with such terms. The gender difference shrinks as the sample becomes more restrictive, but the shrinkage is mainly driven by a small increase in the number of such terms in “male” posts, and on average a “female” post consistently has about 1.1 terms under this topic.

B. Topics at the Thread level

To capture a more complete picture of the gender-related discussions, I extend the static topic analysis to threads that contain at least one $Female = 1$ or $Female = 0$ post. Using Level 1 gender classifiers, I construct a panel dataset that contains 1,736,204 individual posts¹⁴ under

¹⁴444,810 posts in this panel dataset are $Female = 1$ or $Female = 0$ posts at Level 1 (see Table 1).

138,477 gender-related threads (see Table 1).

For each thread, I define $\%Female - \%Male = \frac{n_{Female} - n_{Male}}{n_{Posts}}$, the difference between the fraction of $Female = 1$ posts and that of $Female = 0$ ones, as an aggregate measure of the representation of “female” posts relative to “male” ones. I divide this measure into quartiles, where the first quartile $[-1, -0.333]$ corresponds to threads that most heavily center on men while the last quartile $[0, 1]$ refers to threads that include more posts related to females than to males.

The corresponding benchmark model at the thread level is:

$$\overline{Topic}_t = \gamma_0 + (\%Female - \%Male)'_t \gamma_1 + e_t \quad (4)$$

where the $\overline{Topic}_t$ refers to the mean of *Academic/Professional*; (ii) *Personal/Physical* terms across all posts within a thread t , and $(\%Female - \%Male)_t$ is a vector indicators for quartiles. Table 9 shows the outputs for both the OLS and the weighted version where I use the number of gender-related posts within a thread as its weight. Threads mostly centered on men (Quartile 1) on average have 4.00 *Academic/Professional* terms per post, or 2.47 when I put higher weights on more gender intensive threads. The more “female” posts a thread contains, the lower the mean number of *Academic/Professional* terms¹⁵.

Relative to Q1, threads in Q4 where the number of “female” posts exceed that of “male” posts contain about 53.3% - 67.4% less *Academic/Professional* terms. This relative gap is even wider than the estimates at the post level (44.1% – 47.5% in Table 5). Threads mainly discussing about men might be more persistent in an *Academic/Professional* topic, whereas those more intensively about women might not start as an academic discussion, or deviate from its original academic focus as the conversation evolves. These potential explanations require a dynamic analysis that I will discuss in Section 3.2

As for the *Personal/Physical* topic, the unweighted model shows that threads in Quartile 4 contain about 16.7% significantly more terms about personal information and physical attributes. In contrast, the relative increase becomes much more drastic, rising to 123.1%, when I use the number of gender-related posts as weights. The weights seem to have a larger influence on results

¹⁵The unweighted version in (1) of Table 9 shows that Quartile 3 on average contains slightly more *Academic/Professional* terms than Quartile 2, but that might be driven by threads that actually contain very few “female” or “male” posts, resulting in a measure of $(\%Female - \%Male)$ near 0. Using the number of gender-related posts addresses this concern, and it does show a monotonically decreasing trend in (2).

for this topic, which is potentially because the words under *Personal/Physical* are more directly associated with gender discussions than the *Academic/Professional* words. Also, note that the weights lead to a shrinkage of the differences between Q2/Q3 and Q1, and this finding is in line with the observation that when $\%Female - \%Male$ is close to 0, it is either because a thread is very balanced in the number of posts related to “female” or “male” or because the discussion overall is not really related to gender. Therefore, it is important to put more weight on threads that contain more gender-related posts.

To summarize, the static analyses at both the post level and the thread level show that discussions about women are significantly less academically or professionally oriented on average, and significantly more about personal information or physical appearance. This conclusion is consistent with the gender-stereotyped language captured by the Lasso-logistic model at the word level.

3.2 Dynamic Topic Analysis

Moving beyond the static analysis of topic differences, I develop a dynamic approach to study the flow of the conversation in gender-related threads¹⁶. Intuitively speaking, gender stereotyping can be examined in a dynamic setting, as an extension of the stereotype model in Bordalo et al. (2016a): subjects might react to new information about *in-group* (males) vs. *out-group* (females) differently, in particular when the information contradicts their prior beliefs in certain characteristics or threatens a preexisting contrast between groups.

A. Econometric Framework

I define *persistence* as the tendency to stick with the same topic within a thread. In theory, the current post can be a reaction to both the initial topic (in the title and the first post) and one or more prior posts within the thread. For purposes of illustration, I focus on the persistence between adjacent posts. I test for two hypotheses: (1) whether the topic of the current post (p) depends on its prior one ($p - 1$), i.e. AR1 process; (2) whether the *persistence* becomes stronger or weaker when the prior post is directly discussing about women or men ($Female_{t,p-1} \in \{0, 1\}$), under different initial conditions set up by the *Title* & the *First* post of each thread.

¹⁶A thread is “gender-related” if its title or at least one of its post is discussing women or men.

First, I assume the data-generating process (DGP) in topics between adjacent posts to be

$$D_{t,p} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 D_{t,p-1} + \alpha_t + u_{t,p} \quad (5)$$

where $D_{t,p}$ is a dummy for containing any *Academic/Professional* or *Personal/Physical* respectively in the p -th post of thread t , and α_t is an unobserved component determining the underlying theme of a thread that influences all posts within it.

A user is prompted to click on a thread based on its *Title* shown on the main pages of the forum. The *First* post, written by the same person who started the thread in most cases, also plays an important role in shaping the theme of the thread. All other posts within the thread are presumably equally informative of the unobserved “thread” effect α_t . Therefore, I assume α_t can be absorbed linearly by the initial topic in its title and the first post, and the mean topic across all posts¹⁷. Formally,

$$\alpha_t = \phi_0 + \phi_1 D_{t,0} + \phi_2 D_{t,1} + \phi_3 \bar{D}_t + \epsilon_t \quad (6)$$

where the residual ϵ_t is uncorrelated with the remaining observable characteristics on topics. Therefore, I estimate the reduced form model as follows.

$$D_{t,p} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 D_{t,p-1} + (\phi_1 D_{t,0} + \phi_2 D_{t,1} + \phi_3 \bar{D}_t) + \theta 1[\text{last page}] + \nu_{t,p} \quad (7)$$

where in an abuse of notation β_0 also absorbs the constant ϕ_0 in (6), and $\nu_{t,p} = u_{t,p} + \epsilon_t$. Since for each thread I scrape the first page and the last page (if over one), I add $1[\text{last page}]$, an indicator for posts on the last page to control for potentially systematic differences between posts toward the end of the discussion and those in the beginning.

To examine whether gender in the prior post, denoted by $Gender_{t,p-1} \in \{Female, Male, Neutral\}$ ¹⁸, shifts the topic directly or affects the persistence between posts, I revise the reduced form model by adding dummies for $Gender_{t,p-1}$ and their interaction with $D_{t,p-1}$. Each post in the base group

¹⁷The mean topic is taken across All posts including the first one. The estimated coefficient ($\hat{\phi}_2$) on $D_{t,1}$ shall be interpreted as an additional weight on the *First* post relative to the following posts.

¹⁸A post is “neutral” if it contains neither female nor male classifier.

follows a genderless (“neutral”) post and it occurs on the first page of the thread it belongs to.

$$D_{t,p} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 D_{t,p-1} + Gender_{t,p-1} \lambda' + (D_{t,p-1} \times Gender_{t,p-1}) \eta' \\ + (\phi_1 D_{t,0} + \phi_2 D_{t,1} + \phi_3 \bar{D}_t) + \theta 1[*last page*] + \nu_{t,p} \quad (8)$$

The model above yields two ways to consider the effects of gender on the flow of the conversation. First, *within* each gender (female, male, or neutral), the coefficient on the lagged topic captures the relationship between adjacent post:

$$\beta_1 = E[D_{t,p} | D_{t,p-1} = 1, Gender_{t,p-1} = Neutral, X] - E[D_{t,p} | D_{t,p-1} = 0, Gender_{t,p-1} = Neutral, X] \\ \beta_1 + \eta_F = E[D_{t,p} | D_{t,p-1} = 1, Gender_{t,p-1} = Female, X] - E[D_{t,p} | D_{t,p-1} = 0, Gender_{t,p-1} = Female, X] \\ \beta_1 + \eta_M = E[D_{t,p} | D_{t,p-1} = 1, Gender_{t,p-1} = Male, X] - E[D_{t,p} | D_{t,p-1} = 0, Gender_{t,p-1} = Male, X]$$

where X includes all regressors other than the lagged variables. If β_1 or $\beta_1 + \eta_F$ or $\beta_1 + \eta_M$ are negative, there is a reversion effect relative to the prior post *within* the corresponding gender group. η_F and η_M are the difference-in-difference estimators capturing whether the potential reversion becomes stronger or weaker in the gendered cases relative to the neutral group.

The other way is to directly compare the probability of the current post staying on the same topic as its prior one *between* genders, conditional on $D_{t,p-1} = 1$.

$$\lambda_F + \eta_F = E[D_{t,p} | D_{t,p-1} = 1, Gender_{t,p-1} = Female, X] - E[D_{t,p} | D_{t,p-1} = 1, Gender_{t,p-1} = Neutral, X] \\ \lambda_M + \eta_M = E[D_{t,p} | D_{t,p-1} = 1, Gender_{t,p-1} = Male, X] - E[D_{t,p} | D_{t,p-1} = 1, Gender_{t,p-1} = Neutral, X]$$

From the comparison between $\lambda_F + \eta_F$ and $\lambda_M + \eta_M$, I can make inference on whether the topic is more likely to degenerate due to the mention of a female or male in the prior post, especially when a group is not representative in a type of discussion, e.g. mention of women in an academic thread or mention of men in a thread about physical appearance.

B. The Basic Results

I estimate the models above on posts within all gender-related threads. Standard errors are clustered at the thread level to take into account the potential correlation between posts within the

same thread. Table 10 displays the results with and without the effects of gender ($Gender_{t,p-1}$), for the *Academic/Professional* topic (i.e. $D_{t,p} = 1$ if the post p contains any academic term) and the *Personal/Physical* topic respectively.

The average reversion effect across all genders in the *Academic/Professional* topic is about 5.0 percentage point (ppt) as shown in column (1). That is, if the prior post has an academic focus ($D_{t,p-1} = 1$), there is a mean reversion pattern that the next post is about 5.0 ppt less likely to stay on the same topic conditional on thread characteristics. Column (2) breaks down the reversion effect by gender: when the prior post is neutral, the reversion is about 4.4 ppt, but it becomes 2.6 ppt and 1.9 ppt stronger in magnitude, each significant at 0.1% level, for the female and male groups respectively.

Suppose the prior post contains at least one *Academic/Professional* term ($D_{t,p-1} = 1$), then relative to the neutral group, the female group (i.e. posts whose priors are discussing about women) is 2.3 ppt less likely to stay on the academic focus, while the male group is 1.4 ppt less likely. The effects of gender here are mostly driven by the interaction between gender and topic in the prior. I conduct a F-test on the null hypothesis that female and male in the prior post have equal effects: $\lambda_F + \eta_F = \lambda_M + \eta_M$, and it gives a p-value 0.0001.

For the *Personal/Physical* topic, the mean reversion pattern also holds: if the prior contains an term about personal information or physical appearance, the next post is 5.5 ppt less likely to be on the same topic in the neutral group, and the counterpart is 7.3 ppt in the female group, and 7.6 ppt in the male group. Relative to the neutral group, conditional on the prior related to *Personal/Physical* ($D_{t,p-1} = 1$), the female group is 1.1 ppt less likely to be persistent in topic, whereas the male group is 1.8 ppt less likely. The p-value from the F-test on equal gender effects: $\lambda_F + \eta_F = \lambda_M + \eta_M$ is 0.003. It is worth noting that $\hat{\lambda}_F$, $\hat{\eta}_F$ are very similar to $\hat{\lambda}_M$, $\hat{\eta}_M$ in column (2) for the *Academic/Professional* topic, in terms of both the estimates and their standard errors. This “symmetry” suggests that *Academic/Professional* to men is like *Personal/Physical* to women, which to some extent reflect the stereotype beliefs held by the posters.

The main limitation of using dummy variables $D := 1$ if including an *Academic/Professional* term, or 1 if including a *Personal/Physical* term, is that it cannot capture the subtle deviation from each topic. For example, the prior post contains five academic terms, but the next one only contains one. Both posts are labeled as $D = 1$. In this sense, using dummies may have underestimated the

actual differences in the effects of gender on the persistence in each topic. To address this concern, in Appendix B, I replace D by *Topic* - the number of *Academic/Professional* terms and the number of *Personal/Physical* terms, and re-do the estimations as above. The robustness checks provide a more complete picture, and yield the same conclusions that there is a significantly higher deviation from an academic focus and a significantly lower deviation from a personal topic when the prior post is female rather than male or neutral.

C. Further Discussion under Different Initial Conditions

Since the title of each thread and the first post in most cases by the same poster set up the theme of the following discussion, I describe the initial conditions through 16 mutually exclusive combinations of gender, if the initial topic is *Academic/Professional*, if the initial topic is *Personal/Physical*:

$$\{Female, Male, Both, Neither\} \times \{0, 1\} \times \{0, 1\}$$

A thread starts off as *Female* if its title or its first post contains any female classifier¹⁹ but none of the male classifiers, and vice versa for *Male*. The additional *Both* category refers to threads that include both female and male classifiers initially. I do not force the title and the first post to be about the same gender. Last, the *Neither* category consists of threads that are not gender related in the beginning.

I consider the initial topic to be *Academic/Professional* if (1) both the title and the first post include at least one academic or professional term, AND (2) the fraction of academic/professional terms in the title and the first post as a whole is $\geq$ the median % across all threads in the sample²⁰. The initial indicator for *Personal/Physical* is defined likewise, but since the median fraction of terms in this category is 0, condition (2) is not binding.

I split the sample by initial condition and the resulting estimates for model (8) are summarized in Table 11 and Table 12 for the two topics respectively. For the *Academic/Professional* topic, the null hypothesis of equal effects of female or male relative to the neutral group is rejected at 5% significance level under the following initial conditions: (Female, 1, 0), (Neither, 1, 0), (Female, 0, 1), (Male, 0, 1), (Female, 0, 0) and (Male, 0, 0). The ratio between the effects of gender relative

¹⁹I use all gender classifiers at Level 1.

²⁰The sample consists of all gender-related threads that include at least one “female” or “male” post.

to the neutral group $-\frac{\hat{\lambda}_F + \hat{\eta}_F}{\hat{\lambda}_M + \hat{\eta}_M}$ also provides some insights on the potentially drastic differences in the persistence in the academic topic, which might move in opposite directions after a mention of female versus male. In seven out of the sixteen cases, $\hat{\lambda}_M + \hat{\eta}_M$ turn out to be positive, which means the probability of the current post staying on the same academic focus as its prior post is higher in the male group relative to the neutral group. In contrast, the estimated $\hat{\lambda}_F + \hat{\eta}_F$ are positive in only three cases with either a *Personal* initial topic or *Male* as the initial gender²¹.

The most interesting case to examine stereotyping in a dynamic setting is **(Neither, 1, 0)**, which consists of 31,294 (25%) threads starting off as a purely academic or professional discussion and not directly related to either women or men. Presumably the posts under this type of threads should stay on the same academic topic, and the mention of a female or a male should not make a difference on the persistence if there were no stereotyping involved. Bordalo et al. (2016a) models stereotype belief as a representativeness-based heuristic. Women are traditionally underrepresented in academia; therefore, the stereotype model in Bordalo et al. (2016a) would suggest the academic aspect of women are down-weighted relative to other aspects, which could be physical appearance. In a dynamic setting, the posters might “overreact” to a post emphasizing the academic performance of a female and thus deviates from the academic focus and converges back to his or her own prior beliefs about gender characteristics. The empirical results (Table 11) show that the mention of women in the prior post decreases the probability of staying on the academic topic by 2.1 ppt (significantly negative at 0.1% level) relative to the neutral group, whereas there is a slight increase such probability in the male group. The F-test on $\hat{\lambda}_F + \hat{\eta}_F = \hat{\lambda}_M + \hat{\eta}_M$ yields a p-value of 0.0005.

The results on the *Personal/Physical* topic (Table 12) again show some “symmetry”: in eight out of the sixteen cases, the effects of female ($\hat{\lambda}_F + \hat{\eta}_F$) are positive, while the effects of male are only positive in four cases when a thread starts off discussing about women or a personal topic. Among threads in **(Neither, 0, 1)**, there is a significant increase in the probability of staying on the personal topic when the prior post mentions women, while the effects of male is significantly negative, in contrast with the case of **(Neither, 1, 0)** for the *Academic/Professional* topic. The main issue of analyzing the *Personal/Physical*, however, is the under-identification of threads under this topic, due to a relatively small list of such terms in the overall lexicon and the strict definitions of the initial topic, which require the title and the first post to be consistent in themes. About

²¹The three cases are (Neither, 1, 1), (Male, 0, 1), and (Male, 0, 0).

11.75% of all gender-related threads are considered to start off with a *Personal/Physical* focus. It would be helpful to expand the vocabulary and phrases to capture similar threads from the last four cases.

In summary, the dynamic topic analysis reveals a significantly stronger tendency to deviate from an academic or professional focus when the prior post mentions a female rather than being neutral, whereas the mention of a male shows smaller or even opposite effects. It is particularly interesting to examine the stereotyping behavior under the (Neither, 1, 0) initial conditions for the *Academic/Professional* topic, and (Neither, 0, 1) for the *Personal/Physical*. Appendix Table B5 provides some stylized examples that illustrate the effects of gender on the persistence in topics. The stereotype model developed in Bordalo et al. (2016a) can be extended to a dynamic setting to explain the patterns I find in the flow of the conversation. In future analysis, it would also be important to consider the movement between these two topics, which can be understood as characteristics of women and men, instead of analyzing them independently.

4 Alternative Design: Attention Received by Economists

While the previous sections study the patterns in all gender-related discussions, this final part of the paper examines whether gender plays a role in determining how much attention an economist receives on EJMR. In this alternative design, I select two cohorts of economists: (1) 380 high-profile economists who ranked among the Top 5% Authors on RePEc²²; (2) 204 assistant professors in Top 20 U.S. Economics Departments²³. Using a difference-in-difference approach, I find that high-profile female economists tend to receive more attention than their male counterparts, and the gap is wider for relatively lower-ranked economists. The junior cohort shows different patterns when I group economists by the ranking of their current institutions.

²²RePEc ranking of Top 5% Authors (Last 10 Years Publications), as of September 2016: <https://ideas.repec.org/top/top.person.all10.html>. To identify the gender of each economist, I match the overall ranking with a separate RePEc ranking on female economists: <https://ideas.repec.org/top/top.women.html>.

²³based on U.S. News ranking of best graduate programs in Economics as of 2013 and 2017, and RePEc ranking of top Economics Departments.

4.1 Selection of Economists

The economists most likely to be discussed on EJMR are either prominent senior faculty, or tenure-track junior economists who have been through the job market recently. Based on this observation, I select two cohorts of economists: (1) 380 high-profile economists who ranked among the Top 5% Authors on RePEc²⁴; (2) 204 assistant professors in Top 20 U.S. Economics Departments²⁵.

For the senior cohort, I generate a balanced set of female and male economists, who are comparable according to the RePEc ranking of the Top 5% Authors. I find 190 female economists among the top 2,422 authors. For each of them, a coin is tossed to decide whether the male economist who ranks 1 above or 1 below will be included in the control group. I use each economist's rank as a proxy for his or her prominence in the field of economics. Hence I have a sample of 190 female and 190 male high-profile economists. For the junior cohort, I select all assistant professors in Top 20 U.S. Economics Departments. I find 45 female and 159 male junior faculty among these schools as of January 2017.

Given the 584 economists in total, I search by each person's full name within EJMR forum and then preserve as many threads in which he or she is mentioned as possible²⁶. Then I keep all the posts on a given page of a thread. As a result, I construct a data set of 3,299 unique threads. There is no restriction on the years of the discussions in this data set. Among 380 senior economists, there are 278 economists (145 women, 133 men) mentioned at least once in EJMR. Among 204 junior faculty, 187 economists (38 women, 149 men) were mentioned at least once. Seniority increases the attention one receives significantly. On average, a high-profile economist is discussed in 20.5 threads, whereas an assistant professor occurs in 14.8 threads.

4.2 Difference-in-Difference Analysis of Gender on Attention

Given the number of search results- N_i on each economist²⁷, I define A_i , a metric that represents the amount of attention person i receives as $A_i = \text{asinh}(N_i) = \log(N_i + \sqrt{1 + N_i^2})$.

²⁴RePEc ranking of Top 5% Authors (Last 10 Years Publications), as of September 2016: <https://ideas.repec.org/top/top.person.all10.html>. To identify the gender of each economist, I match the overall ranking with a separate RePEc ranking on female economists: <https://ideas.repec.org/top/top.women.html>.

²⁵based on U.S. News ranking of best graduate programs in Economics as of 2013 and 2017, and RePEc ranking of top Economics Departments.

²⁶In each query, I maximize the number of results Google display, but if there are over 20 results, the amount of URLs I can successfully scrape is shrunk by 25% on average.

²⁷The number of threads in the final dataset is considered as an alternative measure, and it gives consistent results.

I estimate the following difference-in-difference specification:

$$A_i = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 Female_i + \Gamma' Group_i + \Lambda'(Female_i \times Group_i) + \varepsilon_i$$

where Λ are the coefficients of interest. For the high-profile cohort, each “Group” contains 10 female economists and 10 male economists, based on their RePEc ranking. Figure 3 shows that the higher ranked an economist is, the more attention he or she receives on EJMR. Female economists tend to receive more attention than their male counterparts, and this gap, though insignificant, widens as the economist’s ranking goes down. This finding is in line with the hypothesis that women as the minority group are more “visible” (Kanter 1997).

For the junior cohort, since I do not have a measure of prominence at the individual level, I split them into 6 groups by the ranking of their current departments. Figure 4 reveals that junior faculty in higher ranked institutions receive significantly more attention. Female assistant professors receive more attention than their male counterparts in the first two groups (top 5 economics departments), but this trend is reversed for people in relatively lower ranked departments. In other words, for women the amount of attention one gets is more sensitive to the prestige of the institutions. However, note that the junior cohort is imbalanced in gender: 45 women and 159 men. The gender differences can be exaggerated if there are outliers among men who receive much more attention than their peers. For a more careful analysis on the junior cohort, it would be helpful to use the publication information of each economist as a measure of individual achievement in lieu of the institutional ranking.

For both the high-profile and the junior cohorts, the selection is limited as I focus on the best people in the field in terms of their academic and professional achievements. A more informative analysis would require expanding the sample of economists to be more representative of the overall academic community. It is also worth mentioning that within these samples, there is no clear relationship between the prestige of the department one works at and an economist’s own prominence. In particular, junior faculty within the same department ranking group are not as comparable as the high-profile economists within the same RePEc ranking group based on individual performance. Therefore, the results for high-profile and junior cohorts should be viewed separately.

5 Discussions

Gender stereotyping can take a subtle or implicit form that makes it difficult to measure and analyze in economics. In addition, people tend not to reveal their true beliefs about gender if they care about political and social correctness in public. The anonymity of the Economics Job Market Rumors forum, however, removes such barriers, and thus provides a natural setting to study the existence and extent of gender stereotyping in this academic community online.

There are mainly three contributions of this paper. First, it provides a systematic evaluation of the gender stereotyped language on EJMR, which can create an unwelcoming atmosphere online. Second, the topic analysis provides an empirical framework to test for the stereotyping model developed in Bordalo et al. 2016a and also extend it to a dynamic setting. It reveals that women to *Personal/Physical* is like men to *Academic/Professional*, and there is a stronger tendency to deviate from an academic focus when women are mentioned previously. Third, in terms of methodology, this study illustrates the use of text analytic techniques in combination with econometric methods to draw meaningful insights from the textual data.

The release of the earlier version of this study and the review by Justin Wolfers on New York Times²⁸ in August 2017 give a shock to the forum itself. Appendix C provides a trend analysis. For threads initiated before August 2017, *Female* posts consistently contain about 45% less *Academic/Professional* terms than *Male* posts on average, but the gap shrinks almost by half as shown in Table C1 from August to October 2017. In particular, the month-to-month variation in Figure C1 shows that among threads started in August 2017, there is stronger link between women and *Academic/Professional* for the first time. The intervention is effective in the sense that the academic aspects of women are discussed more intensively than before and might help shrink the contrast between *in-group* and *out-group*. However, it is not clear whether this trend will persist at this point.

A missing dimension in the current topic analysis is sentiment. In the dynamic setting, I show that there is a significantly stronger immediate deviation from the *Academic/Professional* focus after a mention of female(s). It will be more informative if I can differentiate between positive and negative comments about the research work by men and women. The examples in Table B5

²⁸Wolfers, Justin. 2017. "Evidence of a Toxic Environment in Economics". New York Times. 18 August.

suggest that the deviation might be stronger when the comment on a woman's academic aspects is positive, but less so if it is negative. In other words, the *Academic/Professional* characteristics shall be considered in two dimensions and allowed different weights in stereotyping. It will also be helpful to formally extend the representativeness-based discounting model of stereotype in Bordal et al. 2016 to a dynamic process.

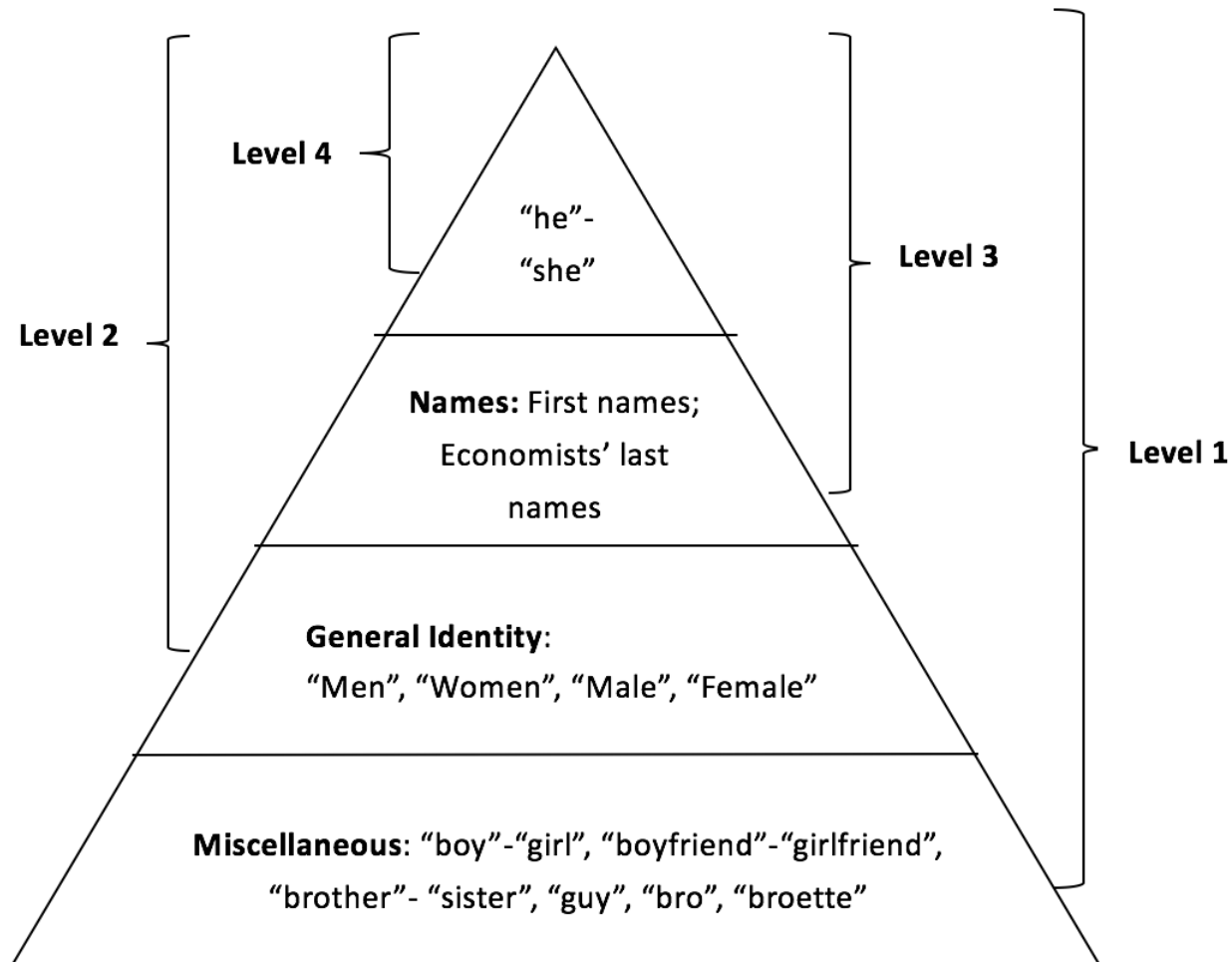
In conclusion, my results suggest the need for changes to maintain an inclusive online environment for everyone in the academic community. The casual setting of this online forum cannot be an excuse for gender stereotyped conversations, and the freedom to express one's opinions anonymously should not be abused to create a sense of isolation, which can be discouraging and harmful to the academic and professional development of all genders.

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Figure 1: Levels of Gender Classifiers



Notes: the words displayed are examples. See Appendix for the complete list of gender classifiers.

Table 1: Summary of the EJMR data

	No. Threads	No. Posts	No. <i>Female</i>	No. <i>Male</i>	No. <i>Neutral</i>
All	223,475	2,217,046			
<u>Gender Sample</u>					
Level 1	138,477	1,736,204	103,584 (23.29%)	341,226 (76.71%)	1,292,394
Level 2	110,933	1,467,949	77,405 (23.75%)	248,530 (76.25%)	1,142,014
Level 3	101,052	1,362,091	54,944 (19.38%)	228,613 (80.62%)	1,078,534
Level 4	76,325	1,122,782	50,435 (25.81%)	144,940 (74.19%)	927,407

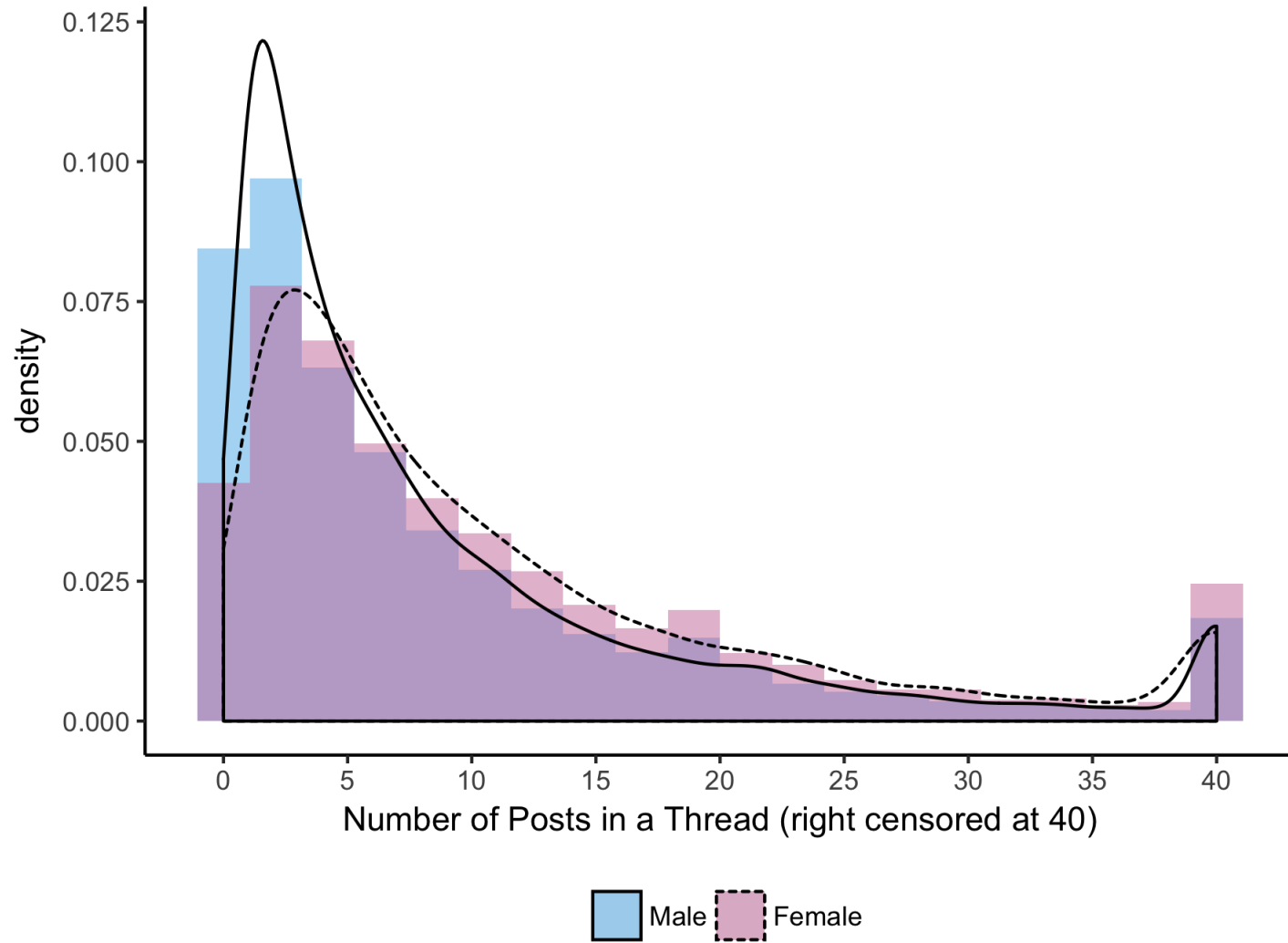
Notes: “All” refers to the entire dataset of threads created/updated from Oct 2013 to Oct 2017. Level 1 to Level 4 refer to the increasingly restrictive subsets of gender classifiers I use to identify gender-related posts. At each level, “Gender Sample” preserves all posts within threads that contain at least one gender-related post. The %s in parentheses refer to the percentage of *Female* posts among all gender-related posts, and that of *Male* posts respectively. Duplicate observations that contain both female and male classifiers have been resolved by the Lasso-Logistic model in Section 2.1.

Table 2: Popularity on Gender in Titles

	(1) No. Posts	(2) No. Views
<u>Gender in Titles</u>		
$Female_{t,0} = 1$	-3.347 (1.007)	-384.406 (126.940)
$Female_{t,0} = 0$	-5.585 (0.629)	-385.420 (79.324)
Constant	15.626 (0.272)	1,076.197 (34.231)
<i>No. Threads</i>	138,477	138,477
R^2	0.001	0.0002

Notes: Standard Errors are in parentheses. No. Posts and No. Views of each thread are reported the main pages of EJMR. I did a simple check on the no. posts reported on EJMR: the no. posts I could scrape from the *First* and the *Last* pages of each thread should be $\leq$ the number reported at the thread level. I found about 0.7% misreported threads, for which I replace the value by the no. posts I scraped successfully.

Figure 2: Popularity by Gender in Titles



Notes: I restrict to threads with *Female* or *Male* titles, i.e. $Female_{t,0} \in \{0,1\}$. The number of posts are reported on the main sites of EJMR forum at the thread level, except for 0.7% misreported cases I found and corrected as in the notes under Table 2. For purposes of illustration, I “right-censor” the data that I code no. posts as 40 if it is ≥ 40 .

Table 3: Top 30 Words with the strongest predictive power for $Female_i = 1$

Level 1				Level 4			
Most “female”		Most “male”		Most “female”		Most “male”	
Word	Marginal Effect	Word	Marginal Effect	Word	Marginal Effect	Word	Marginal Effect
hotter	0.422	homo	-0.303	pregnant	0.358	testosterone	-0.271
pregnant	0.323	testosterone	-0.195	sexism	0.353	handsome	-0.250
plow	0.277	chapters	-0.189	breast	0.316	homo	-0.218
marry	0.275	satisfaction	-0.187	hotter	0.307	dictator	-0.199
hot	0.271	fieckers	-0.181	marry	0.286	blog	-0.185
marrying	0.260	macroeconomics	-0.180	feminist	0.285	gray	-0.184
pregnancy	0.254	cuny	-0.180	plow	0.268	hateukbro	-0.172
attractive	0.245	thrust	-0.169	attractive	0.262	hero	-0.170
beautiful	0.240	nk	-0.165	hot	0.237	irate	-0.167
breast	0.227	macro	-0.163	hp	0.237	knocking	-0.163
dumped	0.225	fenance	-0.162	vagina	0.234	gay	-0.159
kissed	0.224	founding	-0.160	pregnancy	0.233	fieckers	-0.158
misogynistic	0.222	blog	-0.157	marrying	0.223	adviser	-0.153
feminist	0.218	mountains	-0.156	divorce	0.219	supervisor	-0.153
sexism	0.210	grown	-0.156	blonde	0.215	ferguson	-0.146
dated	0.209	frat	-0.155	dated	0.214	nobel	-0.143
whore	0.208	handsome	-0.154	whore	0.212	repec	-0.141
sexy	0.202	nba	-0.151	classified	0.212	mirror	-0.141
raped	0.200	lyrics	-0.151	shopping	0.206	register	-0.141
attracted	0.198	ferguson	-0.150	dumped	0.199	deadwood	-0.138
slept	0.195	wasn	-0.147	gorgeous	0.199	genius	-0.137
blonde	0.193	supervisor	-0.146	beautiful	0.199	gop	-0.134
unattractive	0.193	rfs	-0.145	date	0.197	fans	-0.133
gorgeous	0.192	adviser	-0.141	tinder	0.187	pulled	-0.131
assaulted	0.191	minnesota	-0.140	cute	0.184	player	-0.130
cute	0.185	hero	-0.136	nurse	0.182	spell	-0.130
vagina	0.184	gay	-0.135	dump	0.182	bowl	-0.125
date	0.181	puerto	-0.134	humanities	0.180	minnesota	-0.124
dating	0.181	nobel	-0.129	gender	0.180	retard	-0.123
ugly	0.181	keynesian	-0.128	sexy	0.177	players	-0.123

Notes: the marginal effect of word w is the change in probability of a post being classified as *female*, i.e. 1 if it is discussing women, when it contains one more word w .

Table 4: Categories of Words

Category	No. Words	Examples
<u>Gender Classifiers (All - Level 1)</u>		
Female	44	“she”, “female”
Male	134	“he”, “male”
<u>Academic/Professional</u>		
Economics	177	“economics”, “macro”, “empirical”, “QJE”, “Keynesian”
Academic-General	1,515	“research”, “papers”, “tenure”, “teaching”, “professor”
Professional	138	“career”, “interview”, “payrolls”, “placement”, “recruit”
<u>Personal/Physical</u>		
Personal Information	118	“family”, “married”, “kids”, “relationship”, “lifestyle”
Physical Attributes	125	“beautiful”, “handsome”, “attractive”, “body”, “fat”
Gender related	86	“gender”, “feminine”, “masculine”, “sexist”, “sexual”
<u>Swear Words</u>		
Swear	78	“shit”, “wtf”, “asshole”
<u>Intellectual</u>		
Intellectual-Positive	115	“intelligent”, “creative”, “competent”
Intellectual-Neutral	29	“brain”, “iq”, “ability”
Intellectual-Negative	134	“dumb”, “ignorant”, “incompetent”
<u>Miscellaneous</u>		
Emotion/Feelings	74	“happy”, “depressing”
Emojis	11	“:.)”, “;.)”, “:p”
Others	7,222	“years”, “places”, “everything”
Total	10,000	

Notes: “Gender related” category under *Personal/Physical* are not used as gender classifiers.

Table 5: Academic/Professional - counts

	Number of <i>Academic/Professional</i> Words			
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
$Female_i$	-1.349 (0.020)	-1.535 (0.025)	-1.675 (0.029)	-1.514 (0.032)
Constant	3.000 (0.014)	3.368 (0.018)	3.526 (0.019)	3.434 (0.022)
R^2	0.008	0.009	0.009	0.010
F Stat.	4645.115	3754.923	3363.119	2239.054
N	435,617	318,289	276,310	194,583

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the thread level. Sample restricted to posts with ≥ 3 and ≤ 300 words, roughly 98% of each sample. “Level 1” to “Level 4” refer to increasingly restrictive levels of gender classifiers to identify gender-related posts.

Table 6: Academic/Professional - 1[*counts* > 0]

	1 if includes <i>Academic/Professional</i> words			
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
$Female_i$	-0.122 (0.002)	-0.127 (0.003)	-0.144 (0.003)	-0.164 (0.003)
Constant	0.588 (0.001)	0.620 (0.001)	0.633 (0.001)	0.660 (0.002)
R^2	0.011	0.012	0.014	0.022
F Stat.	2993.244	2359.953	2195.627	2449.906
N	435,617	318,289	276,310	194,583

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the thread level. Sample restricted to posts with ≥ 3 and ≤ 300 words, roughly 98% of each sample. “Level 1” to “Level 4” refer to increasingly restrictive levels of gender classifiers to identify gender-related posts.

Table 7: Personal/Physical - counts

	Number of <i>Personal/Physical</i> Words			
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
$Female_i$	0.710 (0.009)	0.688 (0.011)	0.603 (0.012)	0.592 (0.013)
Constant	0.408 (0.002)	0.452 (0.003)	0.442 (0.003)	0.521 (0.004)
R^2	0.041	0.033	0.024	0.023
F Stat.	6327.566	4135.636	2492.290	2040.092
N	435,617	318,289	276,310	194,583

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the thread level. Sample restricted to posts with ≥ 3 and ≤ 300 words, roughly 98% of each sample. “Level 1” to “Level 4” refer to increasingly restrictive levels of gender classifiers to identify gender-related posts.

Table 8: Personal/Physical - 1[*counts* > 0]

	1 if includes <i>Personal/Physical</i> words			
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
$Female_i$	0.243 (0.002)	0.223 (0.002)	0.197 (0.003)	0.184 (0.003)
Constant	0.226 (0.001)	0.236 (0.001)	0.226 (0.001)	0.263 (0.001)
R^2	0.052	0.044	0.031	0.030
F Stat.	13115.743	8082.688	4714.754	3555.060
N	435,617	318,289	276,310	194,583

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the thread level. Sample restricted to posts with ≥ 3 and ≤ 300 words, roughly 98% of each sample. “Level 1” to “Level 4” refer to increasingly restrictive levels of gender classifiers to identify gender-related posts.

Table 9: Mean Frequencies of Words by Topic

	$\overline{Academic}_t$		$\overline{Personal}_t$	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Posts: (% <i>Female</i> – % <i>Male</i>)				
Quartile 1: $[-1, -0.333)$ (base)				
Quartile 2: $[-0.333, -0.157)$	–2.110 (0.034)	–0.532 (0.023)	–0.203 (0.007)	–0.028 (0.005)
Quartile 3: $[-0.157, 0)$	–2.022 (0.035)	–0.550 (0.025)	–0.232 (0.007)	–0.004 (0.005)
Quartile 4: $[0, 1]$	–2.694 (0.035)	–1.316 (0.023)	0.074 (0.007)	0.357 (0.005)
Constant	3.999 (0.025)	2.468 (0.015)	0.444 (0.005)	0.290 (0.003)
Weighted		X		X
<i>N</i>	138,468	138,468	138,468	138,468
Adjusted R^2	0.046	0.024	0.021	0.059
F Statistic	2,222.896	1,093.083	1,008.088	2,728.695

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses. Each title can be classified as $Female_{t,0} = 1$, $Female_{t,0} = 1$ or not related to gender. Columns (2) and (4) use #gender-related posts in each thread as the weight.

Table 10: Persistence in Topics (Any Thread; dummies)

	Academic/Professional		Personal/Physical	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$D_{t,p-1}$	-0.050 (0.001)	-0.044 (0.001)	-0.062 (0.001)	-0.055 (0.001)
<u>Gender in the Prior Post</u>				
Neutral (base)				
Female		0.003 (0.002)		0.007 (0.002)
Male		0.006 (0.001)		0.003 (0.001)
$Female \times D_{t,p-1}$		-0.026 (0.003)		-0.018 (0.003)
$Male \times D_{t,p-1}$		-0.019 (0.002)		-0.021 (0.002)
$\overline{D}_t$	1.141 (0.001)	1.140 (0.001)	1.145 (0.001)	1.145 (0.001)
$D_{t,0}$ (Titles)	0.005 (0.000)	0.004 (0.000)	0.005 (0.000)	0.004 (0.000)
$D_{t,1}$ (<i>First</i> posts)	-0.079 (0.000)	-0.078 (0.000)	-0.081 (0.000)	-0.081 (0.000)
1[last page]	0.024 (0.001)	0.024 (0.001)	0.017 (0.001)	0.017 (0.001)
Constant	-0.002 (0.000)	-0.002 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.001 (0.000)
Adj. R^2	0.268	0.268	0.182	0.182
F	964,952.73	536,543.02	314,652.98	175,564.92
N	1,333,515	1,333,515	1,333,515	1,333,515

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the thread level.

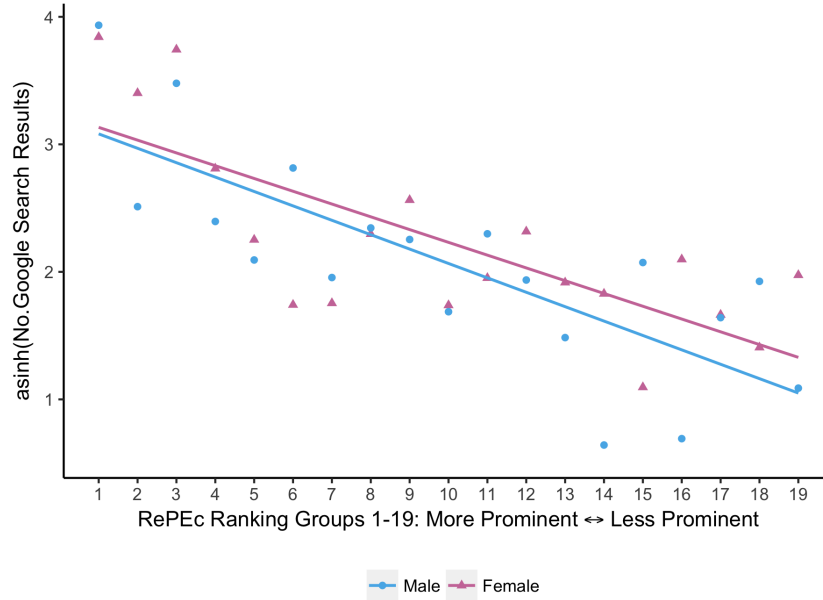
Table 11: Gender on Persistence in *Academic/Professional* under 16 Initial Conditions

Titles	No. Titles (%)	No. Posts (%)	Neutral	Female		Male		Ratio	H0: $\lambda_F + \eta_F = \lambda_M + \eta_M$	
			β_1	η_F	$\lambda_F + \eta_F$	η_M	$\lambda_M + \eta_M$	$\frac{\lambda_F + \eta_F}{\lambda_M + \eta_M}$	F stat	p -value
Any title	127029 (100%)	1333515 (100%)	-0.044	-0.026	-0.023	-0.019	-0.014	1.706	15.700	0.0001
Initial: (Gender, 1 if Academic, 1 if Personal)										
(Female,1,0)	2,117 (1.67%)	19,470 (1.46%)	-0.049	-0.024	-0.034	0.016	0.013	-2.531	11.950	0.001
(Male,1,0)	15,215 (11.98%)	141,659 (10.62%)	-0.056	-0.033	-0.025	-0.019	-0.021	1.207	0.120	0.732
(Both,1,0)	1,929 (1.52%)	19,377 (1.45%)	-0.031	-0.044	-0.044	-0.029	-0.030	1.461	1.120	0.290
(Neither,1,0)	31,294 (24.64%)	403,977 (30.29%)	-0.030	-0.033	-0.021	-0.013	0.0004	-56.096	12.130	0.0005
(Female,1,1)	434 (0.34%)	4,270 (0.32%)	-0.059	-0.016	-0.014	0.011	0.0005	-28.791	0.190	0.664
(Male,1,1)	908 (0.71%)	8,081 (0.61%)	-0.040	-0.014	-0.029	-0.051	-0.042	0.698	0.130	0.721
(Both,1,1)	446 (0.35%)	4,727 (0.35%)	-0.064	-0.032	-0.020	-0.027	0.001	-19.712	0.840	0.361
(Neither,1,1)	1,815 (1.43%)	22,101 (1.66%)	-0.053	0.026	0.011	-0.006	-0.001	-8.219	0.400	0.528
(Female,0,1)	2,394 (1.88%)	23,168 (1.74%)	-0.051	-0.004	-0.014	0.058	0.041	-0.354	8.960	0.003
(Male,0,1)	2,838 (2.23%)	24,970 (1.87%)	-0.063	0.012	0.014	-0.012	-0.030	-0.475	5.030	0.025
(Both,0,1)	2,050 (1.61%)	22,024 (1.65%)	-0.051	-0.023	-0.022	-0.018	-0.007	2.992	1.240	0.266
(Neither,0,1)	4,065 (3.2%)	45,476 (3.41%)	-0.044	-0.020	-0.005	-0.010	0.003	-1.537	0.300	0.585
(Female,0,0)	6,020 (4.74%)	51,126 (3.83%)	-0.062	-0.023	-0.026	0.013	0.008	-3.078	10.090	0.002
(Male,0,0)	22,285 (17.54%)	180,255 (13.52%)	-0.061	0.022	0.018	-0.015	-0.018	-0.976	10.520	0.001
(Both,0,0)	5,006 (3.94%)	45,617 (3.42%)	-0.051	-0.034	-0.033	-0.032	-0.036	0.934	0.070	0.790
(Neither,0,0)	28,213 (22.21%)	317,217 (23.79%)	-0.046	-0.017	-0.012	-0.014	-0.001	12.928	2.170	0.141

Table 12: Gender on Persistence in *Personal/Physical* under 16 Initial Conditions

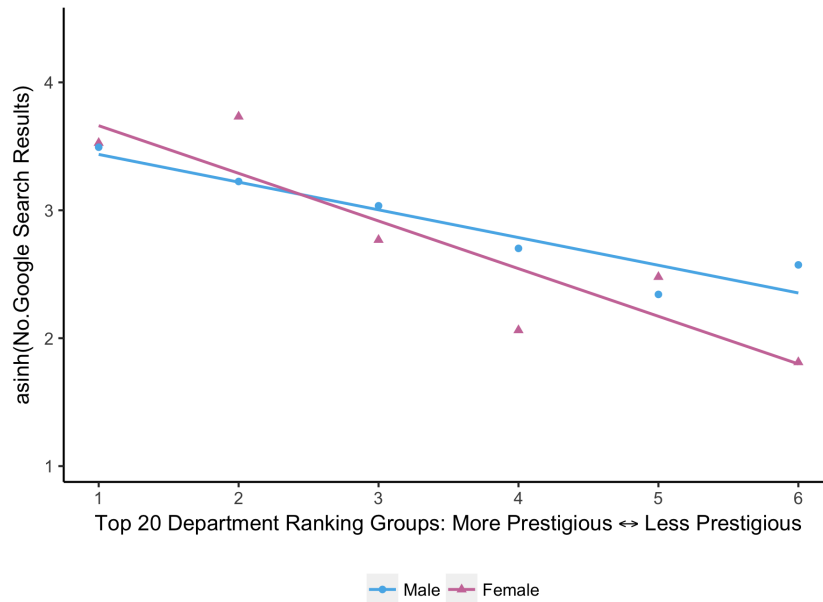
Titles	No. Titles (%)	No. Posts (%)	Neutral	Female		Male		Ratio	H0: $\lambda_F + \eta_F = \lambda_M + \eta_M$	
			β_1	η_F	$\lambda_F + \eta_F$	η_M	$\lambda_M + \eta_M$	$\frac{\lambda_F + \eta_F}{\lambda_M + \eta_M}$	F stat	p -value
Any title	127,029 (100%)	1,333,515 (100%)	-0.055	-0.018	-0.011	-0.021	-0.018	0.584	8.650	0.003
Initial: (Gender, 1 if Academic, 1 if Personal)										
(Female,1,0)	2,117 (1.67%)	19,470 (1.46%)	-0.040	-0.031	-0.033	-0.012	-0.008	3.933	1.520	0.218
(Male,1,0)	15,215 (11.98%)	141,659 (10.62%)	-0.060	-0.023	0.001	-0.019	-0.021	-0.025	2.360	0.124
(Both,1,0)	1,929 (1.52%)	19,377 (1.45%)	-0.048	-0.011	-0.002	-0.006	-0.028	0.065	2.480	0.115
(Neither,1,0)	31,294 (24.64%)	403,977 (30.29%)	-0.045	-0.009	0.005	-0.010	-0.004	-1.331	1.250	0.263
(Female,1,1)	434 (0.34%)	4,270 (0.32%)	-0.040	-0.085	-0.047	-0.059	0.009	-5.524	1.850	0.174
(Male,1,1)	908 (0.71%)	8,081 (0.61%)	-0.100	0.088	0.024	0.030	0.015	1.630	0.080	0.778
(Both,1,1)	446 (0.35%)	4,727 (0.35%)	-0.088	0.041	0.027	0.003	-0.003	-9.628	1.060	0.304
(Neither,1,1)	1,815 (1.43%)	22,101 (1.66%)	-0.044	-0.040	-0.032	-0.006	-0.002	15.613	1.970	0.160
(Female,0,1)	2,394 (1.88%)	23,168 (1.74%)	-0.071	-0.013	-0.006	0.022	0.002	-2.861	0.260	0.612
(Male,0,1)	2,838 (2.23%)	24,970 (1.87%)	-0.065	0.012	0.005	-0.021	-0.025	-0.178	3.460	0.063
(Both,0,1)	2,050 (1.61%)	22,024 (1.65%)	-0.068	0.004	-0.00001	0.008	-0.00002	0.605	0	1.000
(Neither,0,1)	4,065 (3.2%)	45,476 (3.41%)	-0.048	-0.001	0.013	-0.013	-0.008	-1.594	2.530	0.112
(Female,0,0)	6,020 (4.74%)	51,126 (3.83%)	-0.066	-0.017	-0.019	-0.004	0.002	-8.647	3.550	0.060
(Male,0,0)	22,285 (17.54%)	180,255 (13.52%)	-0.067	-0.005	0.005	-0.023	-0.024	-0.231	8.780	0.003
(Both,0,0)	5,006 (3.94%)	45,617 (3.42%)	-0.056	-0.026	-0.024	-0.040	-0.035	0.684	1.500	0.220
(Neither,0,0)	28,213 (22.21%)	317,217 (23.79%)	-0.058	-0.006	0.003	-0.014	-0.008	-0.333	2.240	0.135

Figure 3: 380 High-profile Economists (190 female,190 male)



Notes: 190 economists of each gender are assigned to 19 groups based on their ranking. Each plotted point represents the mean attention measure for a group of 10 economist of the given gender. The lines show the linear trends of attention measure on ranking groups ranging from 1 to 19.

Figure 4: 204 Assistant Professors (45 female, 159 male)



Notes: 204 junior economists are assigned to 5 groups based on the ranking of their current departments. Each plotted point represents the mean attention measure for economists of a given gender within the same group. The lines show the linear trends of attention measure on ranking groups ranging from 1 to 5.

APPENDIX

A. Lasso-logistic Model for Gender Prediction and Word Selection

The objective of the Lasso-Logistic model (Section 2.1) is to estimate $P(Female = 1|Text)$ - the probability of the subject of a post being female conditional on characteristics emphasized in the text, which are in the format of individual words in this case. I exclude gender classifiers and the last names of celebrities (non economists) from the most frequent 10,000 words that emerge from the raw data (over 1.1 million posts). As a result, I have 9,545 words as predictors for gender. The model is constructed as follows:

Let W_i denotes the vector of word frequencies for post i , and assume the posterior probability is:

$$P(Female_i = 1|W_i) = \frac{\exp(\theta_0 + W_i'\theta)}{1 + \exp(\theta_0 + W_i'\theta)}$$
$$P(Female_i = 0|W_i) = \frac{1}{1 + \exp(\theta_0 + W_i'\theta)}$$

Write the likelihood of each observation as:

$$P(Female_i|W_i) = P(Female_i = 1|W_i)^{Female_i} \times P(Female_i = 0|W_i)^{(1-Female_i)}$$

Assume the observations are independent, the log likelihood of N observations is

$$l_N(\theta) = \log(\prod_{i=1}^N P(Female_i|W_i))$$
$$= \sum_{i=1}^N Female_i * (\theta_0 + W_i'\theta) - \log(1 + \exp(\theta_0 + W_i'\theta))$$

I estimate θ on words through the following objective function:

$$\hat{\theta}_\lambda = \underset{\theta}{\operatorname{argmin}} (-l_N(\theta)) + \lambda \|\theta\|_1$$
$$= \underset{\theta}{\operatorname{argmin}} \frac{1}{N} \sum_i [\log(1 + \exp(W_i'\theta)) - Female_i(W_i'\theta)] + \lambda \|\theta\|_1$$

where $\|\theta\|_1 = \sum_{j \geq 1} |\theta^j|$.

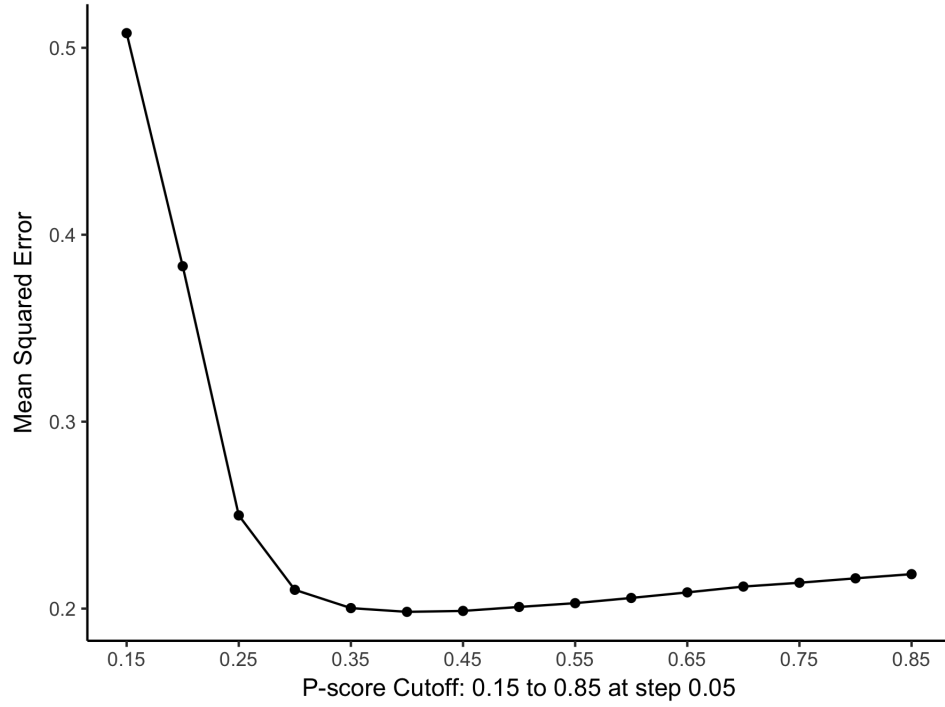
In this case, each W_i is a 9,545-by-1 vector of word counts. Due to the penalization, the estimator $\hat{\theta}_\lambda$ is biased, but the variance of the model is reduced, and tends to yield more accurate estimates of $P(Female|Language)$.

There are 400,729 posts that include only “female” words or only “male” words at Level 1. I use 75% of them, i.e. 300,788 posts, to train the model and select an optimal tuning parameter λ through 5-fold cross validation. The remaining 25% - 99,941 posts are assigned to the test set to select the best cutoff on p-scores, which turns out to be 0.40 (Figure A1). Finally, I apply the model to the 44,081 duplicates, and reclassify 14,028 of them to $Female = 1$ and the rest to $Female = 0$. As for the variable selection, the coefficients of 5,034 words are shrunk to zero; that is, they are considered irrelevant to the gender identification of a post. The average marginal effect of word k is estimated by:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Word } k\text{'s marginal effect} &= P(Female_i = 1|W_{i,(-k)}, W_{ik} + 1) - P(Female_i = 1|W_{i,(-k)}, W_{ik}) \\ &= \frac{1}{N} \sum_i P(Female_i = 1|Wi) \times (1 - P(Female_i = 1|Wi)) \widehat{\theta}_\lambda^k \end{aligned}$$

where W_{ik} is the frequency of word k in post i , and $W_{i,(-k)}$ is the vector of frequencies of words other than k in post i .

Figure A1: Selection of Optimal P-score Cutoff by Mean Squared Error



Note: “P-score” refers to the predicted probability of the subject of a post being female, i.e. $P(\text{Female} = 1 || \text{Words})$. The MSEs are calculated on the test set (99,941 posts) - 25% of all posts that include only “female” or only “male” words at Level 1. $p = 0.40$ is selected as the optimal cutoff to make a call on gender among the ultimate test set - 44,081 duplicate posts.

Table A1: Number of Posts containing the Most *Predictive* Words selected by Lasso

Level 1						Level 4					
Most “female”			Most “male”			Most “female”			Most “male”		
Word	#Female	#Male	Word	#Female	#Male	Word	#Female	#Male	Word	#Female	#Male
hotter	307	31	homo	48	715	pregnant	280	88	testosterone	16	30
pregnant	564	120	testosterone	51	102	sexism	88	75	handsome	45	166
plow	274	83	chapters	9	361	breast	66	26	homo	29	164
marry	1,287	258	satisfaction	59	145	hotter	120	31	dictator	6	167
hot	3,613	1,053	fieckers	49	604	marry	564	184	blog	89	1,244
marrying	262	49	macroeconomics	19	850	feminist	164	126	gray	14	69
pregnancy	202	61	cuny	8	248	plow	151	55	hateukbro	0	70
attractive	1,578	417	thrust	6	47	attractive	559	234	hero	32	412
beautiful	1,419	610	nk	3	260	hot	1,322	645	irate	25	234
breast	134	48	macro	178	4,282	hp	26	14	knocking	7	81
dumped	361	100	fenance	46	640	vagina	138	40	gay	167	733
kissed	218	50	founding	6	186	pregnancy	105	28	fieckers	20	201
misogynistic	66	48	blog	109	1,839	marrying	118	33	adviser	66	591
feminist	422	234	mountains	14	90	divorce	381	142	supervisor	36	197
sexism	269	171	grown	69	394	blonde	156	50	ferguson	10	126
dated	362	148	frat	59	290	dated	195	85	nobel	124	1,945
whore	239	148	handsome	103	323	whore	130	105	repec	8	176
sexy	430	207	nba	16	301	classified	33	56	mirror	28	92
raped	297	155	lyrics	17	111	shopping	100	68	register	20	110
attracted	415	182	ferguson	10	221	dumped	244	84	deadwood	39	425
slept	368	85	wasn	32	171	gorgeous	110	41	genius	51	649
blonde	292	79	supervisor	40	273	beautiful	541	329	gop	28	320
unattractive	172	32	rfs	7	284	date	908	471	fans	27	221
gorgeous	213	78	adviser	78	712	tinder	107	33	pulled	80	328
assaulted	98	52	minnesota	35	703	cute	467	294	player	82	706
cute	912	488	hero	47	579	nurse	51	26	spell	27	126
vagina	199	68	gay	406	1,755	dump	369	215	bowl	14	104
date	1,729	835	puerto	7	101	humanities	53	146	minnesota	20	283
dating	1,423	399	nobel	204	3,379	gender	296	324	retard	44	328
ugly	1,046	404	keynesian	8	567	sexy	175	105	players	26	501

Notes: The words above are in the same order as the Top 30 most “female” and most “male” words selected by Lasso-logistic model (see Table 3). Level 1 includes all possible gender classifiers, while Level 4 includes only pronouns like “he” or “she”. “#Female” and “#Male” refers to the no. of $Female = 1$ posts and $Female = 0$ posts each word occurs in respectively.

Table A2: Most Frequent Words in *Female* and *Male* Posts

Level 1						Level 4					
Most common in <i>Female</i>			Most common in <i>Male</i>			Most common in <i>Female</i>			Most common in <i>Male</i>		
Word	# <i>Female</i>	# <i>Male</i>	Word	# <i>Female</i>	# <i>Male</i>	Word	# <i>Female</i>	# <i>Male</i>	Word	# <i>Female</i>	# <i>Male</i>
*	5,253	14,525	*	5,253	14,525	*	2,747	7,355	work	2,259	7,986
life	4,034	7,644	work	3,800	13,989	work	2,259	7,986	*	2,747	7,355
work	3,800	13,989	paper	1,503	11,727	life	2,058	4,092	paper	1,035	6,495
hot	3,613	1,053	job	3,091	10,313	love	1,778	2,039	job	1,624	5,502
love	3,297	4,274	economics	1,120	9,808	job	1,624	5,502	great	1,382	4,829
sex	3,103	1,535	great	2,323	9,181	feel	1,529	2,333	economics	646	4,690
job	3,091	10,313	best	2,558	8,552	sex	1,414	794	best	1,336	4,407
feel	2,574	5,167	research	1,407	8,238	great	1,382	4,829	school	1,351	4,297
best	2,558	8,552	school	2,446	8,228	school	1,351	4,297	research	831	4,267
school	2,446	8,228	market	1,750	7,954	best	1,336	4,407	papers	592	4,194
kids	2,441	2,200	life	4,034	7,644	hot	1,322	645	life	2,058	4,092
great	2,323	9,181	phd	1,751	7,295	married	1,130	664	students	792	3,841
married	2,231	1,207	papers	854	7,177	student	1,128	3,762	phd	980	3,825
friends	2,048	2,504	econ	1,133	6,950	friends	1,117	1,430	student	1,128	3,762
nice	1,978	4,590	students	1,474	6,889	nice	1,067	2,400	market	714	3,694
money	1,951	6,011	theory	415	6,347	kids	1,043	1,202	economist	545	3,342
home	1,778	2,734	money	1,951	6,011	paper	1,035	6,495	money	992	3,290
phd	1,751	7,295	data	729	5,648	home	1,028	1,523	course	778	3,137
market	1,750	7,954	student	1,560	5,607	friend	1,001	1,924	wrong	835	3,136
date	1,729	835	economist	855	5,539	money	992	3,290	idea	714	2,997
family	1,653	2,685	wrong	1,344	5,487	phd	980	3,825	department	638	2,908
attractive	1,578	417	economists	697	5,461	date	908	471	econ	588	2,819
student	1,560	5,607	course	1,320	5,416	family	896	1,568	theory	256	2,789
relationship	1,506	1,169	question	1,109	5,257	relationship	893	631	question	641	2,695
paper	1,503	11,727	idea	1,158	5,184	happy	853	1,331	professor	486	2,577
students	1,474	6,889	feel	2,574	5,167	wrong	835	3,136	university	637	2,536
happy	1,452	2,536	economic	466	5,152	research	831	4,267	economists	340	2,480
dating	1,423	399	department	935	4,985	students	792	3,841	tenure	633	2,447
beautiful	1,419	610	university	955	4,970	course	778	3,137	working	719	2,432
friend	1,412	2,423	r	682	4,774	working	719	2,432	nice	1,067	2,400

Notes: The words above come from non-“0” categories (see Table 4) and are sorted by the number of *Female* and *Male* posts they occur in respectively. Level 1 includes all possible gender classifiers, while Level 4 includes only pronouns like “he” or “she”. “#*Female*” and “#*Male*” refers to the no. of *Female* = 1 posts and *Female* = 0 posts each word occurs in respectively.

B. Dynamic Topic Analysis - use counts

In Section 3.2, I use dummy variables to measure whether a post has an *Academic/Professional* or *Personal/Physical* focus, i.e. $D := 1$ if it includes at least one term from a given topic. It is relatively easier to interpret the estimated coefficients on lagged variables as a change in probability of staying on the same topic. However, the dummy variables cannot capture the subtle deviation from each topic. For example, the prior post contains five academic terms, but the next one only contains one. Both posts are labeled as $D = 1$. In this sense, using dummies may have underestimated the actual differences in the effects of gender on the persistence in each topic. Here I replace D by *Topic* - the number of *Academic/Professional* terms and the number of *Personal/Physical* terms, and re-do the estimations as above.

In parallel with model (7) in Section 3.2, I estimate the following reduced form model:

$$Topic_{t,p} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Topic_{t,p-1} + (\phi_1 Topic_{t,0} + \phi_2 Topic_{t,1} + \phi_3 \overline{Topic_t}) + \theta 1[last\ page] + \nu_{t,p} \quad (9)$$

To specify the effects of gender in the prior post, in parallel with model (8), I estimate:

$$Topic_{t,p} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Topic_{t,p-1} + Gender_{t,p-1}\lambda' + (Topic_{t,p-1} \times Gender_{t,p-1})\eta' \\ + (\phi_1 Topic_{t,0} + \phi_2 Topic_{t,1} + \phi_3 \overline{Topic_t}) + \theta 1[last\ page] + \nu_{t,p} \quad (10)$$

where each post in the base group follows a genderless (“neutral”) post and it occurs on the first page of the thread it belongs to.

Table B1 shows the regression outputs for model (9) and model (10), under each topic. Table B2 restrict to academic-oriented threads where the mean no. *Academic/Professional* terms across all posts within the same thread is $\geq$ the median 1. The estimates are comparable. In Table B3, I compare the effects of gender on persistence under 16 initial conditions based on each thread’s title and its first post. Note under **(Neither, 1, 0)** - threads starting with an academic focus only and not related to gender initially, conditional on the prior post containing exactly 1 academic term ($Topic_{t,p-1} = 1$), the mention of male **increases** the number of academic terms in the next post by 0.12 relative to the neutral group, whereas the mention of female **decreases** the no. academic terms more than twice than the neutral group. The F-test on equal gender effects of *Female* vs.

Male gives a p-score around 0.003.

In summary, the robustness checks provide a more complete picture, and yield the same conclusions that there is a significantly higher deviation from an academic focus and a significantly lower deviation from a personal topic when the prior post is female rather than male or neutral.

Table B1. Persistence in Topics (Any Thread)

	Academic/Professional		Personal/Physical	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$Topic_{t,p-1}$	-0.046 (0.003)	-0.010 (0.003)	-0.051 (0.004)	-0.031 (0.003)
<u>Gender in the Prior Post</u>				
Neutral (base)				
Female		0.004 (0.012)		0.039 (0.006)
Male		0.058 (0.013)		0.003 (0.004)
$Female \times Topic_{t,p-1}$		-0.063 (0.007)		-0.034 (0.006)
$Male \times Topic_{t,p-1}$		-0.058 (0.005)		-0.025 (0.009)
$\overline{Topic_t}$	1.003 (0.009)	0.995 (0.009)	1.009 (0.009)	1.006 (0.009)
$Topic_{t,0}$ (Titles)	0.079 (0.005)	0.068 (0.005)	0.046 (0.003)	0.044 (0.003)
$Topic_{t,1}$ (<i>First</i> posts)	-0.058 (0.001)	-0.057 (0.001)	-0.070 (0.002)	-0.069 (0.002)
1[last page]	0.382 (0.013)	0.373 (0.013)	0.052 (0.003)	0.051 (0.003)
Constant	0.053 (0.007)	0.038 (0.008)	0.020 (0.002)	0.017 (0.002)
Adj. R^2	0.191	0.193	0.168	0.168
F	28,901.235	17,004.891	10,661.330	6,549.256
N	1,333,515	1,333,515	1,333,515	1,333,515

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the thread level.

Table B2. (Threads s.t. $\overline{Academic}_t \geq 1$)

	<i>Academic/Professional</i>		<i>Personal/Physical</i>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$Topic_{t,p-1}$	-0.046 (0.003)	-0.010 (0.004)	-0.049 (0.006)	-0.021 (0.005)
<u>Gender in the Prior Post</u>				
Neutral (base)				
Female		0.002 (0.030)		0.057 (0.009)
Male		0.076 (0.023)		0.001 (0.005)
$Female \times Topic_{t,p-1}$		-0.066 (0.008)		-0.050 (0.008)
$Male \times Topic_{t,p-1}$		-0.058 (0.006)		-0.030 (0.013)
$\overline{Topic}_t$	0.973 (0.011)	0.968 (0.011)	0.958 (0.014)	0.955 (0.014)
$Topic_{t,0}$ (Titles)	0.071 (0.005)	0.061 (0.004)	0.073 (0.007)	0.069 (0.007)
$Topic_{t,1}$ (<i>First</i> posts)	-0.058 (0.001)	-0.057 (0.001)	-0.070 (0.002)	-0.069 (0.002)
1[last page]	0.528 (0.020)	0.517 (0.019)	0.046 (0.003)	0.046 (0.003)
Constant	0.181 (0.020)	0.151 (0.021)	0.029 (0.003)	0.025 (0.003)
Adj. R^2	0.124	0.126	0.160	0.160
F	5928.837	3520.076	3007.530	1873.375
N	772,873	772,873	772,873	772,873

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the thread level. Restrict to threads where the mean no. *Academic/Professional* across all posts is $\geq$ the median, which equals to 1. The idea is to check whether the state dependence results are robust among threads that are more academically oriented.

Table B3. Gender on Persistence in *Academic/Professional* under 16 Initial Conditions

Titles	No. Titles (%)	No. Posts (%)	Neutral	Female		Male		Ratio	H0: $\lambda_F + \eta_F = \lambda_M + \eta_M$	
			β_1	η_F	$\lambda_F + \eta_F$	η_M	$\lambda_M + \eta_M$	$\frac{\lambda_F + \eta_F}{\lambda_M + \eta_M}$	F stat	p -value
Any title	127029 (100%)	1333515 (100%)	-0.010	-0.063	-0.060	-0.058	-0.0002	339.824	26.240	0.000
Initial: (Gender, 1 if Academic, 1 if Personal)										
(Female,1,0)	2117 (1.67%)	19470 (1.46%)	-0.001	-0.095	-0.034	-0.037	0.093	-0.368	1.710	0.191
(Male,1,0)	15215 (11.98%)	141659 (10.62%)	0.017	-0.041	-0.104	-0.080	-0.077	1.359	0.100	0.755
(Both,1,0)	1929 (1.52%)	19377 (1.45%)	0.083	-0.103	-0.338	-0.112	-0.177	1.911	2.180	0.140
(Neither,1,0)	31294 (24.64%)	403977 (30.29%)	-0.032	-0.025	-0.043	-0.028	0.119	-0.364	9.090	0.003
(Female,1,1)	434 (0.34%)	4270 (0.32%)	0.012	-0.160	0.153	0.128	-0.039	-3.948	1.660	0.199
(Male,1,1)	908 (0.71%)	8081 (0.61%)	0.052	-0.112	-0.035	-0.097	-0.155	0.228	0.370	0.541
(Both,1,1)	446 (0.35%)	4727 (0.35%)	0.148	-0.157	-0.174	-0.177	-0.113	1.535	0.180	0.669
(Neither,1,1)	1815 (1.43%)	22101 (1.66%)	-0.057	-0.079	0.031	-0.173	0.349	0.090	6.760	0.009
(Female,0,1)	2394 (1.88%)	23168 (1.74%)	-0.037	-0.028	-0.021	-0.031	0.057	-0.371	4.500	0.034
(Male,0,1)	2838 (2.23%)	24970 (1.87%)	0.031	-0.115	-0.043	-0.086	-0.088	0.493	1.230	0.268
(Both,0,1)	2050 (1.61%)	22024 (1.65%)	0.065	-0.099	-0.064	-0.075	-0.083	0.773	0.440	0.505
(Neither,0,1)	4065 (3.2%)	45476 (3.41%)	-0.031	0.017	0.018	-0.003	0.026	0.668	0.090	0.770
(Female,0,0)	6020 (4.74%)	51126 (3.83%)	0.148	-0.225	-0.119	-0.156	-0.027	4.347	4.490	0.034
(Male,0,0)	22285 (17.54%)	180255 (13.52%)	-0.017	0.077	0.018	-0.054	-0.052	-0.348	2.790	0.095
(Both,0,0)	5006 (3.94%)	45617 (3.42%)	0.060	-0.090	-0.051	-0.084	-0.028	1.818	0.360	0.548
(Neither,0,0)	28213 (22.21%)	317217 (23.79%)	-0.032	-0.029	-0.019	-0.021	0.014	-1.357	2.920	0.087

Table B4. Gender on Persistence in *Personal/Physical* under 16 Initial Conditions

Titles	No. Titles (%)	No. Posts (%)	Neutral	Female		Male		Ratio	H0: $\lambda_F + \eta_F = \lambda_M + \eta_M$	
			β_1	η_F	$\lambda_F + \eta_F$	η_M	$\lambda_M + \eta_M$	$\frac{\lambda_F + \eta_F}{\lambda_M + \eta_M}$	F stat	p -value
Any title	127029 (100%)	1333515 (100%)	-0.031	-0.034	0.004	-0.025	-0.022	-0.195	16.200	0.0001
Initial: (Gender, 1 if Academic, 1 if Personal)										
(Female,1,0)	2117 (1.67%)	19470 (1.46%)	-0.016	-0.041	-0.033	-0.020	0.005	-6.257	2.120	0.145
(Male,1,0)	15215 (11.98%)	141659 (10.62%)	-0.033	-0.041	-0.016	-0.037	-0.045	0.352	2.100	0.147
(Both,1,0)	1929 (1.52%)	19377 (1.45%)	0.051	-0.089	0.026	-0.098	-0.104	-0.250	25.720	0
(Neither,1,0)	31294 (24.64%)	403977 (30.29%)	-0.044	-0.005	0.012	0.014	0.018	0.686	0.120	0.730
(Female,1,1)	434 (0.34%)	4270 (0.32%)	-0.055	-0.054	-0.0002	-0.008	0.109	-0.002	1.890	0.169
(Male,1,1)	908 (0.71%)	8081 (0.61%)	-0.060	-0.029	0.136	-0.006	-0.024	-5.766	3.020	0.083
(Both,1,1)	446 (0.35%)	4727 (0.35%)	0.030	-0.085	0.093	-0.093	-0.071	-1.312	7.600	0.006
(Neither,1,1)	1815 (1.43%)	22101 (1.66%)	-0.053	-0.039	-0.079	-0.129	-0.051	1.574	0.590	0.443
(Female,0,1)	2394 (1.88%)	23168 (1.74%)	-0.055	0.013	0.012	-0.002	-0.001	-9.110	0.160	0.686
(Male,0,1)	2838 (2.23%)	24970 (1.87%)	-0.026	-0.061	0.055	-0.066	-0.068	-0.800	10.170	0.001
(Both,0,1)	2050 (1.61%)	22024 (1.65%)	-0.015	-0.047	0.019	-0.018	-0.009	-2.021	0.780	0.378
(Neither,0,1)	4065 (3.2%)	45476 (3.41%)	-0.048	0.041	0.043	0.019	0.033	1.288	0.120	0.726
(Female,0,0)	6020 (4.74%)	51126 (3.83%)	-0.060	-0.025	-0.011	0.023	0.042	-0.264	7.880	0.005
(Male,0,0)	22285 (17.54%)	180255 (13.52%)	-0.034	-0.027	-0.001	-0.004	-0.020	0.057	0.590	0.441
(Both,0,0)	5006 (3.94%)	45617 (3.42%)	0.047	-0.103	-0.015	-0.094	-0.059	0.249	6.910	0.009
(Neither,0,0)	28213 (22.21%)	317217 (23.79%)	-0.054	0.007	0.005	0.015	0.011	0.434	0.090	0.770

Table B5. Examples of Adjacent Posts

Title	$Gender_{t,p-1}$	post $p - 1$	$Gender_{t,p}$	post p
Initial: (Neither, 1, 0)				
"Queen's University job market candidates are up. 2017-2018"	1(female)	"Her quantity is pretty outstanding. 3 publications, 4 working papers, and 3 works in progress which seem like they are actually real things on the go. A nice mix of solo and single authored papers. There won't be very many fresh PhD's on the market that can match that. I didn't look closely enough to comment on quality. So I don't know if her publications are typical of what she is able to churn out, or if some of her working papers are top field or better caliber. Either way, it looks like she should generate some interest. If not from top schools, from any school that counts top 100 publications as their signs of success from faculty. Because it looks like she can produce those at an impressive rate."	2 (neutral)	"Stop with the self-promotion you little shits"
"Is two leading field journals enough to get tenure at a top 30 department?"	1	I am sure there is something that we don't know. Otherwise, this is a very weak record especially given the fact that she took 9 years to get tenure. In fact, I can't think of any decent phd granting econ department which would grant tenure to this file.	1	"Collegial externalities - she looks nice, great gender."
Initial: (Both, 1, 0)				
"Importance of Looks in Academic Job market"	0	"All that matters for men is what shows in a dress shirt. So abs only matter so long as they are flat. Definition won't do anything. Shoulders show better than any other muscle group. But hygiene shows best."	2	"It's really all about the JMP."

C. Trend Analysis

The main pages of the forum record a rough time stamp of the latest post of each thread, such as “1 day ago”, “1 month ago”, “6 months ago”, “1 year ago”, “2 years ago” etc. From these time stamps, I obtain the month of the latest update for threads initiated or updated within one year²⁹, from November 2016 to late October 2017, and the number of years relative to Oct 2017 for threads labeled “1 year ago” or earlier. At the mean time, I record the time stamps of the *First* post of each thread, i.e. the time when a thread started. The time stamps are in the same format as those of the latest updates. I integrate the current dataset with my scraping as of the end of Sept 2016. As a result, I identify the month of the *First* post for threads initiated in the past two years, from October 2015 to October 2017, or no. years relative to Oct 2017 for earlier threads.

I construct four time series of the mean number of *Academic/Professional* and *Personal/Physical* terms respectively, as follows:

- by Month of the First Post (Start Month): available from Oct 2015 to Oct 2017
- by Month of the Latest Update: available from Oct 2016 to Oct 2017
- by Year of the First Post (Start Year): -6 to 0, relative to Oct 2017
- by Year of the Latest Update: -3 to 0, relative to Oct 2017

Main Findings

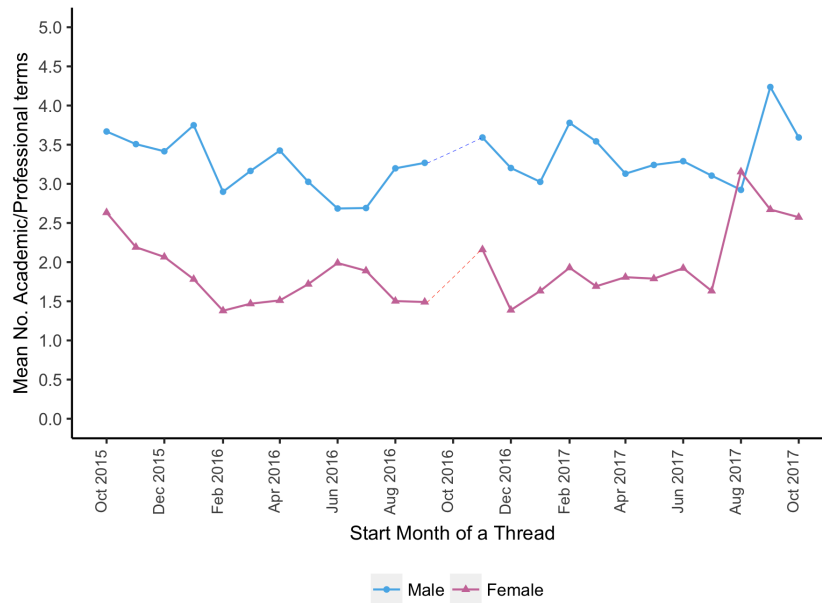
- *Female* posts show smaller month-to-month fluctuations in *Academic/Professional* than *Male* posts, with an exception in August 2017, the same month when the NY Times article³⁰ reveals this study. Figure C1 shows that discussions about women are more academically oriented for the first time in Aug 2017, but there is a slow decline going back to the pre-trend after that.
- *Male* posts show smaller month-to-month fluctuations in *Personal/Physical* than *Female* post. The “intervention” in Aug 2017 does not make a notable difference in this topic. (Figure C5; Figure C6)

²⁹Relative to 10/28/2017.

³⁰Wolfers, Justin. 2017. “Evidence of a Toxic Environment in Economics”. New York Times. 18 August.

- There is no clear seasonal pattern due to job market.
- By start year, threads **initiated** 5 or 6 years ago contain more *Academic/Professional* terms on average but decline since then (Figure C3). There is also a notable increase in *Personal/Physical* from 5 years ago to 4 years ago (Figure C7).
- There are small year-to-year variations in *Academic/Professional* (Figure C4) and *Personal/Physical* (Figure C8) for threads **initiated or updated** in the last four years.

Figure C1. Mean #*Academic/Professional* by Start Month of Threads



Notes: Threads initiated in Oct 2016 are not identified. The latest dataset indicates the month a thread started from Nov 2016 to Oct 2017. The time stamps for threads started in Oct 2015 to Sept 2016 are preserved from an earlier round of scraping in Sept 2016.

Figure C2. Mean #*Academic/Professional* by Month of the Latest Update

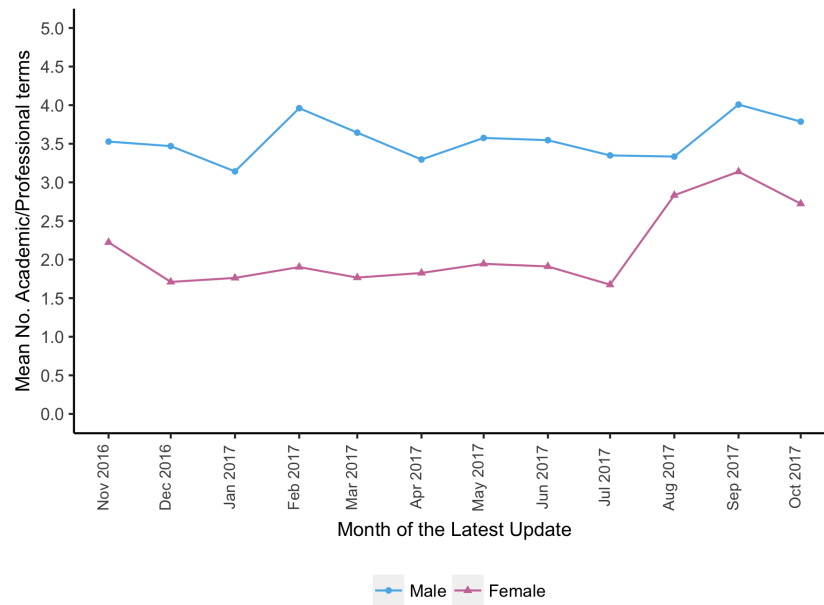


Figure C3. Mean #*Academic/Professional* by Start Year

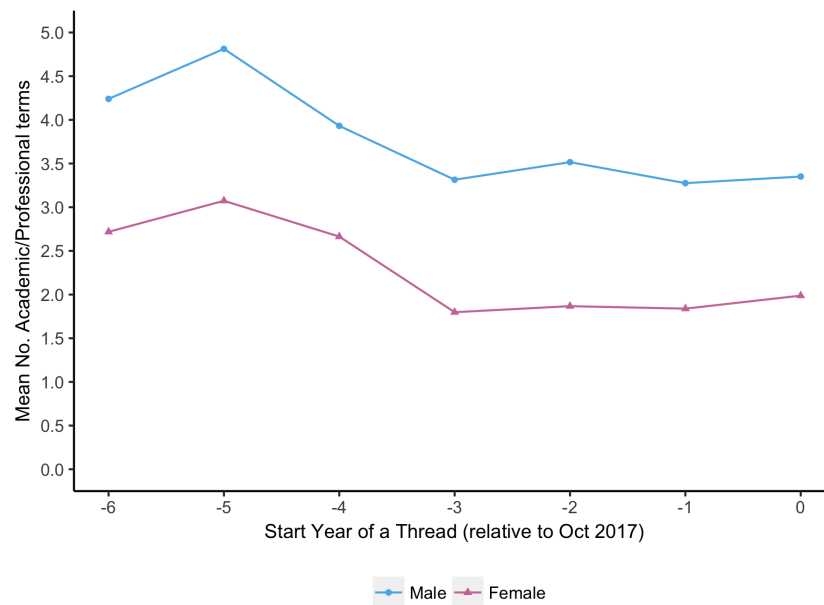


Figure C4. Mean #*Academic/Professional* by Year of the Latest Update

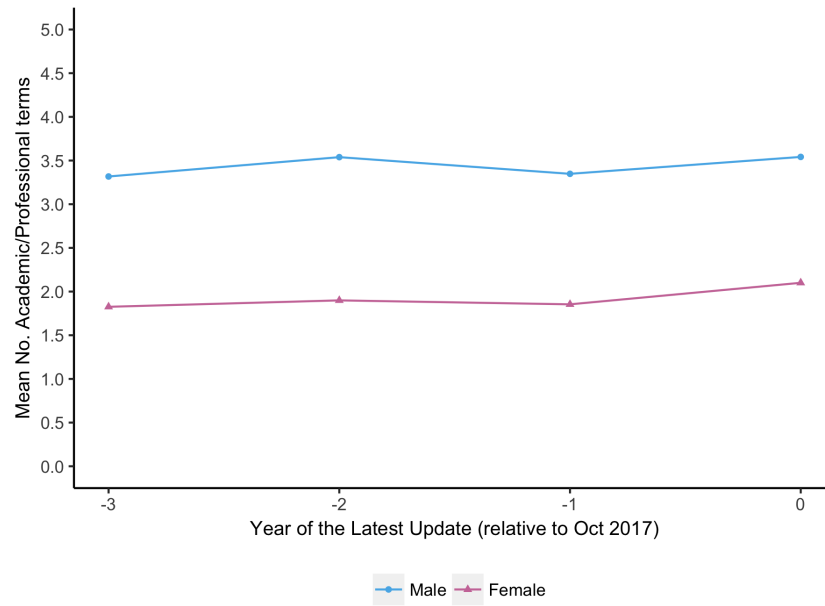
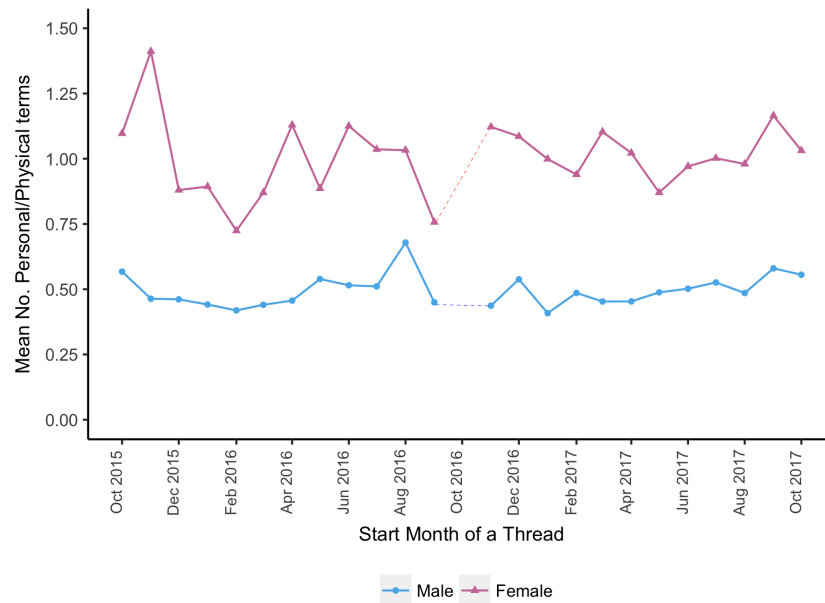


Figure C5. Mean #*Personal/Physical* by Month of the Latest Update



Notes: Threads initiated in Oct 2016 are not identified. The latest dataset indicates the month a thread started from Nov 2016 to Oct 2017. The time stamps for threads started in Oct 2015 to Sept 2016 are preserved from an earlier round of scraping in Sept 2016.

Figure C6. Mean $\#Personal/Physical$ by Month of the Latest Update

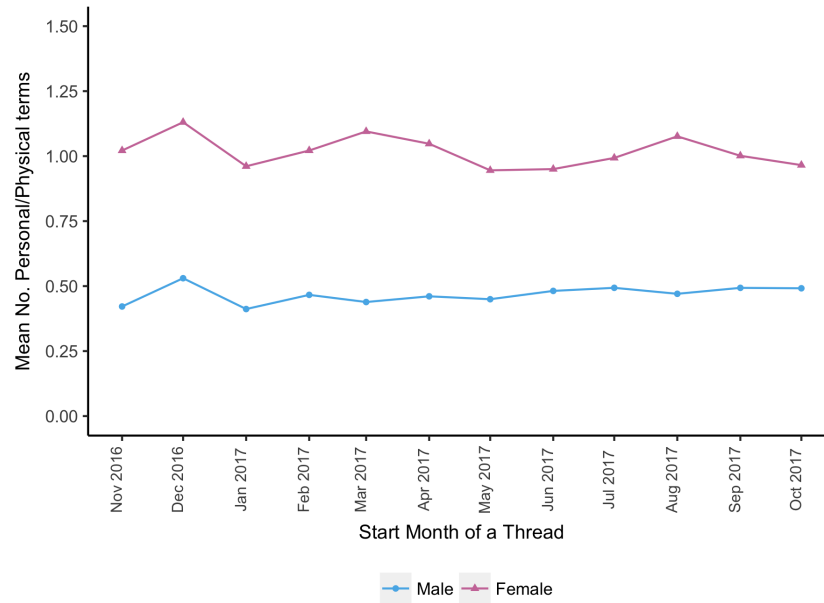


Figure C7. Mean $\#Personal/Physical$ by Start Year

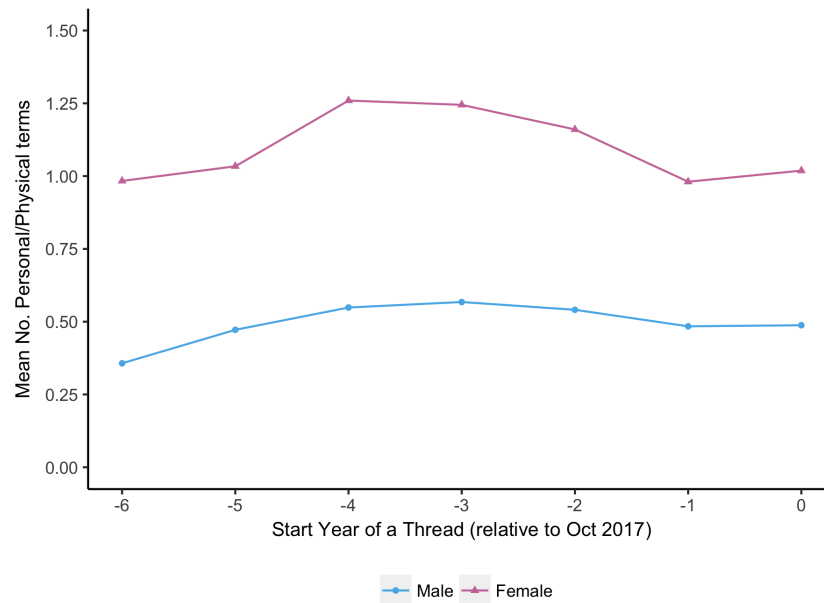


Figure C8. Mean $\#Personal/Physical$ by Year of the Latest Update

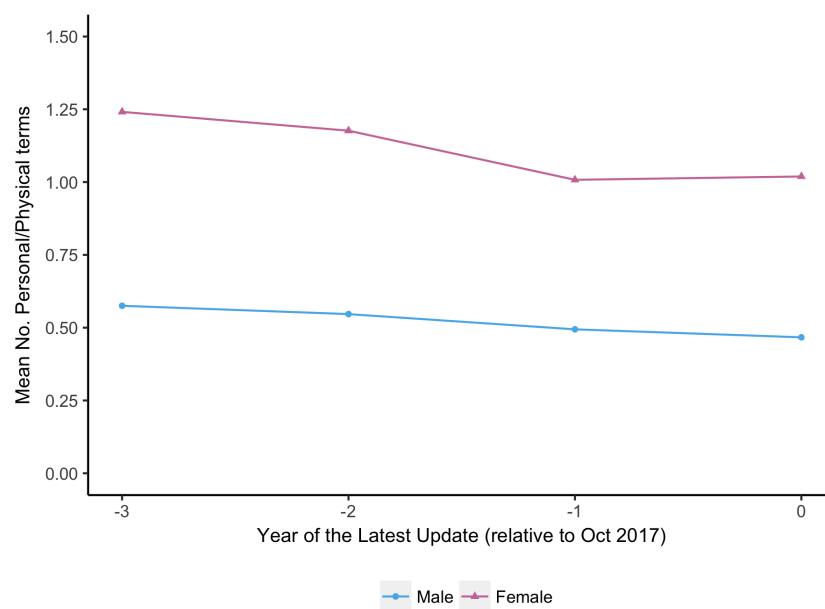


Table C1: *Academic/Professional* - Prior vs. Post August 2017

	Number of <i>Academic/Professional</i> Words							
	Level 1		Level 2		Level 3		Level 4	
	Prior	Post	Prior	Post	Prior	Post	Prior	Post
$Female_i$	-1.374 (0.020)	-0.819 (0.106)	-1.573 (0.025)	-0.788 (0.130)	-1.702 (0.029)	-1.063 (0.153)	-1.556 (0.032)	-0.606 (0.182)
Constant	2.992 (0.015)	3.168 (0.066)	3.362 (0.019)	3.492 (0.080)	3.520 (0.020)	3.654 (0.088)	3.433 (0.022)	3.461 (0.100)
R^2	0.009	0.003	0.010	0.002	0.009	0.003	0.011	0.001
F Stat.	4679.138	60.159	3831.112	36.659	3363.783	48.348	2312.590	11.068
N	415, 168	20, 449	302, 501	15, 788	263, 149	13, 161	185, 644	8, 939

Notes: “Prior” restricts the sample to threads *initiated* before August 2017, while “Post” look at threads created from August to October 2017. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the thread level. Each post contains at least 3 and at most 300 words. “Level 1” to “Level 4” refer to increasingly restrictive levels of gender classifiers to identify gender-related posts (see Figure 1).

Table C2: *Personal/Physical* - Prior vs. Post August 2017

	Number of <i>Personal/Physical</i> Words							
	Level 1		Level 2		Level 3		Level 4	
	Prior	Post	Prior	Post	Prior	Post	Prior	Post
$Female_i$	0.711 (0.009)	0.689 (0.038)	0.691 (0.011)	0.645 (0.042)	0.607 (0.012)	0.525 (0.051)	0.596 (0.013)	0.507 (0.054)
Constant	0.407 (0.002)	0.416 (0.011)	0.452 (0.003)	0.464 (0.013)	0.441 (0.003)	0.459 (0.014)	0.520 (0.005)	0.531 (0.019)
R^2	0.041	0.039	0.033	0.031	0.024	0.019	0.023	0.019
F Stat.	6006.779	327.805	3911.239	232.295	2387.962	105.261	1953.126	87.879
N	415, 168	20, 449	302, 501	15, 788	263, 149	13, 161	185, 644	8, 939

Notes: “Prior” restricts the sample to threads *initiated* before August 2017, while “Post” look at threads created from August to October 2017. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered at the thread level. Each post contains at least 3 and at most 300 words. “Level 1” to “Level 4” refer to increasingly restrictive levels of gender classifiers to identify gender-related posts (see Figure 1).

The Ugly Truth about Legal Academia

Meera E. Deo, JD, PhD[†]

The Diversity in Legal Academia (DLA) project is the first formal, comprehensive, mixed-method empirical examination of the law faculty experience, utilizing an intersectional lens to investigate the personal and professional lives of legal academics. This Article reports on the first set of findings from that study, which I personally designed and implemented. DLA data reveal that ongoing privilege and institutional discrimination based on racism and sexism create distinct challenges for particular law faculty. Interactions between women of color law faculty and both their faculty colleagues and their students indicate persisting racial and gender privilege, resulting in ongoing bias. These findings cry out for law schools to intensify efforts at strengthening rather than de-emphasizing diversity, as many may be tempted to do during this period of great turmoil in legal education. In fact, law schools should provide greater institutional support to faculty, which will help not only those who are underrepresented, marginalized, and vulnerable, but all law faculty, law students, and the legal profession overall. This Article draws from both quantitative and qualitative data gathered from this national sample of law faculty to focus on the ways in which race, gender, and the combination of the two affect law faculty interactions with colleagues and students. It also proposes individual strategies and structural solutions that can be utilized in order for legal academia to live up to its full potential.

[†] Associate Professor, Thomas Jefferson School of Law. The Author received support for this project while a Visiting Scholar at Berkeley Law's Center for the Study of Law & Society in 2013. Preliminary findings from the Diversity in Legal Academia (DLA) study received useful feedback at the following meetings: South Asian Legal Academics (SALA) Inaugural Workshop (Aug. 2014); eCRT Workshop (June 2014); AALS Annual Meeting, Presidential Workshop on Law Teachers of the Future (Jan. 2014); AALS Annual Meeting, "Hot Topics" session on Enhancing the Law School Climate (Jan. 2014); Southern California Junior Faculty Workshop (May 2013); *Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law & Justice* Symposium (Mar. 2013); AALS Annual Meeting, Section on Law & the Social Sciences session (Jan. 2013). Numerous colleagues and mentors have supported DLA, including: Carmen Gonzalez, Angela Onwuachi-Willig, Herma Hill Kay, Bryant Garth, Linda Pololi, Angela Harris, Kevin Johnson, Lisa Ikemoto, Anupam Chander, Andrea Freeman, Jordan Woods, Bertrall Ross, Wendy Greene, Bill Hines, and Rudy Hasl. Above all, thanks are due to the 93 law faculty members who participated in the DLA study and whose perspectives are shared anonymously herein. The author holds full copyright to this article. For reprint permissions, please contact the author directly.

Key words: legal education, legal profession, Law & Society, women in law, intersectionality, empirical methods in Critical Race Theory (eCRT)

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INTRODUCTION

For decades, the diversity debate in courts, public opinion, and academic circles has centered on student diversity.¹ There has been virtual silence on the topic of diversity in academia. This may be because there has never been a formal, comprehensive, empirical study of law faculty to inform the debate.

“Yet, faculty diversity may be especially critical today based on the unique challenges facing legal academia.”² With law school applications at record low levels and shrinking enrollment at many schools, some law schools have adopted aggressive cost-cutting measures, with more drastic changes likely ahead.³ Faculty hiring has decreased or ceased altogether at many law schools.⁴ A few law schools have begun firing faculty and staff, as well as closing facilities.⁵ While faculty of color and female faculty have been underrepresented in legal academia since law schools first opened their doors, recent changes threaten to deplete their numbers even further.⁶

Ironically, just as law schools are poised to decrease their attention on faculty diversity, it may be in their best interest to elevate its importance. Law schools are changing to adapt to coming times, becoming more student-centered, focusing more on skills-based learning, and creating other incentives to attract students and keep them in school. Prospective students may be especially drawn to law schools

¹ See generally *Schuette v. Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action*, 134 S. Ct. 1623 (2014); *Fisher v. Univ. of Tex. at Austin*, 133 S. Ct. 2411 (2013); *Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 306 (2003); *Regents of Univ. of Cal. v. Bakke*, 438 U.S. 265, 311-14 (1978); Kathryn Alfisi, *Diversity in Higher Education: Is Affirmative Action Nearing its End?*, WASH. LAWYER (Dec. 2012), <http://www.dcbbar.org/bar-resources/publications/washington-lawyer/articles/december-2012-affirmative-action.cfm>; Adam Liptak, *Justices Take Up Race as a Factor in College Entry*, N.Y. TIMES, Feb. 22, 2012, at A1; *Room for Debate: Diversity Without Affirmative Action?*, N.Y. TIMES (May 13, 2013), <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2013/05/13/can-diversity-survive-without-affirmative-action>.

² Meera E. Deo, *Looking Forward to Diversity in Legal Academia*, 29 BERKELEY J. GENDER L. & JUST. 352, 354 (2014).

³ A DISTURBING TREND IN LAW SCHOOL DIVERSITY, <http://blogs.law.columbia.edu/salt> (last visited Feb. 15, 2015) (describing declining law school enrollment rates for African American and Mexican American students); see also Chelsea Phipps, *More Law Schools Hagggle on Scholarships*, WALL ST. J., (July 29, 2012, 9:23 PM), <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390444130304577557182667927226.html>.

⁴ Ashby Jones & Jennifer Smith, *Amid Falling Enrollment, Law Schools Are Cutting Faculty*, WALL ST. J. (July 15, 2013, 4:39 PM), <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424127887323664204578607810292433272>.

⁵ See THOMAS M. COOLEY LAW SCHOOL STATEMENT (July 1, 2014), <http://www.cooley.edu/news/statement.html>; see also Dan Filler, *Retrenchment at Thomas Cooley Law*, FACULTY LOUNGE (July 03, 2014, at 9:22 AM), <http://www.thefacultylounge.org/2014/07/retrenchment-at-thomas-cooley-law.html> (discussing Cooley's announcement regarding “faculty and staff layoffs and other cutbacks”).

⁶ See Katherine Barnes & Elizabeth Mertz, *Is It Fair? Law Professors' Perceptions of Tenure*, 61 J. LEGAL EDUC. 511, 512 (2012).

that have diverse faculty, and existing students may be more likely to stay in school when they are engaged in learning, mastering practical material, and connected with the institution overall.⁷ All of these goals are more likely to be achieved when diverse faculty stay employed at institutions of legal education.⁸

Though abysmal, the lack of numeric representation of women of color, white women, and men of color in legal academia tells only part of the story; to grasp the full context, we must also evaluate the faculty experience. In other words, we must “look beyond [the numbers] to examine the quality of the academic experience” for diverse faculty.⁹ Only by understanding workplace challenges can we seek to reverse the low retention rates for diverse faculty; doing so would likely increase retention rates for students as well. Until now, there has not been a mechanism for evaluating the experience of diverse faculty. No formal mixed-method empirical study has investigated the experience of law faculty, examining how race and gender create challenges and opportunities for particular law faculty.

This Article presents the first set of findings from the Diversity in Legal Academia (DLA) study, which itself represents the first formal, empirical, mixed-method study of the law faculty experience utilizing an intersectional lens. As the Principal Investigator of the DLA study, as well as the author of this Article, I am wholly responsible for the project. I designed the mixed-method study, from conception through dissemination. I personally conducted each of the 93 interviews with legal academics and collected all survey data from DLA participants.¹⁰ I also am responsible for coding and analyzing the rich set of mixed-method empirical data that resulted from these interviews and surveys, which are presented here and in numerous anticipated future manuscripts drawing from DLA.¹¹

⁷ See, e.g., VINCENT TINTO, *LEAVING COLLEGE: RETHINKING CAUSES AND CURES OF STUDENT ATTRITION* 124 (2d ed. 1993).

⁸ Mentorship and other strong connections between faculty and students have also been shown to increase student retention. See, e.g., Meera E. Deo & Kimberly A. Griffin, *The Social Capital Benefits of Peer Mentoring in Law School*, 38 OHIO N.U. L. REV. 305 (2011).

⁹ Rachel F. Moran, *Commentary: The Implications of Being a Society of One*, 20 U.S.F. L. REV. 503, 505 (1986).

¹⁰ I am indebted to Catherine Albiston, Linda Pololi, Harmony Rhoades, and Renee Reichl for useful conversations on the DLA study design. The Principal Investigators of the Educational Diversity Project, Walter Allen, Charles Daye, Abigail Panter, and Linda Wightman, also deserve recognition for inspiring the mixed-method design used in DLA. Any errors or methodological limitations are my own.

¹¹ A book proposal drawing from DLA data has been solicited by Stanford University Press. Immediately forthcoming DLA articles include the following: Meera E. Deo, *A Better Tenure Battle*, 31 COLUM. J. GENDER & L. (forthcoming Aug. 2015);

The DLA study examines both the personal and professional lives of law faculty members, from Assistant Professor through Dean Emeritus, exploring whether and how the race and gender of individual legal academics affect their experience as law professors. Only 7% of law professors are women of color; yet, this appalling lack of diversity has been largely ignored in the academic literature.¹² The DLA study pioneers this exploration with a methodologically rigorous investigation into the experiences of law faculty, specifically examining similarities and differences based on race and gender.

DLA findings reveal that significant ongoing discrimination haunts legal academia, with intersectional bias a clear barrier to success for many non-traditional law teachers, and especially for women of color law professors. Documenting and acknowledging both the climate of white male privilege and broader institutional bias is a first important step in eliminating it, thereby improving the learning environment for all students and the work environment for all law professors. This Article proposes detailed necessary next steps: strategies to ameliorate both overt and implicit bias through specific individual and structural changes.

In Part I, this Article begins with a brief presentation of literature on the law faculty experience and relevant frameworks of intersectionality, privilege, structural and institutional discrimination, and implicit bias. Part I also shares statistics on current legal academics, as well as an introduction to the DLA data and analytical approach. A more detailed account of the relevant literature, data collection technique, analytical approach, and initial hypotheses for the DLA study have been laid out in a separate article.¹³

Parts II and III present findings from the DLA study that indicate many ways in which racial and gender

Meera E. Deo, *Faculty Insights on Educational Diversity*, 83 FORDHAM L. REV. 3115 (2015); Meera E. Deo, *Trajectory of a Law Professor*, 20 MICH. J. RACE & L. (forthcoming June 2015).

¹² See 2008-2009 AALS Statistical Report on Law Faculty: Race and Ethnicity, AALS.FAR.COM (on file with author). For many years AALS maintained basic statistical data on law faculty members by race and gender on its website, including at the following link: <http://aalsfar.com/statistics/2009dlt/race.html>. By December 2014, the relevant pages had been removed from the AALS website. In spite of numerous requests by the author of this Article and others for explanation, retrieval, and reinstatement of this data, AALS has not responded in any way and the data remains missing from the AALS website. It is therefore unavailable to those who conduct research on American law faculty. The author welcomes correspondence from anyone with additional information regarding the data or from those who have sought the data to no avail.

¹³ See Deo, *supra* note 2, at 375-77.

discrimination continue to run rampant in legal academia, both in overt and potentially actionable encounters as well as through more subtle acts and implicit bias. Part II focuses on challenging workplace interactions with fellow faculty. DLA findings make clear that racial and gender privilege create distinctly different experiences for racial minorities and women as compared to white male law faculty—even in terms of how they perceive their relationships with one another. Part III presents analytical findings on faculty-student interactions, including student confrontations of particular underrepresented faculty in the classroom and beyond. Again, race and gender color these interactions, with white women and women of color sharing experiences with students that differ significantly from how white male colleagues describe interactions with students.

In Part IV, the Article draws from the data to distill best practices and reasonable responses, suggesting strategies for addressing the specific challenges of ongoing racial and gender discrimination in legal academia. Summarizing and synthesizing these findings, the Conclusion proposes specific structural changes. The Article ends with a bullet-pointed list of strategies that administrators, other institutional leaders, and even faculty colleagues can adopt to eliminate or at least ameliorate many of the challenges the data reveal.

I. SETTING THE STAGE

To fully grasp findings from the DLA study, this Part outlines the relevant literature, presents the methodological approach of the study, and shares basic demographic statistics of current law faculty. The literature discussed includes existing studies of law faculty as well as various frameworks employed throughout the Article, including intersectionality, privilege, and implicit bias.

A. Framing the Law Faculty Experience

In Spring 1989, law professors Derrick Bell and Richard Delgado published an article entitled, “Minority Law Professors’ Lives: The Bell-Delgado Survey.”¹⁴ That article reported on an informal investigation into the professional lives of law faculty of color, with a focus on descriptive analysis of

¹⁴ Richard Delgado & Derrick Bell, *Minority Law Professors’ Lives: The Bell-Delgado Survey*, 24 HARV. C.R.-C.L. L. REV. 349 (1989).

specific topic areas.¹⁵ The authors found that law faculty of color in the mid-1980s faced “discrimination in hiring and promotion, alienation among their colleagues, hostility from students, and a lack of support.”¹⁶ Though those findings were non-generalizable and non-comparative, they provide valuable insights into the professional challenges facing the few legal academics of color at the time.¹⁷ The authors of the study had dismal predictions for the future, expecting little institutional interest in even addressing these challenges.¹⁸

Perhaps unsurprisingly given their prediction, no follow up survey has taken place. In the intervening 15 years, only a handful of studies have looked into legal academia from the law faculty perspective and none have employed an intersectional lens to specifically consider how race and gender combine to affect the experiences of legal academics at various stages of their careers.¹⁹ No study has fully investigated the law faculty experience. None has looked into both the personal and professional lives of both tenured and pre-tenured faculty. No research has considered the ways in which race and gender may play a unique role in the experiences of legal academics at various stages of their careers.²⁰ Nevertheless, two recent academic projects have been instrumental in setting the stage for the DLA study.

One empirical study recently published in the *Journal of Legal Education* reports that there are “continued difficulties” facing law faculty of color and female law faculty of

¹⁵ The Bell-Delgado study findings include discussion of the following areas: Time Pressure, Academic Freedom, Relations with Colleagues, Relations with Students, Appointments, Research Support, Committee Responsibilities, Bread-and-Butter Issues & Upward Mobility, Institutional Climate, Ghettoization, and Job Satisfaction. *Id.* at 355.

¹⁶ Deo, *supra* note 2, at 369-70 (internal citations omitted); *see also* Delgado & Bell, *supra* note 14.

¹⁷ Delgado & Bell report that their relatively low response rate cautions against generalizability; they also did not include white faculty as participants. *See* Delgado & Bell, *supra* note 14, at 354, n.17 & n.19.

¹⁸ *Id.* at 369-70.

¹⁹ On the other hand, empirical studies of the law student experience have become slightly more common. *See* Meera E. Deo, *The Promise of Grutter: Diverse Interactions at the University of Michigan Law School*, 17 MICH. J. RACE & L. 63 (2011) (discussing numerous studies of law student diversity and the law student experience generally).

²⁰ Throughout this Article the term “race” is used to signify both “race” and “ethnicity.” While race deals more generally with the social construct of one’s phenotypical or morphological presentation, and ethnicity refers more to individual or ancestral national/regional-origin, the term “race” is used throughout simply for ease of reading. For more on the differentiation between race and ethnicity, and their interplay with the law, *see* Camille Gear Rich, *Performing Racial and Ethnic Identity: Discrimination by Proxy and the Future of Title VII*, 79 N.Y.U. L. REV. 1134, 1145 (2004).

color specifically.²¹ That article focuses on tenure, reporting that a much higher percentage of female professors of color view the tenure process as unfair (35%) as compared to white males (12%).²² A negative campus climate, challenging law school culture, and implicit bias contribute to the overall “negative themes” characterizing the experience for many people of color in legal academia.²³ While that study reports on how tenured faculty remember their pre-tenure experience, untenured faculty were excluded from participation.²⁴

Another significant contribution to the literature is *Presumed Incompetent*, an anthology exploring the experience of female faculty of color in a variety of academic disciplines.²⁵ The chapters covering the law faculty experience draw from a rich narrative tradition²⁶ and reveal personal challenges as well as compelling discussions of structural impediments to success.²⁷ Many reflections on the law faculty experience by women of color note challenges navigating a hostile campus climate and suggest mechanisms for coping with ongoing institutional bias.²⁸

DLA joins both of these recent studies by drawing from a framework of intersectionality, which acknowledges the challenges facing particular individuals whose identity is bound up with the “intersection of recognized sites of oppression.”²⁹ Because of the multiple “opportunities” for oppression, it becomes clear that those who are marginalized in multiple ways have experiences that differ from not only the norm (at most law schools, this would be the middle- to upper-class, heterosexual, white male), but even from the norms attributed to particular

²¹ Barnes & Mertz, *supra* note 6, at 511-12.

²² *Id.* at 516-17.

²³ *Id.* at 522-23.

²⁴ *Id.* at 512.

²⁵ PRESUMED INCOMPETENT: THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS FOR WOMEN IN ACADEMIA (Gabriella Gutierrez y Muhs, Yolanda Flores-Niemann, Carmen G. Gonzalez, & Angela P. Harris eds., 2012).

²⁶ See, e.g., Robert S. Chang, *Toward an Asian American Legal Scholarship: Critical Race Theory, Post-Structuralism, and Narrative Space*, 81 CAL. L. REV. 1241, 1269 (1993) (“Narrative occupies a similar role in both feminist legal theory and critical race theory.”).

²⁷ See, e.g., Elvia R. Arriola, “*No hay mal que por bien no venga*”: A Journey to Healing as a Latina, Lesbian Law Professor, in PRESUMED INCOMPETENT: THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS FOR WOMEN IN ACADEMIA, *supra* note 25, at 372 (discussing her personal challenges as a woman of color at an unsupportive predominantly white institution).

²⁸ For further discussion on these themes from *Presumed Incompetent* and on the relevant literature generally, see Deo, *supra* note 2.

²⁹ RICHARD DELGADO & JEAN STEFANCIC, CRITICAL RACE THEORY: AN INTRODUCTION 51-55 (2001).

minority groups.³⁰ For instance, women of color may suffer oppression based on a combination of their race and gender, which differs from individuals who are racial minorities (e.g., Black) but in the majority with regard to gender (e.g., male). Similarly, gay men of color face oppression based on both their race and their sexual orientation; their experiences tend to differ from those of both white gay men and heterosexual men of color. Yet, they still enjoy male privilege. In the traditionally white male establishment of legal academia, one would therefore expect that people of color would have unique experiences as compared to whites, that women would have different experiences from men, and that women of color—doubly marginalized by race and gender—would have different experiences still.³¹ In fact, contemporary research continues to rely “on the categories ‘men’ and ‘women’ and not—as we might have hoped—on the intersections of categories of gender, race, ethnicity, age, and sexual orientation. Sometimes a further delineation, ‘people of color,’ has been made—oftentimes, however, without distinguishing experiences of women and of men.”³²

What social scientists call “structural racism” and legal academics call “institutional racism” largely refer to the same³³

³⁰ For more on Critical Race Theory and intersectionality specifically, see generally PATRICIA HILL COLLINS, *BLACK FEMINIST THOUGHT: KNOWLEDGE, CONSCIOUSNESS, AND THE POLITICS OF EMPOWERMENT* (2d ed. 2000); EVELYN NAKANO GLENN, *UNEQUAL FREEDOM: HOW RACE AND GENDER SHAPED AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP AND LABOR* (2002); Kimberle Crenshaw, *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*, 1989 U. CHI. LEGAL F. 139; Kimberle Crenshaw, *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color*, 43 STAN. L. REV. 1241 (1990-1991).

³¹ While most scholarship drawing on a framework of intersectionality focuses on the challenges or oppression facing groups that are marginalized across multiple dimensions, there could be opportunities for benefits based on these identity characteristics as well. See, e.g., Nancy Leong, *Racial Capitalism*, 126 HARV. L. REV. 2151, 2152 (2013) (discussing instances where whites have capitalized on the racial identity of people of color for the social and economic benefit of whites themselves). The DLA study, on the other hand, contemplates how race and gender could create benefits even for those from marginalized groups. See Deo, *supra* note 2, at 352.

³² Judith Resnick, *A Continuous Body: Ongoing Conversations About Women and Legal Education*, 53 J. LEGAL EDUC. 564, 569 (2003). This Article, too, sometimes collapses various racial/ethnic and even gender categories to discuss experiences of “women of color,” “women,” and even “people of color” collectively. However, when done here, it is because the empirical data reveals similarities between women of color from different non-white racial/ethnic groups, women as a whole (white and non-white), or between people of color regardless of racial/ethnic background (including both men and women). Also, the emphasis on intersectionality throughout the Article is on the combination of race and gender specifically. Issues involving class, sexual orientation, age, and other identity characteristics are woven throughout though not the explicit focus of this study.

³³ Though they refer to the same system, institutional discrimination refers to bias within particular institutions embedded in society, while structural discrimination refers to the collection of these various institutions and the broader

“complex, dynamic system of conferring social benefits on some groups and imposing burdens on others that results in . . . denial of opportunity for millions of people of color.”³⁴ Sexism, homophobia, and other social ills can fit similarly within this broad framework, where we assume that those in the dominant group (e.g., males) structure aspects of society within their control to further the interests of the dominant group at the expense of those with less power (e.g., women).³⁵ Intersectionality is thus a natural lens through which to consider discrimination in legal academia, and we can think of those who exercise their power over doubly marginalized individuals as operationalizing *intersectional discrimination*.³⁶

Racism and other “-isms” refer to internally held biases or stereotypical beliefs about individuals from particular groups that are based on that identity characteristic, while discrimination refers to the exercise of power over others based on whatever “-ism” is at play.³⁷ Thus, “racial discrimination refers to unequal treatment of persons or groups on the basis of their race or ethnicity.”³⁸ In addition, a person holding racist views can exercise power over a person of color to deny her a job or refuse to sell her a car. This is racial discrimination. A person holding sexist views can exercise power over a woman by harassing her in the workplace or through sexist verbal abuse that draws from that power. This is gender discrimination.

structure that encompasses them. See Fred L. Pincus, *Discrimination Comes in Many Forms: Individual, Institutional, and Structural*, in READINGS FOR DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE 31 (Adams et al. eds., 2000).

³⁴ Meera E. Deo, *Two Sides of a Coin: Safe Space & Segregation in Race/Ethnic-Specific Law Student Organizations*, 42 WASH. U. J.L. & POL'Y 83, 116-20 (2013) (quoting William M. Wiecek, *Structural Racism and The Law in America Today: An Introduction*, 100 KY. L.J. 1, 5 (2011-2012)). For more on social science literature on structural racism, see EDUARDO BONILLA-SILVA, WHITE SUPREMACY & RACISM IN THE POST-CIVIL RIGHTS ERA 11 (2001); MICHAEL OMI & HOWARD WINANT, RACIAL FORMATION IN THE UNITED STATES 79 (2d ed. 1994) (asserting that “the major institutions and social relationships of U.S. society—law, political organization, economic relationships, religion, cultural life, residential patterns etc.—have been structured from the beginning by the racial order”); Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation*, 62 AM. SOC. REV. 465, 469 (1997). Legal scholar Ian Haney López has also argued similar sentiments using the term “institutional racism.” See, e.g., Ian F. Haney López, *Institutional Racism: Judicial Conduct and a New Theory of Racial Discrimination*, 109 YALE L.J. 1717 (2000).

³⁵ See generally DARIA ROITHMAYR, REPRODUCING RACISM: HOW EVERYDAY CHOICES LOCK IN WHITE ADVANTAGE (2014).

³⁶ Some have called this “‘complex’ bias.” See, e.g., Minna J. Kotkin, *Diversity and Discrimination: A Look at Complex Bias*, 50 WM. & MARY L. REV. 1439 (2009).

³⁷ Devah Pager & Hana Shepherd, *The Sociology of Discrimination: Racial Discrimination in Employment, Housing, Credit, and Consumer Markets*, 34 ANN. REV. SOC. 181, 182 (2008).

³⁸ *Id.*

The intersectional discrimination discussed in this Article refers to the ways in which institutional policies and practices, as well as institutional leaders, exercise not only white privilege to discriminate against people of color, or male privilege to discriminate against women, but also the combination of white male privilege to discriminate against women of color.³⁹

In fact, privilege itself is another framework that must be considered when examining bias in legal academia. Privilege is “the systemic conferral of benefit and advantage [based on] affiliation, conscious or not and chosen or not, to the dominant side of a power system.”⁴⁰ Privilege can be dissected into three main points. First, privilege provides systemic—ongoing and structural—advantages rather than simply one-time individual benefits. Second, privilege is often “largely invisible to those who reap its benefits.”⁴¹ Those aware of their privilege do not necessarily choose to accept it; yet, it cannot easily be rejected. Even individuals who are disadvantaged or lack privilege tend not to challenge the status quo, as many believe that the existing structure is normal, unavoidable, and based on merit.⁴² Third, the benefits associated with privilege are based on external association with the power structure. In other words, when external actors identify an individual as affiliated with a group considered powerful within a given context, that individual receives the associated privileges.

For various categories, one can easily determine which groups are powerful and which are not; individuals associated with powerful groups are privileged, while the others are not accorded advantage. For instance, when considering socio-economic status, wealthy people have more power than poor; those believed to be wealthy and associated as such will therefore have greater privilege. In the race context, whites have more power and therefore more privilege than those identified as Black, Latino, Asian American, Native American,

³⁹ Much of the past scholarship on intersectionality has focused on who is excluded, i.e., “when African American women claim race discrimination, their experience is measured against that of sex-privileged (that is, male) African Americans; when African American women claim gender discrimination, their experience is measured against that of race-privileged (that is, white) women.” Kotkin, *supra* note 36, at 1482 (citing Crenshaw, *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*, *supra* note 30, at 140).

⁴⁰ STEPHANIE M. WILDMAN, PRIVILEGE REVEALED: HOW INVISIBLE PREFERENCE UNDERMINES AMERICA 29 (1996).

⁴¹ Deo, *supra* note 34, at 114 (discussing WILDMAN, *supra* note 40, at 28).

⁴² WILDMAN, *supra* note 40, at 29.

or as belonging to some other racial/ethnic group.⁴³ Highly-educated people have greater power than those with low levels of education, and receive privilege based on their elite educational status. Men, as a group, have more power, and therefore more privilege, than women. Heterosexuals have more power than those in the LGBTQ community, resulting in those identified as “straight” receiving privilege based on their sexual orientation.

To be sure, not all discrimination is conscious or purposeful. Perhaps the most pervasive and destructive type of discrimination is based on implicit bias. Implicit bias includes thoughts and behaviors that “affect social judgments but operate without conscious awareness or conscious control.”⁴⁴ In fact, “the term ‘implicit’ emphasizes our unawareness of having a particular thought or feeling,” while, in contrast, “‘explicit’ emphasizes awareness of having a thought or feeling.”⁴⁵ Because it is based on subconscious thought, “implicit bias [often] coexists with egalitarian beliefs and the denial of personal prejudice.”⁴⁶ Thus, these “attitudes, beliefs, or thoughts [are ones] that people hold but may explicitly reject” were they to think about them explicitly.⁴⁷ In other words, though we may think or feel something impulsively based on implicit bias, and even act on that bias exercising discrimination, it is based on subconscious feelings that “we might even reject ...as inaccurate or inappropriate upon self-reflection.”⁴⁸

Implicit bias is especially dangerous because it infects even those who believe themselves to be egalitarian. Because it is not based on conscious thought but operates “automatically and outside of rational awareness,”⁴⁹ implicit bias “leak[s] into everyday behaviors such as whom we befriend, whose work we value, and whom we favor—notwithstanding our obliviousness

⁴³ Of course, there is relative privilege too, where certain groups may not be at the pinnacle of the hierarchical structure yet still enjoy some privilege. They may also be privileged with regard to a particular status (e.g., class) while not privileged in another (e.g., gender). See Kathleen J. Fitzgerald, *White Privilege*, in *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RACE, ETHNICITY, AND SOCIETY* 1404 (Richard T. Schaefer ed., 2008) (“[P]eople can be oppressors within one status hierarchy, while in others they may be disadvantaged. And more than likely, most people are both at some time or another . . .”).

⁴⁴ Jerry Kang & Kristin Lane, *Seeing Through Colorblindness: Implicit Bias and the Law*, 58 *UCLA L. REV.* 465, 467 (2010).

⁴⁵ *Id.* at 469.

⁴⁶ Victor Quintanilla, *Critical Race Empiricism: A New Means to Measure Civil Procedure*, 3 *U.C. IRVINE L. REV.* 187, 198 (2013).

⁴⁷ Gregory S. Parks et al., *Implicit Race Bias in Tort Jury Decision Making* (forthcoming 2015) (on file with the author).

⁴⁸ Kang & Lane, *supra* note 44, at 469.

⁴⁹ Parks et al., *supra* note 47.

to any such influence.”⁵⁰ It exists in our everyday lives, our workplaces, our justice system, and other institutions—including legal academia.⁵¹

Combining the framework of intersectionality, privilege, and implicit bias, we see the ways in which those who lack privilege along multiple axes face additional hurdles than even those who lack privilege along just one axis. A “minority within a minority” is doubly or even triply disadvantaged. As an example, “Black women are sometimes excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both are predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender.”⁵² Though Black women are Black, leadership within their racial community may not fully appreciate their experience as women and instead privilege the male experience; similarly, though Black women are women, the feminist movement may not fully understand their experience as Black and instead privilege the white experience. The Black woman’s relative outsider status with regard to each group may not be based on purposeful discrimination from other group members, but instead result from implicit bias. The Black woman is nevertheless excluded.

Legal institutions, including law schools, are not exempt from racial and gender privilege and implicit bias. In fact, as institutions of great power and privilege, law schools are an especially interesting site for a study investigating intersectional discrimination. In one sense, there is nothing unique about law schools, nothing that suggests that there would be greater racist or sexist incidents at these particular institutions over others. Law schools have historically been elite, white, male institutions, though this is true of many American institutions and certainly of most American institutions of higher learning.⁵³ Yet, since intersectional discrimination parallels institutional racism, it is similarly “all-pervasive, infecting the very institutions that support communities, civic bodies, and society broadly.”⁵⁴ Thus, law schools are simply one set of a number of institutions that are reflective of society as a whole, including

⁵⁰ Kang & Lane, *supra* note 44, at 467-68.

⁵¹ For more on implicit bias in courts, see Jerry Kang et al., *Implicit Bias in the Courtroom*, 59 UCLA L. REV. 1124 (2012).

⁵² See Crenshaw, *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politic*, *supra* note 30, at 3.

⁵³ BONILLA-SILVA, *supra* note 34, at 97-98; OMI & WINANT, *supra* note 34, at 79; Meera E. Deo, *Ebbs & Flows: The Courts in Racial Context*, 8 RUTGERS RACE & L. REV. 167 (2007).

⁵⁴ Deo, *supra* note 34, at 119.

even subtle intersectional discrimination that many women of color face on a daily basis in society at large.⁵⁵ These “microaggressions” can be defined as “subtle verbal and non-verbal insults directed toward non-Whites, often done automatically or unconsciously.”⁵⁶ Because microaggressions are often “layered insults based on one’s race, gender, class, sexuality, language, immigration status, phenotype, accent, or surname,” they specifically anticipate intersectionality and draw from a framework of intersectional discrimination.⁵⁷

As social institutions, law schools likely suffer from many of the same social ills of society as a whole. Still, one might argue that law schools would have less formal discrimination (i.e., that which is clearly illegal) than non-legal institutions, since they are the workplace of many people well versed in the law. Thus, to the extent that we can generalize findings discussed in this Article to other educational institutions, or even to corporate and other non-legal workplace settings, conclusions of bias presented here may be underinclusive of the intersectional discrimination occurring on campuses and in other work environments without numerous attorneys in positions of power.

Yet, the actual effects of ongoing intersectional bias in legal academia may be even more significant than in other environments, as the high-status position of “law professor” should be one that rewards merit and rejects bias, providing for upward mobility and meaningful social change for the families and communities connected with individual law professors. In a sense, if things are unfair, inequitable, or biased in legal academia, what hope do we have for other professions, academic institutions, workplaces, and campuses? If this avenue does not truly provide opportunities for advancement, there is little hope that other positions can create those changes. Improving the environment in law schools can thus not only enrich law teaching, legal education, and the legal profession, but also serve as an example to other professional and educational environments for how to contribute to social change generally.

⁵⁵ In fact, since they are “microcosms of larger society, schools ‘are often the arenas in which the schisms and conflicting values of the larger society are played out and become crystallized.’” Meera E. Deo, *Separate, Unequal, and Seeking Support*, 28 HARV. J. ON RACIAL & ETHNIC JUST. 9, 19 (2012) (quoting RUTH SIDEL, *BATTLING BIAS: THE STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES* 8 (1994)).

⁵⁶ Daniel Solórzano et al., *Keeping Race in Place: Racial Microaggressions and Campus Racial Climate at the University of California, Berkeley*, 23 CHICANO/A-LATINO/A L. REV. 15, 17 (2002).

⁵⁷ *Id.*

B. Data Collection and Methodological Approach

The DLA study is the first comprehensive empirical study of law faculty that investigates the personal and professional lives of legal academics with an intersectional (race/gender) lens.⁵⁸ The author of this Article is also the Principal Investigator of the DLA study. I am wholly responsible for study design, from inception through final dissemination of books and articles. I personally designed the survey instrument that participants completed and the interview questions that they answered. I also maintain responsibility for all coding and analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data, including creation of a coding schema, maintenance of a codebook, and the actual coding and analysis of the transcript data from DLA interviews and surveys.

Methodologically, DLA draws from empirical sociological methods to incorporate both survey and in-depth interview data from 93 legal academics employed in tenured or tenure-track positions at ABA-accredited and AALS-member schools during the 2013 calendar year.⁵⁹ Data collection followed a target sampling technique. Target sampling is a well-established technique for data collection in statistics, sociology, public health, and other arenas; it is especially valuable for identifying and securing participation in empirical

⁵⁸ For more discussion on the methods employed in the DLA study, see Deo, *supra* note 2.

⁵⁹ The decision to include participants from only ABA-accredited and AALS-member schools follows the tradition started by other established scholars who have done so to ensure a high and uniform standard of all participants. See Deo, *supra* note 2, at 375 n.154 (discussing correspondence with Herma Hill Kay on the decision of many researchers to follow this selection criterion). Similarly, including only tenured or tenure-track faculty and excluding librarians, clinicians, adjunct professors, and legal writing instructors (even those who are tenured/tenure-track) parallels other published studies in this arena. See Deo, *supra* note 2, at 377 n.167 (citing Herma Hill Kay, *U.C.'s Women Law Faculty*, 36 U.C. DAVIS L.REV. 331 (2003) and Marina Angel, *Women in Legal Education: What It's Like to Be Part of a Perpetual First Wave or the Case of the Disappearing Women*, 61 TEMP. L. REV. 799, 803 (1988)); Deborah Jones Merritt & Barbara F. Reskin, *Sex, Race, and Credentials: The Truth About Affirmative Action in Law Faculty Hiring*, 97 COLUM. L. REV. 199, 206 (1997); Elyce H. Zenoff & Kathryn V. Lorio, *What We Know, What We Think We Know, And What We Don't Know About Women Law Professors*, 25 ARIZ. L. REV. 869, 871-72 (1984) (counting only tenure-track faculty, defined as "professor, associate professor, or assistant professor, unmodified by any other term such as adjunct, clinical, visiting, or emeritus" and noting that "[l]ibrarians, although usually tenure-track, were excluded because they constitute a distinct career line"). In addition, historically Black institutions were not included in the sample, as faculty from those institutions also tend to have significantly different experiences than those at predominantly white schools. See Douglas A. Guiffrida, *Othermothering as a Framework for Understanding African American Students' Definitions of Student-Centered Faculty*, 76 J. HIGHER EDUC. 701, 701-03 (2005).

research from vulnerable or hard-to-reach populations.⁶⁰ First, a *seed group* of faculty members was selected to participate based largely on their diversity across a number of dimensions, including race/ethnicity, gender, institutional ranking, geographic region of employment, tenure status, and employment title/position.⁶¹ Every participant completed a survey, which asked about interactions with colleagues and students, sources of emotional and professional support, future career aspirations, and a range of attitudinal and experiential issues. A one-on-one interview followed, where research subjects answered more nuanced questions regarding professional interactions, entry to the legal academy, mentoring relationships, work/life balance, and sources of support.

The penultimate question on the survey asked each participant to nominate others to join the study; new participants were then carefully selected from this pool of nominated faculty to ensure not only that all eligibility characteristics were satisfied, but also to maintain the robust diversity of the original sample.⁶² Thus, as the potential sample grew throughout data collection based on nominations of every new participant, selections and corrections could be made to ensure the generalizability of the final sample. This painstaking nomination-plus-selection process yielded the 93 participants in the study, who were selected to represent the full range of diversity in legal academia. This methodological approach is the most viable and sound process for this type of study, as there is no central database of women of color law faculty

⁶⁰ See Deo, *supra* note 2, at 379-80 (discussing research employing this methodological technique by the following renowned scholars: Katherine Browne, *Snowball Sampling: Using Social Networks to Research Non-heterosexual Women*, 8 INT'L J. SOC. RES. METHODOLOGY 47 (2005); Leo A. Goodman, *Snowball Sampling*, 32 ANN. MATH. STAT. 148 (1961); D.D. Heckathorn, *Respondent-Driven Sampling: A New Approach to the Study of Hidden Populations*, 44 SOC. PROBLEMS 174, 175 (1997); J.K. Watters & P. Biernacki, *Targeted Sampling: Options and Considerations for the Study of Hidden Populations*, 36 SOC. PROBLEMS 416, 420 (1989)).

⁶¹ The original, or "seed," participants were purposefully selected to be diverse with regard to these characteristics and these domains were formally tracked while selecting additional participants from among those nominated. In addition, age, sexual orientation, and disability status were loosely tracked to ensure representation in the sample.

⁶² While one critique of snowball sampling is that the sample may not be truly representative, target sampling seeks to avoid bias by painstakingly tracking numerous domains in order to ensure representation in the final sample. This methodological approach is most commonly used in hidden or vulnerable populations that are unlikely to respond to "cold" or uninvited contact from a researcher. Though critics may still believe the final sample is not as representative as a truly random sample, the target snowball sampling technique was utilized in DLA because it was the best way to ensure participation from the "vulnerable" population of women of color legal academics. For more on the sampling technique and its use in DLA, see Deo, *supra* note 2, at 379-82.

members.⁶³ All participants were assigned pseudonyms; these are used in the findings section in lieu of actual names to preserve anonymity.

The diverse participants in the DLA study thus represent various faculty positions, from Assistant Professor to Dean Emeritus, ranging from highly selective to “access” schools, in every region of the country. The sample also has robust gender and racial/ethnic representation, with participation from both women and men who self-identify as White, African American, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American, Middle Eastern, and Multiracial.⁶⁴ Because of the intersectional (race/gender) focus of the study, women of color were oversampled and represent the *core sample*, comprising 63 of the 93 participants. Comparative samples of white men, white women, and men of color are included to add perspective and place the intersectional experience in context. Detailed race and gender statistics are provided in Table 1.

⁶³ While there is an AALS Directory of Law Teachers that allows law faculty of color to “opt in,” this would be problematic as an original pool of possible participants because it is likely underinclusive (not all law faculty of color opt in) in potentially meaningful ways (those who opt out may have significant differences from those who opt in, which would not be reflected in a pool drawn only from the Directory). In addition, the names listed there are not disaggregated by gender or ethnicity; thus, it is not comprehensive or particularly useful for an intersectional study of how race/gender affect the law faculty experience. *Directory of Law Teachers*, ASS’N OF AM. L. SCHS., www.aals.org/about/publications/directory-law-teachers/ (last visited Feb. 26, 2015).

⁶⁴ Racial/ethnic categorization is always challenging, in part because it is a social construction. See, e.g., Ian F. Haney Lopez, *The Social Construction of Race: Some Observations on Illusion, Fabrication, and Choice*, 29 HARV. C.R.-C.L. L. REV. 1, 3 (1994). DLA uses self-identification of participants in both the survey and interview. The terms “African American” and “Black” are used interchangeably throughout the Article to refer to those who self-identified using those terms. Participants who identified as “API,” “Asian,” “Asian American,” or within one of the pan-ethnic Asian-American identities are identified as “Asian American,” while those who self-identified as “Latino” or “Hispanic” are referred to as “Latino.” Those who identified only as “white” are identified as such in the Article. Multiracial participants are those who self-identified as having two or more racial/ethnic backgrounds.

TABLE 1. DLA PARTICIPANTS, BY RACE & GENDER, DLA 2013
(N=93)

	Male	Female	TOTAL
Black	4 (4.3%)	21 (22.6%)	25 (26.9%)
Asian/Pacific Islander	3 (3.2%)	15 (16.1%)	18 (19.4%)
Latino	2 (2.2%)	13 (14.0%)	15 (16.1%)
Native American	1 (1.0%)	5 (5.4%)	6 (6.5%)
Middle Eastern	1 (1.0%)	2 (2.25)	3 (4.4%)
Multiracial	1 (1.0%)	7 (7.5%)	8 (8.6%)
White	7 (7.5%)	11 (11.8%)	18 (19.4%)
TOTAL	19	74	93

C. Demographic Details of Current Law Faculty

Current statistics on law faculty guided the DLA selection process with regard to race and gender. Until 2009, the Association of American Law Schools (AALS) released basic demographic data on American law faculty, including race and gender statistics (See Table 2; also presented visually as Chart 1).⁶⁵ While these are not completely up to date, no more-recent disaggregated statistics were available to guide the DLA study at its inception.⁶⁶ It is especially unfortunate that current statistics have not been available because legal academia is currently in a state of flux, with severe admissions declines,⁶⁷ significant

⁶⁵ See 2008-2009 AALS Statistical Report on Law Faculty: Race and Ethnicity, *supra* note 12.

⁶⁶ While the American Bar Association (ABA) does release current statistics on lawyers by profession (including statistics on legal academics) it did not until 2015 disaggregate data by race/ethnicity and gender. Thus, at the inception of the DLA study, it was impossible to use ABA data to determine the number or percentages of women of color law faculty. For recent data, see *Total Female Staff & Faculty Members 2012-2013*, AM. BAR ASS'N., (2012-2013), available at http://www.americanbar.org/content/dam/aba/administrative/legal_education_and_admissions_to_the_bar/statistics/2012_2013_faculty_by_gender_ethnicity.authcheckdam.pdf.

⁶⁷ See BRIAN Z. TAMANAHA, FAILING LAW SCHOOLS 162 (2012); Luz E. Herrera, *Educating Main Street Lawyers*, 63 J. LEGAL EDUC. 189, 209 (2013); Philip G.

curricular changes expected and employed,⁶⁸ and budgetary constrictions affecting faculty hiring and firing.⁶⁹ Though faculty diversity may actually draw more prospective students in and keep current students in school, women of color, men of color, and white women tend to occupy the least secure positions on most law school campuses. Thus, the statistics on current law faculty do not fully reflect today's challenges. Still, with no superior data available, selection loosely tracked the AALS statistics with an oversampling of women of color to capture their full experience based on their importance to the intersectional lens employed, and additional oversampling of particular groups as necessary to include a robust set of perspectives.⁷⁰

If one simply considers the numbers, significant gender and racial disparities remain in legal academia, with only 4,091 women legal academics (37%) and only 1,632 people of color (15%) out of 10,965 total. When considering the intersection of race and gender, the numeric inequalities are even more pronounced. Almost every racial/ethnic group has slightly more men than women, though the ratio of white men (5,090) to white women (2,741) is almost 2:1. Consolidating all women of color into one group, we see that there are only 772 women of color law faculty members, out of almost 11,000 total legal academics; thus, women of color represent just 7% of all law professors.⁷¹ Of these 772 women of color law faculty members, African American women comprise the highest percentage, followed by Latinas and Asian/Pacific Islander women (APIs). Multiracial women, Native American women, and those from other non-white racial groups are only marginally represented in legal academia.

Schrag, *Failing Law Schools—Brian Tamanaha's Misguided Missile*, 26 GEO. J. LEGAL ETHICS 387, 421 (2013).

⁶⁸ California has been a front-runner in this arena, with new requirements that law schools incorporate skills-based learning into the curriculum and that new attorneys complete mandatory pro bono work within a year of graduation. The California Bar Journal has been carefully following these developments. See, e.g., Laura Ernde, *Panel Outlines Plan to Amend Rules for Attorney Training*, CAL. BAR J. (Jan. 2014), available at <http://calbarjournal.com/January2014/TopHeadlines/TH4.aspx>.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., Jones & Smith, *supra* note 4.

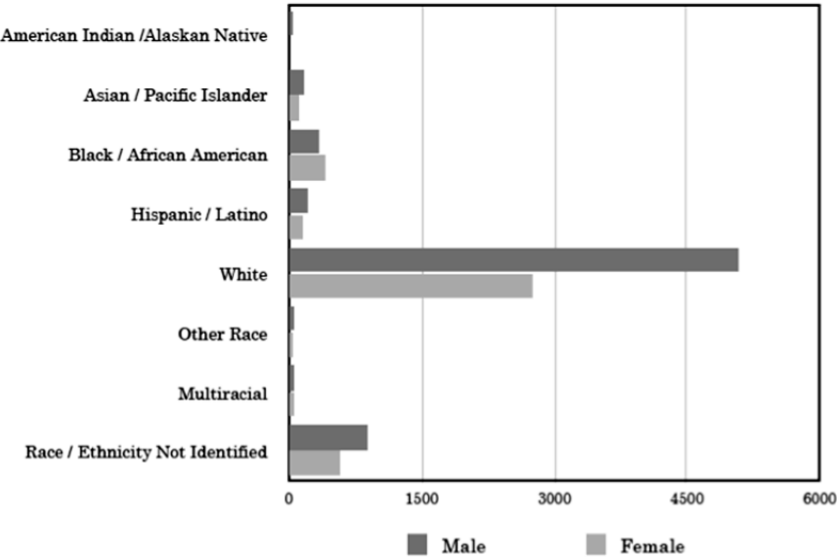
⁷⁰ For example, Native American women were especially oversampled; otherwise, as they comprise only .5% of legal academics, this population would have been empirically excluded from the sample.

⁷¹ The numbers are likely much smaller when we consider tenured and tenure-track women, since we know that "as the status of a job within a law faculty goes down, the percentage of women holding that position goes up; women 'disproportionately fill non-tenure-track positions.'" Resnick, *supra* note 32, at 568 (quoting Deborah Merritt, *Are Women Stuck on the Academic Ladder? An Empirical Perspective*, 10 UCLA WOMEN'S L.J. 249, 250 (2000)).

TABLE 2. LAW FACULTY, BY RACE & GENDER, AALS 2009
(N=10,965)

	Male	Female	TOTAL
American Indian/ Alaskan Native	30 (0.4%)	21 (0.5%)	51 (0.5%)
Asian/Pacific Islander	158 (2.3%)	112 (2.7%)	270 (2.5%)
Black/ African American	344 (5.0%)	409 (10.0%)	753 (6.9%)
Hispanic/Latino	199 (2.9%)	138 (3.4%)	337 (3.1%)
White	5090 (74.6%)	2741 (67.0%)	7831 (71.4%)
Other Race	67 (1.0%)	34 (0.8%)	101 (0.9%)
Multiracial	62 (0.9%)	58 (1.4%)	120 (1.1%)
Race/ Ethnicity Not Identified	869 (12.7%)	578 (14.1%)	1502 (13.7%)
TOTAL	6819 (100.0%)	4091 (100.0%)	10965 (100.0%)

GRAPH 1. LAW FACULTY BY RACE & GENDER, AALS 2009
(N=10,965)



Both hiring and retention invoke significant challenges within legal academia. The 2005 AALS Committee on the Recruitment and Retention of Minority Law Teachers reported not only that the “hiring gap between white and non-white faculty actually *increased* between 1990 and 1997,”⁷² but that there is a “widening ‘tenure gap’ between white faculty members and their colleagues of color,” with many faculty of color failing to achieve tenure within the time expected.⁷³ Understanding the qualitative experiences of law faculty, particularly women of color law faculty, is especially important since increasing positive encounters and interactions could yield greater retention rates for these faculty members and help diversify legal academia overall.

The primary purpose of this Article is to present and discuss various findings from the DLA study focused on relationships with faculty colleagues and interactions with students inside and outside of the classroom. Part II presents findings focused on these concerns, with regard to fellow faculty. Part III focuses on challenges from students in the classroom and elsewhere on campus. Part IV presents findings focused on solutions, with broader proposals discussed in the Conclusion. Though some of the survey data are presented in Tables, the DLA qualitative study findings are the principal focus of this Article.⁷⁴ Thus, the quantitative data are presented at the outset in order to frame the qualitative data that follows, which is the heart of the study and this Article.

⁷² Deo, *supra* note 2 (quoting AALS Committee Commentary, *The Racial Gap in the Promotion to Tenure of Law Professors: Report of the Committee on the Recruitment and Retention of Minority Law Teachers* 3 (2005)(“[b]oth the absolute number as well as the proportion of minority law professors hired decreased in 1996-97 from 1990-91.”) (on file with author)). For almost a decade, AALS publicized this report on their website at the following site: <http://www.aals.org/documents/racialgap.pdf>. Numerous recent articles continue to cite to it there. See, e.g., Angela Onwuachi-Willig, *Complimentary Discrimination and Complementary Discrimination in Faculty Hiring*, 87 WASH. U. L. REV. 763, 770 n.20 (2010); Russell G. Pearce et al., *Difference Blindness vs. Bias Awareness: Why Law Firms with the Best of Intentions Have Failed to Create Diverse Partnerships*, 83 FORDHAM L. REV. 2407, 2410 n.14 (2015); Carmen G. González, *Women of Color in Legal Education: Challenging the Presumption of Incompetence*, FED. LAW, July 2014, at 49, 57 n.5, available at http://www.upcolorado.com/excerpts/PresumedIncompetent_FederalLawyer.pdf. Just as with removal of the statistical data on law faculty members, no explanation has been provided as to why this Report was removed or when it might be reinstated on the website. Its removal limits access to information regarding this important and controversial topic and prevents widespread dissemination of the valuable suggestions proposed in the Report.

⁷³ Deo, *supra* note 2.

⁷⁴ The samples of white men, white women, and men of color are especially small and therefore less reliable; they should be used primarily as points of contrast to the data on women of color law faculty.

II. CHALLENGING RELATIONSHIPS WITH COLLEAGUES

"If we had a meeting and we needed a note taker there would be the turning of all eyes to whichever female was in the room and she would become the note taker." -Abigail

When aggregating DLA data on collegiality, it becomes clear that law faculty members report good relationships with colleagues overall, and frequent interactions with colleagues of different racial backgrounds. However, there is marked racial variation with regard to how faculty report on interactions with their colleagues and in terms of who is included in close-knit groups. For instance, white professors have the best relationships with other white professors, as 73% of white women and 75% of white men report "very friendly" interactions with their fellow white faculty (See Table 3). Although white faculty members report high levels of contact with colleagues from all racial backgrounds, the quality of those relationships varies depending on whose perspective we consider (See Table 4).

If we compare interactions between women of color and white faculty, the race and gender differences become clearer. Only 52% of Black women and 42% of Latinas in the sample report "very friendly" interactions with white faculty colleagues at their institutions. A full 24% of Black women law professors report "distant" relationships with white faculty. Interestingly, white faculty members do not see relationships with their female colleagues of color the same way. Instead, white faculty believe their relationships with faculty of color are much better than faculty of color view those same relationships. For example, Table 5 shows that in spite of one-quarter (24%) of Black female faculty characterizing their relationship with white faculty as "distant," no white male faculty and only one white female characterize relationships with African American colleagues similarly.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Though not presented analytically, it is highly unlikely that this difference in perception is due to Black male faculty being especially friendly with white faculty. Of the four Black men in the DLA sample, one reports "very friendly" interactions with white colleagues and the other three characterize them as "sociable." This is not a statistically reliable sample size, but is offered here as merely an example.

TABLE 3. QUALITY OF INTERACTIONS WITH WHITE FACULTY, BY
RACE & GENDER, DLA 2013 (N=92)

	Very Friendly	Sociable	Distant	Hostile	TOTAL
Black Females	11 (52.4%)	5 (23.8%)	5 (23.8%)	0 (0.0%)	21
Asian/ Pacific Islander Females	9 (60.0%)	5 (33.3%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)	15
Latinas	5 (41.7%)	6 (50.0%)	1 (8.3%)	0 (0.0%)	12
Native American Females	3 (60.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (20.0%)	5
Middle Eastern Females	0 (0.0%)	2 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2
Multi- racial Females	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	7
White Males	6 (75.0%)	2 (25.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	8
White Females	8 (72.7%)	3 (27.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	11
Men of Color	6 (54.5%)	4 (36.4%)	1 (9.1%)	0 (0.0%)	11
TOTAL	52	31	8	1	92

TABLE 4. FREQUENCY OF INTERACTIONS WITH WHITE FACULTY,
BY RACE & GENDER, DLA 2013 (N=92)

	A Lot	Some	Not Much	TOTAL
Black Females	16 (76.2%)	4 (19.1%)	1 (4.7%)	21
Asian/ Pacific Islander Females	13 (86.7%)	2 (13.3%)	0 (0.0%)	15
Latinas	10 (83.3%)	2 (16.7%)	0 (0.0%)	12
Native American Females	4 (80.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (20.0%)	5
Middle Eastern Females	2 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2
Multiracial Females	6 (85.7%)	1 (14.3%)	0 (0.0%)	7
White Males	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)	0 (0.0%)	8
White Females	11 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	11
Men of Color	10 (90.9%)	1 (9.1%)	0 (0.0%)	11
TOTAL	79	11	2	92

TABLE 5. QUALITY OF INTERACTIONS WITH BLACK FACULTY, BY
RACE & GENDER, DLA 2013 (N=91)

	Very Friendly	Sociable	Distant	Hostile	N/A	TOTAL
Black Females	14 (66.7%)	6 (28.6%)	1 (4.8%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	21
Asian/ Pacific Islander Females	12 (80.0%)	3 (20.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	15
Latinas	7 (58.3%)	5 (41.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	12
Native American Females	2 (40.0%)	1 (20.0%)	2 (40.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	5
Middle Eastern Females	1 (50.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (50.0%)	2
Multi- racial Females	6 (85.7%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (14.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	7
White Males	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	7
White Females	7 (63.6%)	3 (27.3%)	1 (9.1%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	11
Men of Color	9 (81.8%)	2 (18.2%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	11
TOTAL	62	23	5	0	1	91

While a number of faculty report positive interactions with colleagues, the qualitative data make clear that many female faculty of color see “cordial” relationships with white faculty as simply a mask of civility hiding friction; women of color law faculty are close primarily with other female faculty of color. Existing literature indicates that women of color often lack a sense of belonging when hired to teach at predominantly white and male-

normative law school campuses.⁷⁶ They often feel unwelcome in elite spaces that have traditionally excluded them, especially if no meaningful efforts are made to include them.⁷⁷ While the pleasant interactions may outnumber the hostile, the negative encounters tend to color the environment overall. In addition, many positive relationships are between women of color faculty, who enjoy especially friendly relations with others who share similar backgrounds, professional positions, or life experiences. Unfortunately, gender discrimination is especially salient from the data, both with regard to the invisibility and silencing of women as well as through blatant sexual harassment.⁷⁸

A. *The Mask of Collegiality*

"The first semester everyone was very welcoming [but] it was just kind of like I was their guest [in their] home. I was new and exotic and different." -Laila

Even in the qualitative data, most faculty report collegial interactions with colleagues. A Black female named Corinne notes that her law school is "a very civil place" where "we can really disagree," one day, "but then we can go out to lunch and hang out in someone's office the next day." Similarly, a white female named Abigail makes clear that her faculty "isn't full of cliques," but rather they "genuinely like each other and get together and are happy to see each other."

Corinne and Abigail are lucky to be so comfortable on their campuses. Unfortunately, many law schools are highly factionalized with different groups not getting along and often in direct opposition to one another. Because there are often blocs within law faculties that have very few women of color, these underrepresented individuals are frequently lost in the shuffle, becoming virtually invisible and silenced. For instance, a number of faculty agree with how Aisha, an Asian American law professor, describes her institution: "[T]he faculty at the law school is very polarized." Valeria, a Latina, sees something

⁷⁶ Research regarding women in legal academia include the many articles cited *supra* Part I.A. and Resnick, *supra* note 32. However, most of these studies do not focus on race in addition to gender, and all could certainly be updated to reflect current trends and patterns from the past decade or more.

⁷⁷ See, e.g., Angel, *supra* note 59.

⁷⁸ It is beyond the scope of this Article to explore in detail whether individual female faculty have viable sexual harassment claims. Nevertheless, characterizations of their work environments and descriptions of the incidents women have endured seem to rise to the level of sexual harassment, as defined by the law and in the literature. See, e.g., Vicki Schultz, *The Sanitized Workplace*, 112 YALE L.J. 2061, 2084-90 (2003) (providing a primer on workplace sexual harassment jurisprudence).

similar at her school and expects it is the norm, noting, “I think with every law school there are different factions.” In response to these tensions, Laura, a Native American, suggests that new law faculty “just avoid anybody who has negative karma [because] it’s not worth the time or effort to engage in a pointless discussion.” In this way, Laura disengages from her professional environment, determining that engaging is not worth the potential costs. Interestingly, the disengagement of underrepresented and disempowered law faculty parallels the alienation of law students of color, who face similar challenges during the three years of their law school careers.⁷⁹

1. On Being a Guest

Most female faculty of color are reticent at best in their interactions with colleagues. For instance, a Black woman named Michelle says that at her law school she is “cordial with everybody,” though she “purposely, consciously” maintains only “very professional relationship[s],” rather than close ones. Similarly, an Asian American named Elaine, states, “There are a lot of people I’m friendly with, but I don’t have close friends on the faculty.” In fact, this hesitancy at becoming close to fellow faculty comes from a general distrust that many white female faculty and especially female faculty of color have toward their colleagues overall, especially their white male colleagues.

Much of this distrust and distance comes from women of color recognizing that some of their colleagues may be focused on their own best interests, rather than looking out for others. Some have witnessed white male colleagues actively working against the interests of women of color faculty. This goes against the sense of community that many faculty seek, and which they often find with others whom they see as allies or who share similar backgrounds both within and outside of their institutions.⁸⁰

One of these frequently witnessed occurrences involves the negative treatment of junior women of color faculty, in comparison to the positive affirmations given to junior white male colleagues. For instance, an Asian American woman named Cindy recalls that when she first made a lateral move to her current institution, she “was treated like the dumb one, sort of [like an] ‘affirmative action hire’ in the worst sense of

⁷⁹ See, e.g., Meera E. Deo et al., *Struggles & Support: Diversity in U.S. Law Schools*, 23 NAT’L BLACK L.J. 71 (2010).

⁸⁰ For more on community-building within institutions as well as with those outside of the institution, see Meera E. Deo, *Mentors, Sponsors, and Allies in Legal Academia* (work in progress) (on file with the author).

the word,” while a white male colleague who started at the same time was treated like he “was the ‘real’ [hire].” That open display of favoritism affected her confidence initially; even she “felt like he was the real deal and I’m not,” though “as it turned out it was kind of opposite,” with Cindy earning tenure and becoming widely respected while her white male colleague did not achieve similar success.

Leanne, an Asian American law faculty member, notes the significant difference in “the support given particularly to young male professors” as compared to other junior scholars; this leads many of the junior white women and women of color to distrust their more senior colleagues who display this blatant favoritism. She provides a poignant example of a white male junior colleague “who went up early for promotion and tenure” with the support of many senior colleagues, while the two women who were hired the same year as he was were discouraged from applying early even though, when compared to “the golden guy,” they published at roughly equivalent rates. Leanne was similarly discouraged from applying for promotion by her Associate Dean for Faculty Development, the person tasked with helping faculty grow and advance. He told Leanne initially that she “needed to wait another year or two” before applying, although she feels “it’s ridiculous how long I’ve been waiting.” Now, that same senior administrator “keeps saying, ‘Oh you’re golden. You’re totally a cinch. Don’t worry about it.’ And I’m like, ‘Really? Because you worked really hard to tell me not to go up. You explicitly said I should not go up.’” Thus, in Leanne’s experience, even the senior administrator tasked with advancing the careers of the faculty cannot be fully trusted when it comes to the professional development of junior female faculty of color.

In fact, the theme of receiving poor advice from senior colleagues is another common one throughout the DLA data. A Black senior scholar named Brianna warns her junior female faculty colleagues against following the counsel they receive from senior colleagues, especially when it does not seem logical or consistent with what they say to others. She notes specifically that she tells young female faculty of color, “Don’t listen to any stupid advice about people telling you that you can take it easy [your first year]. You can’t take it easy.”⁸¹

⁸¹ In fact, when asked to provide advice for junior scholars, most senior scholars of color in the DLA study suggest that publishing prolifically from their very first year is a requirement especially for female faculty of color, fully expecting they may be judged with harsher standards and against higher expectations than white junior faculty.

Martha, a Latina, also makes clear the rationale for her arms-length relationships with faculty, stating that she tries “to keep things cordial and superficial,” but goes no further because “I have a hard time really trusting other faculty.” Martha has seen first-hand how some white faculty members utilize a mask of collegiality to hide the true negativity they feel toward faculty of color. In Martha’s many years of experience, her colleagues will not “tell you to your face that they don’t agree with what you said at the faculty meeting, or [say,] ‘I think your perspective on this is wrong or harsh.’” Instead of engaging in honest and face-to-face conversation about why they disagree, Martha notes how “they go around your back and say that to each other. And then label you as mean [or] unkind.” This labeling, and the “gossip and bad talk behind your back undermines your voice in a very significant way.” Now, she cannot simply speak her mind and engage in fruitful conversation with her colleagues about particular issues, topics, ideas, or suggestions she may have; instead, she has to “corral the right people at the table, get them to say the right things, get them to agree” in advance and pledge to back her up, or her voice will be ignored. She believes that her past attempts at “just saying what I think is the truth or what needs to be said” has led to her being “undercut [by] people who talk about you behind your back.” After experiencing this environment for years, Martha protects herself by either disengaging or strategically ensuring that she has the requisite support in advance.

Many women of color have similar experiences with colleagues, leading to the current distrust that characterizes faculty relationships. Alicia, a Latina, also says that it is common at her institution for her white faculty colleagues to act friendly towards the faculty of color to their faces, but “behind closed doors” there is the “[d]enigration of the person’s work, their scholarship or their teaching.” In fact, the existing literature suggests that Critical Race Theory, feminist legal scholarship, and other social justice-oriented research is often devalued by many faculty colleagues at legal institutions, though many women and people of color gravitate toward that work as central to and validating of their own experiences.⁸² Alicia recounts recent conversations where “several people came to my office and said, ‘Did you know that so and so goes around speaking ill of X?’ and then they said, ‘And so and so is

⁸² Tara J. Yosso, *Whose Culture has Capital? A Critical Race Theory Discussion of Community Cultural Wealth*, 8 RACE ETHNICITY & ED. 69 (2005).

also speaking ill of Y and Z.” It turns out that “X,” “Y,” and “Z” are all people of color whom Alicia’s colleagues did not support for promotion. Alicia notes that “there were two African Americans and one Latina who were up [for promotion]. All three of them were targeted.” While she did her best to protect them, this produced great anxiety for Alicia even though she herself was already tenured. In fact, perhaps because she was already tenured, she felt the need to do whatever she could to protect those being bad-mouthed by her colleagues, although she did not know how best to proceed. She “didn’t know which one was going to survive [the character assassination attempts] because . . . it’s random at some level. Everybody has weaknesses. Everybody has strengths.” She saw her colleagues as playing on particular stereotypes about people of color to target those applying for promotion, but agonized over how best to tailor her response and even over whether one would be productive; she wondered, “When is the subtle stoking of the stereotypes going to succeed and when is it not? I can’t always predict.”

For Laila, a Middle Eastern woman, distrust of her colleagues stems from the troubling shift in climate soon after she started her tenure-track position. While her initial reception as a “guest” may have been based on her “exotic” racial background, things got worse by the second semester:

The first semester everyone was very welcoming [but] it was just kind of like I was their guest [in their] home. I was new and exotic and different and I was, you know, energetic and they thought, “That’s so neat!” “This new person!” Sort of fresh blood. Then second semester I think jealousy sort of set in and I really sensed it. I got to the point [where] I didn’t even want anyone to know what I had accomplished because . . . instead of being complimented it was like you would get these very negative looks.

Laila’s initial reception as a “guest” as a woman of color faculty member on a predominantly white campus is not unusual. In fact, some have felt their unusual presence or interloper status was more akin to an “intruder” than a guest. For example, one contributor to *Presumed Incompetent* writes of a common feature of most law schools today: the lobby wall with numerous portraits of “dead white males and some living ones” memorializing famous and respected former faculty members, alumni, and donors to the school;⁸³ she feared these sentries noted her entry as a faculty member when she first began law

⁸³ Adrien Katherine Wing, *Lessons from a Portrait: Keep Calm and Carry On*, in *PRESUMED INCOMPETENT: THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS FOR WOMEN IN ACADEMIA*, *supra* note 25, at 356, 359-60.

teaching and she could virtually hear them silently “screaming—intruder alert.”⁸⁴

2. Birds of a Feather

In addition to the general sense of distrust and resulting preference for distance from most faculty, it is also common for women of color to seek out for closer relationships those colleagues who come from similar backgrounds, share similar professional experiences, or may otherwise have similar world-views. Valeria, a Latina law professor, is closest to the other junior faculty at her law school, though even those relationships are not especially close; she notes that they “do things outside the office every now and again, so it’s very collegial.” Vijay, an Asian American male, says that he and his fellow junior colleagues “talk a lot about issues: faculty governance issues, difficult votes, how things are going in the classroom, we socialize together, we are just a good group.” In this way, junior faculty often stick together, perhaps recognizing their unity through a shared lack of job security and other ways in which their professional position bonds them together.

Vivian, an Asian American law professor, is picky about her professional relationships, specifying, “I do have very strong relationships with particular colleagues.” Erin, a Native American woman, similarly notes that she has “some good friends” and sees her law school as “a really wonderful environment.”⁸⁵ She is “particularly close to my African American male colleague and my [white] lesbian colleague because sometimes I just think that they get things better than colleagues who are not necessarily from those backgrounds.” Here, Erin alludes to her shared experience with colleagues who come from backgrounds that have been traditionally un(der)-represented in legal academia and marginalized in society generally, noting that their shared perspective or world view may help them relate to Erin’s experiences as a female Native American law professor.

A number of female faculty of color agree with the sentiment that Annalisa, an Asian American, expresses about

⁸⁴ *Id.* While the challenges associated with faculty hiring are not discussed in depth in this Article, they are worthy of further study as a barrier to entry for faculty of color. Preliminary analyses of DLA data do show that institutional bias may thwart diversity in legal academia. Deo, *Trajectory of a Law Professor*, *supra* note 11.

⁸⁵ This is especially wonderful for Erin given the horrific experiences she endured as a female faculty of color in her first tenure-track position at a different law school. *See infra*, Part II.B.2.

the ways in which her female faculty of color colleagues provided her with the support necessary to sustain her through various professional challenges; she says, "I was able to survive because I had a core group of professors who were my friends, and we challenged each other's work and also provided moral support." Grace, a multiracial woman, provides specifics. She recounts a time when her Dean was providing summer funding for faculty to "develop these innovative ways of teaching, and one of the Associate Deans said to me, 'I told the Dean not to give you that [money because you] would do it anyway, so we don't need to pay you to do it because you'll do it anyway.'" Her Associate Dean was correct that Grace's strong investment in the school meant that she would do the work even without the monetary incentive; however, his candid interest in taking advantage of her commitment made Grace go "crazy with that whole assumption [that he] thought that was an appropriate way to think about creating incentives for faculty." She did not take it up directly with the Associate Dean, who is white, but called two colleagues "who are both people of color, both women, to talk through [it,]" and they both "totally [were able to] understand" her disappointment and disillusionment. She makes her first calls after these sorts of incidents to colleagues she trusts both "to make sure that the way I'm reacting is appropriate" and also "to figure out strategies for how to respond and what to do." Because she ultimately got summer funding that year, she decided to not pursue the matter further, but "it still pisses me off." Imani, a Black female, agrees, stating, "I would say my closest relationships are with the female faculty, particularly the three or four female faculty of color that we have." Thus, while faculty are cordial with one another, this civility masks underlying distrust and distance. Of notable exception are the close relationships female faculty of color have with one another and other underrepresented and often marginalized faculty members at their institutions whom they draw on for support.⁸⁶

B. Invisibility/Silencing and Sexual Harassment

"I've counted over 10 times on my faculty where I've said something and [nobody has responded; then] a male faculty has repeated it and another male colleague has said, 'Good idea!'" -Carla

⁸⁶ Meera E. Deo, *Sources of Support for Legal Academics* (work in progress) (on file with author).

The experiences of a number of female faculty participants in DLA reveal that gender discrimination continues to be a serious problem in legal academia. In fact, the white- and male-normative law school environment has been studied in both the student and faculty context. As students, “[w]hite males are the primary focus of classroom attention,”⁸⁷ often at the expense of women of color, men of color, and white women. Women students tend to be “called on less frequently than men,” and their comments are often met with skepticism or sometimes ignored outright.⁸⁸

The law faculty experience is quite similar, as documented in the existing literature. White women faculty and especially women of color professors rarely “enjoy the status, authority, and opportunity equal to that of white men working in the legal academy.”⁸⁹ There are ongoing racial and gender “disparities in terms of pay, tenure denials, and employment at the most elite law schools, in addition to double standards in assessing identical credentials.”⁹⁰ Likely because of this bias, women of color—who are viewed by others and often consider themselves to be “outsiders” in the white male culture of legal academia—have lower retention rates than white men.⁹¹

The DLA data confirms and elaborates on these past studies, specifically documenting ongoing gender concerns relating to invisibility/silencing and outright sexual harassment.⁹² In fact, the importance of relationships forged with those similarly situated—especially friendships between female faculty of color—seem to parallel the ways in which law students of color rely on their peers and the broad supportive structures within student organizations that provide them with social, cultural, and emotional support to sustain them.⁹³

⁸⁷ Deo, *supra* note 19, at 78 (quoting Nancy E. Dowd et al., *Diversity Matters: Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in Legal Education*, 15 U. FLA. J.L. & PUB. POL’Y 11, 27 (2003)).

⁸⁸ Resnick, *supra* note 32, at 570 (citing Catherine Weiss & Louise Melling, *The Legal Education of Twenty Women*, 40 STAN. L. REV. 1299, 1299-1300 (1988)).

⁸⁹ Resnick, *supra* note 32, at 564.

⁹⁰ Barnes & Mertz, *supra* note 6, at 512.

⁹¹ *Id.*

⁹² This Article neither defines the standards for a formal sexual harassment claim nor asserts that participants in the DLA study have formal legal grounds for a suit. The term is used broadly to refer to extreme gender-based exclusion and work conditions that provide challenges for women to succeed.

⁹³ For more on peer mentorship and organizational mentorship for law students of color, see Deo & Griffin, *supra* note 8, at 311 (“[M]entorship is also positively associated with the mentee’s likelihood of retention.”).

1. Mansplaining and Whitesplaining

As an example of the male-centered workplace, a Black woman named Imani notes the numerous “times where I felt like some of the male colleagues look at themselves as above others and [are] not always respectful of others’ contributions.” Trisha, a Black female, blames these tensions for her current “extremely marginalized” position among her colleagues. In fact, the invisibility of women and especially women of color is stark. As a contributor to *Presumed Incompetent* notes of her first appointment as a legal academic, “I can recall being almost invisible . . . I seemed not to exist” to the other faculty members.⁹⁴ Many female faculty of color who participated in the DLA study shared similar experiences. Jennifer, a Native American, embodies this invisibility, in spite of her good-humored response to it:

[In] the four and half years I’ve been here there’s a couple of people I haven’t even had a conversation with. And they don’t look at me. They don’t acknowledge me. They don’t seem to know who I am [laughing]. [They] just treat me like a non-entity.⁹⁵

Elaine, an Asian American senior member of her law school faculty, echoes Jennifer’s remarks, noting that she has one faculty colleague “who really has never acknowledged my presence.”

Male domination is most prominent during faculty meetings at many institutions, where silencing is especially pronounced. As a Native American woman named Melissa notes, “There is that silencing that goes on in our faculty meetings.” She describes what she considers an affirming, almost welcoming “hazing” ritual for her junior white male colleagues that was never offered to her and the other women, “where junior white males . . . get coddled, get laughed at, get remarks made, get floor time, get affirmations, and the women don’t ever.” This is one way in which the male-dominant culture of law school is reproduced and perpetuated.

Both inside and outside the workplace, a woman’s ideas, suggestions, or observations may be ignored until a man explains (or more frequently, simply repeats) her thoughts; sometimes the man honestly believes himself to be the one full

⁹⁴ Ruth Gordon, *On Community in the Midst of Hierarchy (and Hierarchy in the Midst of Community)*, in *PRESUMED INCOMPETENT: THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS FOR WOMEN IN ACADEMIA*, *supra* note 25, at 313, 327.

⁹⁵ Jennifer repeats this experience laughingly, and notes her overall experience as positive; though there are a number of objectively problematic encounters in her narrative, she has chosen to respond to them with humor and also copes by seeking escape with large swaths of time spent with her tribe.

of knowledge and ideas, virtually unaware of the woman's comments before voicing them as his own. This common occurrence, outside of legal academia as well as within, falls into the "archipelago of arrogance"⁹⁶ referred to as "mansplaining."⁹⁷ Mansplaining is an occurrence that many women readily recognize from their own experience of "having their expertise instantly dismissed because of the lady-shaped package it came in."⁹⁸ Mansplaining occurs at "the intersection between overconfidence and cluelessness," where some men repeat what women have already stated, claiming those statements as their own, and others accept and applaud, giving credit to the man who repeated the words rather than the woman who created them.⁹⁹ Rebecca Solnit, the author who pioneered the ongoing public debate over mansplaining (if not the term itself), shares that when men take it upon themselves to interpret for women or explain to women, they assume that a woman is simply "an empty vessel to be filled with their wisdom and knowledge," forgetting that women may even know more than the man himself on a particular topic.¹⁰⁰ Thus, before women can even provide arguments to support their worthy ideas, they must first fight "simply for the right to speak, to have ideas, to be acknowledged to be in possession of facts and truth, to have value, to be a human being."¹⁰¹ The many challenges associated with being heard, regardless of what is being said, "keeps women from speaking up and from being heard when they dare [or] crushes young women into silence by indicating . . . that this is not their world."¹⁰²

Mansplaining is sadly alive and well in legal academia, where many women receive the signal that they are unwelcome or do not belong, and so should know their place and remain silent.¹⁰³ As an example, a Latina named Carla notes, "I've

⁹⁶ Rebecca Solnit, *Tomgram: Rebecca Solnit, The Archipelago of Arrogance*, TOMDISPATCH.COM (Apr. 13, 2008, 6:14 AM), <http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/174918>.

⁹⁷ See, e.g., Jessica Valenti, *Mansplaining, Explained: 'Just Ask an Expert. Who is Not a Lady'*, GUARDIAN (June 6, 2014, 7:18 AM), <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jun/06/mansplaining-explained-expert-women>.

⁹⁸ Helen Lewis, *The Essay that Launched the Term "Mansplaining,"* NEW REPUBLIC (July 4, 2014), <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/118555/rebecca-solnits-men-explain-things-me-scourge-mansplaining>.

⁹⁹ Rebecca Solnit, *Why Mansplaining is Still a Problem*, ALTERNET.COM (Aug. 12, 2012), <http://www.alternet.org/why-mansplaining-still-problem>.

¹⁰⁰ Solnit, *supra* note 96.

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

¹⁰² *Id.*

¹⁰³ In fact, it seems prevalent throughout academia generally, given that there is a website dedicated to academic mansplaining, *Academic Men Explain Things To Me, Where Women Recount Their Experiences of Being Mansplained*, in *Academia and Elsewhere*, <http://mansplained.tumblr.com> (last visited Feb. 2, 2015).

counted over 10 times on my faculty where I've said something and [nobody has responded; then] a male faculty has repeated it and another male colleague has said, 'Good idea!'" Again, this provides weight, acknowledgment, and appreciation for men while devaluing women.¹⁰⁴ Elaine, an Asian American, has had a very similar experience at her institution. She recalls, "I went through the stages of saying things at a faculty meeting and no one paid attention to it and then a man would say it and then everyone would pay attention to it." In this way, once a man explained and validated Elaine's remarks, others noted and appreciated them—albeit mistaking them for being first articulated by a male faculty member rather than by Elaine.

Combining the intersectional framework with the concept of mansplaining, we can consider how "*whitesplaining*" may also be relevant in legal academia. Smita, an Asian American, gets the sense that what she says "would carry more weight with the faculty if it were being said by white people." This is true whether she talks "about the importance of diversity or whatever else. We don't hear it enough from my white colleagues, even those who consider themselves progressive. So there is a sense of your voice being discounted in a lot of respects." Thus, white validation of Smita's suggestions or observations would give them more weight than when Smita makes them on her own. For women of color the invisibility/silencing and discrimination may be doubly and even cumulatively challenging—mansplaining multiplied by whitesplaining—because it is based on both race and gender.¹⁰⁵

Surprisingly, many gender disparities in legal academia, especially the devaluing of women, are particularly notable when compared to women's experiences in corporate law practice.¹⁰⁶ Many women participants in the DLA study specifically note that they did not experience such pronounced gender discrimination in legal practice, even when working at elite law firms.¹⁰⁷ Camila, a Latina scholar, says her "biggest

¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., Resnick, *supra* note 32, at 570-71.

¹⁰⁵ For more on how intersectionality creates not only additive but cumulative effects, see Delgado & Stefancic, *supra* note 29.

¹⁰⁶ In terms of numeric representation, diversity in law firms at the associate level is slightly better though similar to that of legal academia with roughly 11% women of color, 10% men of color, and 33% white women. Yet, representation at the partnership level leaves a lot to be desired with only 2% women of color, 5% men of color, and 18% white women. *Perspectives on Diversity*, NALP BULLETIN (June 2014), <http://www.nalp.org/0614research>.

¹⁰⁷ The corporate law firm realm has its own issues with gender discrimination. Some DLA participants reflect on those issues as well. For instance, Abigail notes, "I worked for the largest law firm in the city at the time and was one of just a few females. One of the litigation partners downtown told me that 'litigation is

challenge” in law teaching involved the cultural transition from being respected in legal practice to being virtually ignored by her colleagues in legal academia; this involved, “going from a place where I felt that my opinion was valued, work was valued, partners listened to me with respect,” to being at an institution where her colleagues “don’t want to hear what you say, people talk over you in faculty meetings, . . . or make faces while you’re talking.” She notes that “this kind of incredibly immature behavior” is gender-based, targeted specifically at the women by the men on her faculty.

Zahra, a Middle Eastern woman, recalls a meeting about faculty hiring where women voiced gender concerns that others pretended to care about, but ultimately ignored:

[S]everal of us junior colleagues were concerned about how a new [potential] hire was going to interact with women, and specifically we had heard complaints that he doesn’t work well with women. There were, you know, four of us [women] that expressed things in the appointments committee meeting, saying, “Look, we are concerned about this,” and some of the male colleagues acted like they cared; they said, “Well, you know, that sounds disappointing and we wouldn’t want that,” but everyone voted for him anyway [aside from the four of us women and two male junior colleagues].

That candidate was ultimately hired and will be starting at Zahra’s law school shortly. While she is approaching her new colleague with an open mind, she learned something about her existing colleagues because of the incident, noting that “it was just surprising that . . . we made our worries known, but [were] ignored. No one cared.” This speaks not only to gender bias but also the prevalence of expressing a “surface” interest in diversifying without recognizing this goal as a “core” priority, and thereby failing to act in a manner representing a true commitment to diversity.¹⁰⁸ Abigail, a senior white legal scholar, remembers that in the early days of her career in legal academia, adherence to traditional gender roles was expected. Women were clearly meant to take on subservient, silent roles. As an example, she recalls the following: “If we had a meeting and we needed a note taker there would be the turning of all

like war, honey, and you just don’t send women into combat.” See also Lisa van der Pool, *Big Law Firms Wrestle with Gender Discrimination Suits*, BOS. BUS. J. (Feb. 15, 2013, 6:00 AM), <http://www.bizjournals.com/boston/print-edition/2013/02/15/big-law-firms-wrestle-with-gender.html?page=all>. This Article does not attempt to minimize the concerns of women working in corporate law firms; rather, it simply points out that some women participants in DLA recognize that gender discrimination may be even more pronounced in legal academia.

¹⁰⁸ Rebecca K. Lee, *Core Diversity*, 19 TEMP. POL. & CIV. RTS. L. REV. 477, 479-80 (2010) (discussing “surface” versus “core” diversity ideals in the workplace).

eyes to whichever female was in the room and she would become the note taker.” Some of these expectations continue today; as a white woman named Ava notes, “[S]ome of the senior colleagues in the building . . . treat me as a ‘gal’ and not as an intellectual equal.”

2. Causes of the Clyde Ferguson Syndrome

In fact, though many senior women recall the gender challenges pervasive through the early days of their teaching careers, even those who entered legal academia in more recent years have faced what could readily be described as a hostile work environment.¹⁰⁹ Ava, a white woman who entered legal academia about 15 years ago, recounted how her law school Dean “hit on me.” Ava’s Dean (who had recently divorced) invited Ava to what she thought was a professional lunch; he then professed his feelings for her:

He asked if I was dating anybody. He made this big point of saying, “I hope you know it wouldn’t be appropriate to date because I’m your boss, but I find you really attractive and awesome. And if I could I would really be interested in dating you.”

Ava’s response at the time was characteristic of young professional women in her situation: “[I]t made me really uncomfortable and I was shocked, because he was my boss, that he would make it clear he was interested in me romantically.” This incident occurred before Ava earned tenure (which happened after this particular Dean left her institution).

Similarly, a white woman named Isabella recalls an incident that occurred soon after she joined legal academia a decade ago at an institution that she has since left: “One of my first faculty meetings there I spoke out on an issue and didn’t realize women were meant to be seen and not heard.” She remembers that one of her white male colleagues approached her afterward to say, “Wow! You’re really articulate!” And that stunned me because I thought all of us on the law faculty would be articulate, but it really took this faculty member aback” that a woman had spoken up and spoken so well. Reflecting on the experience today, Isabella acknowledges, “There were some real serious gender issues while I was there.”

¹⁰⁹ Again, this Article does not seek to outline strategies for filing formal sexual harassment claims against institutions based on a hostile workplace, though further research should be done to determine whether these common experiences are actionable.

A Latina law professor named Lola recounts a challenging time professionally for her, when she was denied promotion at her school. Though she suffered greatly, she says that “no one at school knew the pain and the betrayal I was feeling and that was incredibly exhausting to come to work every day and pretend like nothing was wrong.” She relied on family and friends “for that relief of the stress and disappointment and all of that.” She did not share her disillusionment with her faculty colleagues because “[a]t work . . . I have relationships, but again I don’t fully trust people here.”

When a Black law professor named Patrice was asked about the tenure process she had recently gone through, she replied, “Oh my god. [Sigh.] I have post-traumatic stress disorder.” In part, she faced a challenge common to many scholars of color and others who are underrepresented in the legal academy and choose to focus on identity issues dear to them personally as part of their scholarship. As Patrice recounts it, “we have these white guys on the faculty who are really not . . . they’re hostile to race work.” She knew their perspective even before she applied for tenure and contemplated how that might affect her work, thinking it “was tricky because I wanted to be able to do the work I wanted to do but I also wanted tenure, right?” One coping mechanism she employed was not to share her work with her colleagues, though Patrice is at an institution where it is common for junior faculty to give regular talks to the full faculty. In general, the frequent presentations of scholarship in a nascent stage are beneficial to the presenter; as Patrice puts it, “[I]n this setting the critiques are constructive to help you get to the next point.” Yet, because her scholarship included issues of race and ethnicity, some of her white male colleagues were not constructive, but instead the purpose of their “critiques [was] to shut it down and steer you in a different direction.” So she made a calculated decision to disengage, to not present her work to the faculty. Though Patrice lost the benefit of potentially constructive feedback from some colleagues, she kept her sanity throughout her junior faculty years. She notes that as “an effort to be true to myself and just to sleep at night I felt like I had to just do it, [avoid presenting,] stay in my head with it which is also just very difficult and not particularly fulfilling as a place to be as an academic.”

Patrice is one of the many DLA participants who admitted to serious health effects resulting from pursuing a career as a law professor. For instance, a Native American woman named

Melissa notes, "I find myself missing more days from illness and being a lot more stressed with no breaks." In fact, the most frequent comment along these lines echoes Patrice's admission that she felt she had PTSD.¹¹⁰ Existing scholarship has shown that many marginalized women of color faculty members enduring all manner of challenging situations believe that remaining silent is "the key to [their] survival in academia."¹¹¹ Many make the calculated decision not to speak out or find other coping mechanisms that allow them to function professionally. However, this self-censorship and self-silencing, the tendency to "bite your tongue and make no sound when you want to speak," can itself exert a significant emotional toll.¹¹² In fact, some scholars have tied the emotional challenges facing traditional outsiders in legal academia with ill-health and even untimely death; this has been termed "the Clyde Ferguson Syndrome" after the early passing of the revered Harvard Law School professor, a Black man who endured great challenges professionally that many believe affected his health significantly.¹¹³

Carla, a Latina law professor, may currently be enduring the Clyde Ferguson Syndrome herself. For years she has been putting into practice a professional strategy that she adopted after watching the relative downfall of a senior woman of color colleague. Recently, Carla "was supposed to be on research leave," but found out just weeks before that it was being rescinded. As she tells it, "[M]y Academic Dean called me and said, 'You can't go on research leave. You have to chair [a particular] committee.'" While some may have been flattered to be asked to be Chair of high profile committee, Carla saw the situation as a requirement that she continue institutional housekeeping, noting, "I've been in this long enough to know that's not really a compliment; that means someone needs to stay and clean the house [and] it's going to be you." In spite of

¹¹⁰ Bianca, a Latina, offers a useful strategy for combatting the challenges of being a woman of color law professor: "I balance the stresses of my job by being physically active."

¹¹¹ Angela Onwuachi-Willig, *Silence of the Lambs*, in PRESUMED INCOMPETENT: THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS FOR WOMEN IN ACADEMIA, *supra* note 25, at 142, 148.

¹¹² Women of color in legal academia sometimes feel they are simply going through the motions, playing a part as an academic, but remaining disinvested from the job because they cannot be themselves. Instead, they endure "feel[ing] like a clown. You smile when you do not feel like smiling. You bite your tongue and make no sound when you want to speak." Angela Mae Kupenda, *Facing Down the Spooks*, in PRESUMED INCOMPETENT: THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS FOR WOMEN IN ACADEMIA, *supra* note 25, at 20, 23.

¹¹³ See, e.g., Roy L. Brooks, *Life After Tenure: Can Minority Law Professors Avoid the Clyde Ferguson Syndrome?*, 20 U.S.F. L. REV. 419 (1986).

being a senior faculty member, Carla did not feel she had the power to say no, to remind her Academic Dean that she had negotiated for her leave two and a half years prior. She admits that “it was really shocking, but I dealt with it by saying . . . Well I dealt with it with my ordinary strategy, which was to say, ‘Okay.’” The fact that Carla was shocked but immediately acquiesced sheds some light on the Clyde Ferguson Syndrome, the negative health effects of being stunned, disappointed, knowing you are the victim of injustice, and yet remaining silent. Imagine the long-term consequences of this cycle repeating itself year after year. Carla herself has done this. She recounts the many ways in which she has worked to accommodate whatever requirements her institution imposes on her: “If someone said, ‘Do this,’ I did that. If someone said, ‘Teach that,’ I taught that. If someone said, ‘You’ll teach [at] 8 a.m.,’ I taught at 8 a.m. If someone said, ‘You teach summer school,’ I taught summer school.” One might expect that at some point Carla would resist, that she would either directly or even somewhat passively attempt to get out of these impositions. But she never felt she had the option of saying no or even hesitating before saying yes. She explains, “I didn’t feel that I had [a choice] or wanted to risk saying no because then the gossip would start up: ‘She’s difficult,’ ‘She’s not a team player.’” In fact, Carla had seen this exact pattern with the only other woman of color on her faculty, whom Carla says is “very, very well-credentialed,” yet because she “said no early on [she] got pegged as not a team player.” There were serious professional repercussions for Carla’s colleague, which Carla interprets as “the price of saying no.” After witnessing her colleague’s trajectory, Carla explains that she “felt that I had to [say yes to] survive. I had to take in these requests and produce quality work.” Her strategy has paid off professionally: Carla is well respected and certainly holds the badge of a team player. Yet, the personal emotional costs have been high. She notes that in a recent year she made a startling and disturbing realization: “I felt like I had PTSD.”

Erin, a Native American, recalls other more egregious gender-based violations at her former law school workplace. She remembers some of her senior male colleagues “coming into the office and petting my hair, and telling me what beautiful hair I have, telling me I have large luscious breasts.” There was a clear power imbalance, based on race, gender, and institutional status, among other things. Erin’s intersectional experience of embodying so many devalued characteristics

clearly worked against her as a young, untenured, woman of color. Because the perpetrators were white “senior tenured members” and she was a woman of color and a “junior faculty member, you just don’t want to rock the boat, so you don’t say anything—at least I didn’t say anything. And you regret it later and you carry that guilt.” Erin admits that she has accumulated negative health effects from these incidents. The emotional toll of coping with that hostile workplace environment haunts Erin even today, though she quickly left her previous law faculty; she notes, “I actually have PTSD syndrome because of the amount of stress. I still have nightmares on a regular basis even though I’m very happy at my current institution.” This overt gender discrimination, while not at every institution, is still a recurring theme in the experiences of women in legal academia.¹¹⁴

C. Comparison & Contrast

“I have good relationships with everybody. I don’t think there are cliques here. People, like, respect and are nice to each other. I don’t think there’s any kind of feeling that I can’t say [something] because it wouldn’t be politically correct or [would] offend somebody.” -Joe

The experiences of white men provide a significant contrast to the experiences of their female and faculty of color colleagues with regard to faculty interactions. For instance, when a white man named Matt was asked in the DLA interview about his relationships with fellow faculty, he responded in a way that is representative of the other white men in the DLA sample: “I really enjoy my colleagues. There’s a lot of collegiality among young faculty, older faculty. It’s a nice place to be.” While Matt admits that he generally dislikes the inefficiency of large meetings, his “overwhelming thought when I go [into faculty meetings] is, ‘I really like these people.’” He and the other white men in the sample do not mention stress based on sexual harassment or experiences of silencing from colleagues, as so many of their female colleagues do. A white man named Christopher is “very close” especially with people who were hired around the same time as he was, including “five couples who socialized together and vacationed together and sort of did everything together” for many years. Ian, another white male law professor, recognizes that there is

¹¹⁴ While there are challenging incidents in legal academia that are based primarily on race, they seem less overt and less frequent than gender-based or race-and-gender based incidents. There are, however, egregious racial violations with regard to discrimination in law faculty hiring, explored further in Deo, *supra* note 80.

a “broad diversity of views” on his faculty, but believes there is “a feeling of mutual respect” among his colleagues. While he has “good relationships with everyone,” he also is especially close with “several of my colleagues,” meeting them for “dinner parties [and other events] outside the law school.” An even larger group meets frequently for “drinks or having picnics or other events together.”

Most significantly, very few white male faculty members note confrontational or complicated relationships with colleagues. Recall again that white faculty note positive relationships not only with other white colleagues, but with those from all racial backgrounds; however, those feelings are not always reciprocated since faculty of color characterize these same relationships as less friendly.¹¹⁵ In other words, white faculty and faculty of color perceive the same interactions differently. Take, for instance, a white male named Joe who insists that he has “good relationships with everybody.” Though he is especially close to those who research and teach in his field, he thinks nobody “would describe us as a clique” in part because he believes “[t]here aren’t any factions” at his law school. Interestingly, he insists both that all faculty members “respect and are nice to each other,” and that he is comfortable expressing his views, whatever they may be, since there is no institutional norm of self-regulation even when saying something that “wouldn’t be politically correct or [might] offend somebody.” Note that Joe’s female faculty of color colleagues might see his comments as politically incorrect or offensive, though he feels comfortable speaking his mind.

Where white male faculty may see many positives, white female faculty and especially female faculty of color perceive the white male climate pervading the culture of the law school, and recognize it as one that excludes them.¹¹⁶ A white male named John’s experience is typical; he notes of his relationships with faculty colleagues, “I don’t have any particular challenges in terms of getting along.” Of course, if we asked John’s white female and female faculty of color colleagues to characterize their relationships with him and others, they might not see these interactions as he does.

¹¹⁵ See *supra* Part II.A. for more on how different faculty view the same relationships differently.

¹¹⁶ See, e.g., Angel, *supra* note 59.

III. CONFRONTATIONAL INTERACTIONS WITH STUDENTS

"The [white] guys with their baseball caps on backwards . . . are challenging just everything you are saying. [Y]ou try not to follow them down that road and try and maintain control of the class and just teach the class, and there they are, like the gnat just driving you crazy." -Patrice

Faculty relationships with students are both incredibly wonderful and impossibly trying. DLA data show that individual faculty members who very much enjoy close and nurturing relationships with some students often have especially fraught relationships with others. This Part discusses the quality of student-faculty interactions, as well as their frequency.

In addition, as would be expected, the vast majority of faculty report "a lot" of interaction with white students (See Table 6). In fact, female law faculty of color from various racial/ethnic backgrounds have about equal levels of interaction with white students as do white men, white women, and men of color (See Table 6).

TABLE 6. FREQUENCY OF INTERACTIONS WITH WHITE STUDENTS, BY RACE & GENDER, DLA 2013 (N=92)

	A Lot	Some	Not Much	TOTAL
Black Females	15 (71.4%)	6 (28.6%)	0 (0.0%)	21
Asian/Pacific Islander Females	14 (93.3%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)	15
Latinas	8 (66.7%)	3 (25.0%)	1 (8.3%)	12
Native American Females	4 (80.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (20.0%)	5
Middle Eastern Females	2 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2
Multiracial Females	7 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	7
White Males	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)	0 (0.0%)	8
White Females	10 (90.95)	1 (9.1%)	0 (0.0%)	11
Men of Color	10 (90.9%)	1 (9.1%)	0 (0.0%)	11
TOTAL	62	7	2	92

Still, the quality of those interactions does differ by race/gender (See Table 7). For example, only 29% of Black women faculty members characterize their interactions with white students as “very friendly,” compared with 63% of white men, 73% of white women, and even 73% of men of color who enjoy “very friendly” relationships with white students. As a whole, women of color characterize their interactions with

white students significantly differently than all other faculty do. The only individual in the sample to characterize the quality of interactions with white students as “hostile” is a Black woman. No whites, neither male nor female, characterize their interactions as even “distant,” whereas small numbers of both women of color and men of color do.

TABLE 7. QUALITY OF INTERACTIONS WITH WHITE STUDENTS, BY RACE & GENDER, DLA 2013 (N=92)

	Very Friendly	Sociable	Distant	Hostile	TOTAL
Black Females	6 (28.6%)	12 (57.1%)	2 (9.5%)	1 (4.8%)	21
Asian/ Pacific Islander Females	11 (73.3%)	4 (26.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	15
Latinas	6 (50.0%)	5 (41.7%)	1 (8.35)	0 (0.0%)	12
Native American Females	2 (40.0%)	2 (40.0%)	1 (20.0%)	0 (0.0%)	5
Middle Eastern Females	0 (0.0%)	2 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	2
Multi- racial Females	3 (42.9%)	3 (42.9%)	1 (14.3%)	0 (0.0%)	7
White Males	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	8
White Females	8 (72.7%)	3 (27.3%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	11
Men of Color	8 (72.7%)	1 (9.09%)	1 (9.09%)	0 (0.0%)	11
TOTAL	49	35	6	1	92

Positive student interactions are evident from the qualitative data as well. In fact, many female faculty of color

spend a great deal of time mentoring students, especially students of color, women students, and other underrepresented or marginalized students who seek them out. Students are sometimes so dependent on particular faculty that it becomes challenging for the professors to meet their other personal and professional obligations. In spite of positive interactions with students overall, most women of color report serious challenges from students in both the classroom and during private meetings elsewhere on campus.

A. “Positive” Personal Interactions

“I love my students as a general matter. I always have.” -Grace

1. Role Modeling

Faculty members from all racial/ethnic and gender backgrounds are positively glowing about their students. For instance, a Latina law professor named Martha says that students are “the best part of the job really.” Laura, a Native American, agrees, stating, “Oh well, of course, your relationship with students is one of the best parts about the job.” Adam, a white man, says, “I really like our students.” A multiracial faculty member named Grace gushes, “I love my students as a general matter. I always have.” Chloe, a white female faculty member says, “To me the students are the best part of any law school.”

Female faculty of color are especially grateful for and receptive to the students of color and other marginalized students who gravitate toward them. Aisha, an Asian American, notes that she has “a following . . . I have my groupies and they follow me from class to class and I have never ever had an issue filling my classes.” Imani, a Black female, is also “very close to the students.” She notes that because the first institution where she taught had an especially diverse student body, “I could earn my stripes as a new teacher in a room full of students that generally looked like me.”¹¹⁷ Perhaps because of their shared identity, Imani’s former students accorded her a great deal of respect from the outset of her

¹¹⁷ Imani began her law teaching career at a historically Black institution. In fact, the experiences for both students and faculty at historically Black institutions differ greatly from those at predominantly white institutions, including diverse schools that were not founded on a mission of educating traditionally underrepresented students. See, e.g., Guiffida, *supra* note 59. In part for these reasons, historically Black law schools are not included in the DLA sample, though some experiences working within them come through from faculty who taught at those institutions in the past and now are employed by predominantly white law schools.

law teaching career; she therefore “did not have to deal with a lot of the challenges” facing faculty of color at predominantly white institutions “in regards to white male students challenging them and this presumption of incompetence.”

Sometimes students at predominantly white institutions are especially grateful for the few faculty of color employed there.¹¹⁸ Erin, a Native American law professor, appreciates that her students “are very hardworking” and “dedicated.” She recognizes that their respect and deference to her may be because “they’re thankful” that a Native American woman joined their faculty, since there are very few students of color on campus and even fewer faculty of color. In fact, it is a common occurrence for faculty diversity to lag behind student diversity, even or especially at schools with little student diversity.¹¹⁹ Hannah, a multiracial female who is very involved with student events and competitions, says that the students at her institution “are so kind;” she says she receives “dozens” of thank you notes “on an annual basis” from grateful students who appreciate the considerable time and attention she lavishes on them.

2. Overburdened by Service

The students send these notes to reward Hannah’s hard work and extraordinary efforts at supporting them. Female faculty seem especially connected with their students, as well as both nurturing and willing to take time to counsel students through personal and professional matters. Past empirical research using law student research subjects has shown that students from all race and gender backgrounds are especially drawn to female faculty and faculty of color.¹²⁰ “Students of color and white students alike report that faculty of color are often more accessible than whites and that female faculty tend to engage students more than male faculty.”¹²¹ This accessibility comes through in the DLA data as well. For instance, Hannah knows that because the students view her as

¹¹⁸ For more on faculty-student interactions from the student perspective, see Meera E. Deo et al., *Paint by Number? How the Race and Gender of Law School Faculty Affect the First-Year Curriculum*, 29 CHICANA/O-LATINA/O L. REV. 1, 17 (2010). Students from all race/ethnic backgrounds flock to white women and especially women of color for support with personal and professional matters. See Deo et al., *supra* note 79, at 87.

¹¹⁹ See, e.g., Anupam Chander et al., *Why Don’t Law Faculties Look Like Their Students? Some Conjectures*, Paper Presentation at Law & Society Annual Meeting (June 2012) (presentation slides on file with the author).

¹²⁰ See, e.g., Deo et al., *supra* note 79, at 87.

¹²¹ *Id.*

“pretty approachable,” they seek her out not only for help understanding class material, but for any number of personal and professional matters:

I have students coming into my office asking for advice in my classes but also what to do with their lives or if they have difficulty in a particular other class how to prepare for that or what courses I might recommend. Or if they are unsure about their schedule and they want to check. I've had students cry in my office because of personal issues.

Similarly, a Latina named Bianca has “a number of students who frequently stop by my office,” some of whom are not even in her classes, but “that just simply know about me or hear about me and want to come get advice about this or that.” A pretenured white female law professor named Madison finds it “easy” to interact with her students, especially those who “are not hesitant to come into the office or to send an email and ask a question.” She does not even need to “do so much approaching and encouraging for the students to come and talk to me” because they seek her out on their own. Many students also open up to female faculty and especially female faculty of color about serious life challenges. Haley, a multiracial female, acknowledges, “I get a lot of women coming into my office complaining about sexual harassment, stalking, or domestic violence they are experiencing.” She thinks that “they feel comfortable and they seek my help” in part because she covers all of these issues in her Criminal Law course, whereas “a couple of the men who teach Crim Law [here] don’t cover rape, sexual assault, or domestic violence.”¹²² In fact, the literature makes clear that white women, women of color, and men of color are more likely than white men to include relevant context in classroom discussions of substantive law, and that students appreciate these opportunities to engage with what is often abstract legal material on a practical level.¹²³ It is not surprising, then, that when students see their own experiences within this context, they are drawn to discuss it further with the faculty members who are comfortable bringing it up in class.

¹²² While uncommon, a few male participants in the DLA study also note some close student interactions, including a white male named Joe who says, “I had a number of students come and break down in my office, crying,” and an Asian American named Vijay who notes that he has “an open door policy” and lots of students “asking for guidance” with regard to “career paths or thinking about doing things outside of the law,” and even “personal problems [or] problems they are having with other faculty.”

¹²³ Deo et al., *supra* note 118, at 29. Diversity discussions are classroom conversations regarding sensitive and personal topics including race/ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation. *See, e.g., id.* at 2-3; *see also* Deo, *supra* note 19, at 95.

Though rewarding, these frequent activities and emotional meetings with students can be a burden for the faculty they turn to: often white female faculty and female faculty of color. In fact, other research has noted that overwhelming service obligations are but one of “a myriad of demands [that] are placed upon their professional lives the likes of which their white counterparts do not . . . experience.”¹²⁴ Kayla, a Black female participant in the DLA study, knows this is true for her, noting, “I definitely feel I bear the disproportionate impact, the brunt, of service to students of color.” She knows that students turn to her in times of need; she does not turn them away, but rather encourages them to seek her out as one of the few female faculty of color on campus. White women faculty and especially women of color faculty are particularly welcoming of female students and students of color, whom they realize seek them out because there are few others they connect with on the predominantly white male faculties at most law schools.¹²⁵ For instance, a Black law professor named Gabrielle very much appreciates “the opportunity here to mentor African American students. I spend a lot of time. I do the [Frederick Douglas] Moot Court and all those things with them and all those things are personally rewarding for me.” Though Gabrielle notes that these student service experiences are rewarding, they also take up a significant portion of time that she could otherwise spend on research, class preparation, other service obligations, or even personal endeavors.

What is especially problematic about these constant service contributions is that they are rarely formally recognized come time for promotion or tenure, or when determining a possible course reduction or yearly bonus. Ava, a white woman, recalls that when she first started teaching 15 years ago, “I was one of the few women in the building and certainly the only young one.” She thinks that may be why she “got surrounded by students all the time [who] wanted my attention.” Ava’s students had few others they felt comfortable relying on. Yet, her colleagues were likely blissfully oblivious that their comparatively smaller investment in these contributions meant that Ava became “weigh[ed] down . . . with university service and mentoring responsibilities.”¹²⁶ Though Ava “wanted to be

¹²⁴ Brooks, *supra* note 113, at 420.

¹²⁵ In this sense, particular students may be burdening female faculty and faculty of color “out of necessity.” *Id.* at 421.

¹²⁶ Mary Ann Mason, *In the Ivory Tower, Men Only*, SLATE (June 17, 2013, 5:30 AM), http://www.slate.com/articles/double_x/doublex/2013/06/female_academics_pay_a_heavy_baby_penalty.html.

the professor that [was always] available for them,” when she gave her students full access, “they would just suck up every ounce of time I ever had.” Unfortunately, the research in this area has consistently shown both that faculty of color and female faculty take on enormous service responsibilities, especially those related to students, and that these undertakings are rarely rewarded or even acknowledged when the larger faculty and administration evaluate faculty for tenure or promotion.¹²⁷

Jane, a multiracial female, has learned to strike a balance, saying that while she used to schedule “particular, private meetings” to look over outlines or talk through class material, she now is more insistent that students make an effort to attend her set office hours for these questions. She was otherwise frequently scheduling meetings with students at times that were inconvenient for her and made both her family life and other work obligations (i.e., research) more challenging. Still, Jane remains accommodating and approachable, saying that “even now if someone has a personal issue that they need to talk about, I would always set a private meeting for that purpose.”

B. Classroom Challenges: Dissatisfaction Leads to Confrontation

“Oh my god, we got the Black lady teaching us and they got the white guy?!” -Susan, recounting student attitudes on her first day teaching

In spite of their strong relationships with particular students, women faculty members are much more likely than men to have objectively negative experiences with students, especially in the classroom. Scholarship has begun to document the ways in which female faculty, particularly female faculty of color, endure a disproportionate share of classroom challenges from students.¹²⁸ In part, this is because “both minorities and women are presumed to be incompetent as soon as they walk in the door.”¹²⁹ The early literature on this topic revealed instances where female faculty of color:

¹²⁷ Legal scholar Roy Brooks suggests law faculty of color be given “some relief from committee assignments” to compensate for the extra time they spend on law students. Brooks, *supra* note 113, at 425.

¹²⁸ Bell & Delgado at 369-70; Meera E. Deo, *A Better Tenure Battle*, 28 COLUM. J. GENDER & L. (forthcoming 2015).

¹²⁹ Sylvia Lazos, *Are Student Teaching Evaluations Holding Back Women and Minorities?: The Perils of “Doing” Gender and Race in the Classroom*, in PRESUMED INCOMPETENT: THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS FOR WOMEN IN ACADEMIA, *supra* note 25, at 164, 177.

were “shouted down in the classroom by white males, shunned by colleagues, had their teaching credentials openly challenged in the classroom, received anonymous and detailed hate notes critical of their teaching style, syntax and appearance and discovered colleagues had encouraged students to act disrespectfully”¹³⁰

Sadly, little has changed today. The DLA data reveal how female faculty recognize the disappointment of students who realize they will have a woman of color as a professor. Direct classroom confrontations often ensue, especially from white male students.

1. Presumed Incompetent

Some classroom challenges may be attributed to tokenism: the very small numbers of female faculty of color at most institutions mean that each one stands out as different from the norm.¹³¹ Coupled with outright racism or even implicit bias,¹³² this difference from the norm translates as a presumption of incompetence and doubts about the qualifications of women of color law professors.¹³³ Because of this presumption, as a multiracial female named Emma notes, “I have a harder barrier to prove myself to students [which includes] proving that I’m qualified to teach them, that I know my material.” Because they do not look like the traditional (i.e., white male) law professor that many law students expect, most female faculty of color have a hard time convincing students that they are legitimate law professors. Gabrielle, a Black female, acknowledges that “being young and looking very young” combines with her race and gender to count against her; the “looks on their faces on the first day of class when it comes to first year students [suggest their confusion and disappointment], ‘You can’t possibly be my professor!’” A Black female named Susan noted the disappointed looks on her students’ faces on her first teaching day, attributing it to them thinking “they had the dud professor,” and comparing their misfortune to the lucky other section of law students: “Oh my god, we got the Black lady teaching us and they got the white guy?!” Their sense of entitlement to have a white male law

¹³⁰ Gordon, *supra* note 94, at 320 (quoting Linda Greene, *Tokens, Role Models, and Pedagogical Politics: Lamentations of an African American Female Law Professor*, 6 BERKELEY WOMEN’S L.J. 81, 83 (1990-1991)).

¹³¹ See *supra* Table 2 (with AALS statistics showing that women of color account for only seven percent of American law faculty).

¹³² For more on implicit bias, see *supra* Part I.A.

¹³³ See PRESUMED INCOMPETENT: THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS FOR WOMEN IN ACADEMIA, *supra* note 25.

professor and the injustice they felt at finding their law professor was a woman of color was apparent to Susan.

Aisha, an Asian American, sees the students' disappointment at having her as their professor as coming from her position as "a woman of color in front of students that don't see women of color in those positions of power oftentimes and don't know what to do." Mariana, a Latina, got the sense "[e]arly on [that] they resented me because I was a woman of color. I didn't look like the other guys [teaching]." Of course, she is correct; with only 772 female faculty of color out of almost 11,000 total, women of color look like neither the traditional law teacher nor like most of their faculty colleagues.¹³⁴ Gabrielle, a Black female, thinks wistfully about what it would be like if there were more diversity in legal academia, noting that "it might make it seem more normal for me to be at the head of the classroom if there were more people [of color]" in law teaching. Stacey, a Black woman teaching "in a really white place with people who are really white. I don't know how else to describe it!," notes that for many of her students, "I'm the first Black professor they ever had, maybe even their first professor of color." Based on that, she sees "a lot of ignorance" in her classroom and on the campus generally, especially regarding racial sensitivity.

2. Confronting the Unexpected Authority Figure

Sometimes that ignorance spills into hostility. Gabrielle, a Black female, recalls that her first semester teaching "started off very bad, very hostile" because of "some students who were unhappy to have the young Black professor And [they] referred to me outside of the classroom as 'that Black professor.'" In fact, after their very first class meeting, "a big group" of students were so "up in arms about it" that they complained to the Assistant Dean.¹³⁵ Gabrielle recalls, "[T]he basis of their complaint was, 'She's the new professor. We don't want her. We want the other Con Law professor'—who had been teaching for all of two years." Thus, while the students built a façade of preferring the other professor because Gabrielle was new, the white male professor's own minimal experience reveals that their true rationale for preferring him was likely based on race and gender bias, implicit or otherwise.

¹³⁴ See *supra* Table 2 for details on law faculty statistics by race and gender.

¹³⁵ Many women of color in the DLA sample note that students formally complain about them to administrators at their law schools.

Laila, a Middle Eastern woman, also got more than strange looks on her first day as a law professor:

I had this young white male come to me and right in my face, right before we start, I hadn't even started teaching yet, I'd just come to the podium and he looked at me and he goes, "Have you ever taught before?" And I looked at him and I said, "Yes." And he goes, "Yeah, but have you ever taught Torts before?" Literally in that tone and I said, "No, but you'll be okay." He just scowled at me and he walked away.

Again, this harkens back to the outright confrontations detailed in the early literature. These have not abated in spite of some numeric increases in faculty diversity.¹³⁶

Yet, numeric increases alone are not sufficient. Structural diversity—diversity in numbers—does not automatically translate into meaningful cross-racial interaction, either in the classroom or on campus more generally.¹³⁷ In other words, critical mass is a necessary but insufficient condition for ensuring the types of benefits we expect from diversity. For actual benefits of diversity to accrue, individuals must be in mutually respectful environments where they have an opportunity to listen and learn from one another.¹³⁸ This environment does not seem to be the standard in law schools today, either for faculty or for students.

A multiracial faculty member named Sofia remembers that "the very first class that I taught was a disaster." First, she recalls "sort of a mutiny" because she banned laptops from her seminar. Parsing just these details, we know already that Sofia had three strikes against her from that first day: the first because she is a female law professor (outside the gender norm), the second because she is a faculty member of color (outside the racial norm), and the third because she banned laptops (outside the norm at her school of allowing laptops in class). Sofia remembers the rest of the semester as "truly dreadful," with a variety of confrontations in every class: "people being very obnoxious and defiant and texting, like

¹³⁶ In fact, the numbers have increased significantly from the slightly over 300 faculty members in the legal academy whom Bell and Delgado attempted to include in their study, though the qualitative experience remains troublingly similar. Delgado & Bell, *supra* note 14, at n.17.

¹³⁷ See Deo, *supra* note 19, at 84.

¹³⁸ See, e.g., Gregory M. Herek, *Myths About Sexual Orientation: A Lawyer's Guide to Social Science Research*, 1 L. & SEXUALITY REV. 133, 171 (1991) ("Empirical research with other minority groups has shown that inter-group contact often reduces prejudice in the majority group when the contact meets several conditions: When it is encouraged by the institution in which it occurs, makes shared goals salient, and fosters inter-group cooperation; when the contact is ongoing and intimate rather than brief and superficial; and when members of the two groups are of equal status and share important values.").

having their iPhones out and texting right in front of me.” They also expressed their displeasure with Sofia outside of the classroom; she recounts that “three students ran a campaign about how I should lose my job,” seeking support from the administration in their quest to be rid of her. Because of the painful experience, especially the ways in which “race was brought up in all of this hostility,” she has never taught the seminar again. Similarly a Black woman professor named Keisha remembers that “one student basically told me that they had other things to do than to do my written assignments.” Of course, failure to complete required assignments would count against the student when it came time for grading, but the student’s brazen disrespect made for a challenging classroom environment for Keisha in the meanwhile.

Armida, a Latina, recognizes that the students who are constantly challenging her “tend to sit together,” and are usually “white, male, [and] arrogant,” especially her second-semester students who “know they’ve done really well” in their first semester of law school. This one semester of law school success gives them “this confidence that they know more than I do,” which leads to “a lot of challenging within the classroom.” Again, this disrespect often stems from the students’ disbelief that the woman of color in front of the room is qualified to teach them and might know more than they do. In Armida’s experience, it is “always white males” who are confrontational, whereas her white female students “tend to appreciate what I’m doing,” and students of color “relate to me and I see it.” Madison, a white untenured law professor, recognizes that “there is a challenge being a younger-looking female professor” especially because there are always some “male students” who end up “challenging your authority.” Natalie, a multiracial female, remembers “one guy who came in 45 minutes late to a 55 minute class.” After Natalie asked him to leave, “he had me up against the wall with his finger [in my face] like, how dare I kick him out of the class.” This physical intimidation may be rare but is still a threat facing female faculty of color on law school campuses today.

Patrice, a Black female who had taught upper-level classes for a few years before being assigned to teach a first-year course, was similarly “unprepared for the level of . . . racism and sexism that people have told me about forever but [that] I’d never experienced” in upper-level classes. She remembers most vividly “the [white] guys with their baseball caps on backwards that are challenging just everything you are

saying.” She tried to maintain the upper hand, to not “follow them down that road and try and maintain control of the class and just teach the class, [but] they are like the gnat just driving you crazy.” Because of this, Patrice learned how much of a “challenge” it is to make students take her seriously when they simply “see young, Black, and female. And I’m not young but I don’t think they know how old I am! And I feel like I just have to work a lot harder to prove my authority and mastery.”

In fact, Patrice does have to work harder than her colleagues since she is battling against the presumption of incompetence that accompanies women of color into the classroom on their first day teaching and takes great effort to overcome.¹³⁹ Hannah remembers that “especially my first year, there were students who would ask questions [drawing from] things that were a few pages ahead in the text beyond what the reading assignment was for that given day,” and use a “tone of voice that demonstrated it was a challenge rather than a legitimate question.” She makes clear that these were not necessarily “illegitimate question[s], but rather than simply a question that the tone of voice was very challenging.” So she would register the question, coupled with “the tone of voice,” and “the look on the face,” together she took these as the student attempting to be “very challenging, [as if his motivation were,] ‘Let’s see if she’ll get it or if she can handle it.’” Thus, while particular questions may have been legitimately about the course, they were drawn from material not assigned for the day, coupled with a confrontational tone and a superior look on the student’s face to make clear the question was more of a challenge than a polite and enthusiastic inquiry from an eager learner.¹⁴⁰

Sometimes classroom confrontations spill into challenging private meetings. For instance, a Latina named Bianca recalls “my very first semester a student coming in[to my office], and I think he thought he was maybe doing me a favor, and saying, ‘I’m just not used to someone who teaches like you,’” and suggesting changes to her teaching style and pedagogical approach. It was likely true that this student had not had anyone who looked like Bianca teaching him before,

¹³⁹ Individual strategies for overcoming the structural challenge of being presumed incompetent, as well as some necessary structural solutions, are discussed *infra* at Part IV.B.

¹⁴⁰ Some white male colleagues have a hard time believing these as anything other than legitimate questions. Yet, many women of color in the DLA sample articulate Hannah’s experience of the context coupled with the question indicating it is more of a challenge to authority than an innocent inquiry.

given the paltry numbers of female faculty of color in legal academia.¹⁴¹ Yet, he either failed to register as disrespectful his request that his law professor change her style to accommodate his preferences, or was unabashedly rude to his Latina professor. Even more dramatically, a Black woman named Trisha recalls, “I had one student tell me once, and he thought he was being a friend, he said, ‘I never had a Black woman tell me anything who wasn’t dressed in white.’” Initially confused about what this meant, it “took me a minute [before realizing that] the roles he was assigning me were maid, nurse, [etc.].” As Aisha, Mariana, and others note, they are often the students’ first woman of color authority figure; Trisha’s student simply made explicit the roles he expected Black women would continue to play in his life. Jennifer, a Native American, had a private meeting with a white student who felt she deserved a better grade than the one she earned. Jennifer recalls:

[The student] was very disrespectful. And when I explained to her why she received the grade she had, she rolled her eyes and crossed her arms and said bad things about my teaching. You know, “Well you didn’t explain this right.” At one point I just stopped her and said, “I don’t think we’re communicating in a positive way right now,” and so I said, “Maybe we should take a break and check in after we’ve both had some time to cool down a little bit.” And she got up and stormed out of my office. She left and I said, “I think we should talk again.” And she said, “No, don’t bother.”

Thus, even when female faculty of color reach out to students and make attempts to be inclusive and understanding, these efforts are often rebuffed by students who are unable or unwilling to recognize that all of their faculty members are competent, but instead take every opportunity to challenge the authority of the female faculty of color.¹⁴²

C. Comparison & Contrast

“I’ve never been a professor who students approach when they have issues.” -Ed

¹⁴¹ Again, Latinas comprise just 1.3% of American law professors—including not only tenured and tenure-track faculty, but also visitors, contract, legal writing, library, and other faculty members. With just 138 Latinas out of 10,965 law faculty members total, this particular student would likely never encounter a professor who looked like Bianca again. See *supra* Table 2.

¹⁴² Some students leave equally egregious anonymous comments on teaching evaluations, especially when commenting on female law faculty of color. Analyses of the DLA data show that women of color law professors endure spiteful, unproductive critiques from students, many of which focus on style or personal appearance instead of teaching effectiveness. For more on these additional but related challenges, see Meera E. Deo, *A Better Tenure Battle*, 31 COLUM. J. GENDER & L. (forthcoming Aug. 2015).

Male law professors from different racial/ethnic groups offer interesting contrasts to the experiences of the women detailed above. Some male faculty of color have similar experiences with students outside of the classroom. Many are inundated by student requests that they feel compelled to accept, which leaves less time to work on research or focus on other responsibilities. For instance, a Native American man named Stuart recognizes the significant burden that he and other faculty of color face because “the diversity of the students is much better than the diversity of the faculty in terms of mere numbers, [which means that] faculty of color are inundated with all this extra work.” Stuart is “constantly asked to advise on papers and for groups and to go to events,” especially by students of color. Although he “want[s] to do as much as [I] can,” he has “little kids at home and it makes it difficult” for him to commit to these extra work obligations and still meet his personal responsibilities.¹⁴³ He does not think his situation is unique, but rather thinks that “all the faculty of color are inundated.” In fact, the literature supports this perspective, explaining that a number of students of color “simply feel that there is no one else on the faculty who can understand their problems or who really cares about resolving them.”¹⁴⁴ In spite of his efforts at accommodating student requests, Stuart is disappointed that all of these extra efforts directed at students do not count for “anything when it comes to going up for tenure.”

On the other hand, the experiences of most white men and some men of color in the DLA study differ considerably from the general trend among female faculty and especially female faculty of color who go to great lengths to meet their students’ needs. Ed, a multiracial man, and Ian, a white man, offer interesting and representative contrasts to the experiences of Kayla, Gabrielle, Jane, and other female faculty of color. While Ed’s relationship with students overall is “[p]retty good,” even the students of color “really don’t lean on me,” he admits, “I’ve never been a professor who students approach when they have issues.”¹⁴⁵ Similarly, Ian notes, “I

¹⁴³ For more on work/life balance among law faculty, again drawing from the DLA data, see Meera E. Deo, *Becoming Family Friendly* (work in progress) (on file with the author).

¹⁴⁴ Brooks, *supra* note 113, at 421.

¹⁴⁵ Some men of color in the DLA do make a concerted effort to connect with students. Vijay, an Asian American, says his “relationship with students is very positive,” perhaps in part because he “believe[s] faculty members are there to serve the students.” A Black man named Michael “handpick[s] mentees from the 1L class,” and is so devoted to them that he “stay[s] up at night thinking about them and how to get

probably don't have as deep a relationship with students where I'm their first call for situations or issues." Again, this is likely because the students' first call is to the female faculty and especially the female faculty of color they sense as the most receptive to addressing their needs.

While many white women and women of color struggle to assert authority in the classroom, students give white men and men of color alike significant deference. Joe, like almost all faculty in the DLA sample, found his first days of teaching "[v]ery stressful," in part because he was new to the material and "wasn't as in command of the subject matter" as he would have liked. Nevertheless, within "a month or two, I got the hang of it and everything felt fine." For Joe, a white male law professor, only the material was challenging, not the students or their interactions with him. In fact, when Joe reflects on the large first-year classes he taught, he remembers both that he "enjoyed that," and that he was slightly concerned about how the students did not interact much with him because they were "intimidated by me." Thus, the students were so respectful of their white male professor that they rarely interacted with him at all—perhaps the opposite of the near-constant confrontations facing female faculty of color in the classroom.

Similarly, when asked to reflect on his first year teaching, an Asian American man named Andrew recalls, "It was overwhelming how much work it was," even in comparison to earlier full-time positions as a judicial law clerk and law firm associate. Yet, Andrew had no confrontations from students or challenges to his authority in the classroom. Instead, he says of the students that "even my first year, everyone was supportive." In spite of his current acknowledgment that "[l]ooking back, I feel that the quality of my teaching wasn't great," at the time he nevertheless "consistently got amazing reviews and feedback from the students."¹⁴⁶ Again, Andrew's male privilege in the classroom likely afforded him a measure of respect wholly absent from the classrooms of his female colleagues. This enabled him to focus on mastering the material, while his students encouraged and supported him as he learned how best to teach them.

them the next opportunity." While Michael puts "a lot of time and a lot of investment" in his mentees, most men in the DLA sample do not seem to follow his lead.

¹⁴⁶ Jack, an Asian American male, is especially sensitive to how some faculty fail to take him seriously or even mistake him for a student. Still, this has never been a hindrance in the classroom; he even won a teaching award soon after he started teaching law.

IV. BEST PRACTICES: STRATEGIES TO COMBAT DISCRIMINATION

"I think over-preparation is the norm. I mean you just don't get the benefit of the doubt." -Brianna

A. Creating Faculty Inclusion

"Hey, why are we all looking at the girls? I'll take notes [today]. Next time, John, you can take notes." -Abigail, recounting a suggestion from her white male colleague

Just as Bell and Delgado noted 25 years ago, a number of faculty of color in legal academia today are distrustful of their faculty colleagues.¹⁴⁷ Women of color face intersectional discrimination, doubly discriminated against because of their multiple devalued identity characteristics.¹⁴⁸ While many faculty members from traditionally and currently underrepresented groups characterize their relationships with peers as cordial, most are not close, especially to white male faculty members. Instead, the closer relationships for female faculty of color are with other individuals from marginalized groups, including women, people of color, and those in the LGBTQ community. Many see through the mask of collegiality to the incivility of their colleagues. The distrust that many female faculty of color feel is based on challenging interactions, including numerous instances of white faculty trivializing their experiences, denigrating their work, and putting roadblocks in the way of their professional success.

The DLA study reveals that there are ongoing gender-related incidents on law school campuses, many of which invoke both racism and sexism.¹⁴⁹ To combat this, even small changes can have a big impact on gender inclusion. Participants in the DLA study identified a number of "best practices," tried and true strategies for combatting the discrimination they continue to face. This Part shares findings

¹⁴⁷ Delgado & Bell, *supra* note 14, at 357-59.

¹⁴⁸ DLA includes male and female LGBTQ participants, including white and non-white law faculty members. However, the data does not reveal patterns of overt discrimination or harassment based on sexual orientation or ways in which sexual orientation couples with other identity characteristics to create intersectional bias. This may be because there were only small numbers of members of the LGBTQ community as compared to the total sample, and because intersectionality based on sexual orientation was not the focus of the study, and so direct questions were not asked on the topic.

¹⁴⁹ For more on intersectionality, see Crenshaw, *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*, *supra* note 30; Crenshaw, *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color*, *supra* note 30.

that are focused on solutions. These data from women and men legal academics invoke strategies that have been effective in particular instances that others could employ to attain similar positive results.

Destiny has two suggestions from her own experience as a Black woman in legal academia. First, she says her school has been working on “changing our meeting times to make them in the middle of the day” instead of at 4:00pm as they had been for years. Why would that make a difference? She explains:

Well, guess what? Half the women disappear at 3:00! A couple of the men did as well, but almost all the women would disappear and . . . that is significant [because] when it came to decision-making, [women] were just not present because we were off picking up kids from school or taking them some place or that sort of thing.¹⁵⁰

Thus, simply changing meeting times to accommodate the personal realities of many faculty members is one small structural change that could lead to much greater inclusion, both symbolically and actually.

Destiny highlights another often-unrecognized challenge for women: teaching on Mondays. Even in academia, women remain the primary caregivers for children.¹⁵¹ During the traditional Monday to Friday workweek, most children of academics are in day care or school.¹⁵² Destiny notes, “If you work Monday you have to prep probably on Sunday,” which is challenging for most women since schools/day cares tend to be closed. The result is that many women are often “up late on Sunday nights trying to prep for our classes” while the kids are asleep. An alternative structural solution that takes these realities into account would be to give parents the option of teaching on Tuesdays or later, so they could “have four or five hours to work” on class preparation every Monday without “the young people underfoot.”

While family-friendly scheduling of meetings and classes can make a difference, additional changes are needed if women are to have a true voice at those very meetings, as they too often complain of silencing and invisibility on the campus as a whole and in faculty meetings in particular. Recall Abigail’s recollection of her early days in law teaching when her male colleagues expected their female faculty colleagues to

¹⁵⁰ Lest these women stand accused of working less than a full time day or somehow shirking their professional duties, many women in the DLA sample note that their workdays resume again for many hours around 8:00 or 9:00pm when their children are in bed.

¹⁵¹ See Mason et al., *supra* note 126.

¹⁵² Some participants in the DLA study with very young children engaged nannies or babysitters instead of or in addition to relying on day care or school.

take notes at faculty meetings—essentially relegating them to the role of secretary rather than equal faculty members. Abigail notes that the practice “has abated” at her institution in part through the hard work and persistence of one of her white male colleagues. She says that 20 years ago, when this practice was rampant, “he would say, ‘Hey, why are we all looking at the girls? I’ll take notes [today]. Next time, John, you can take notes.’”¹⁵³ True, his speaking up could be considered a form of “mansplaining,” but it got the job done, removing secretarial work from the realm of female faculty members to rotate among the men in the room or at least be spread equally between all faculty colleagues. Allies participating in educating white male colleagues can thus be particularly effective.

It is especially necessary for law school administrators to take note of the horrific examples of gender discrimination plaguing law schools, from outright sexual harassment to other means of creating a hostile or unfriendly work environment for women. All law schools should have sexual harassment policies in place, including zero tolerance for violations. There should also be clear reporting requirements and guidelines to ensure that the documented silencing of women does not work against reporting efforts. In fact, many colleges and universities around the country that have recently been criticized for their lack of reporting and enforcement mechanisms to prevent sexual harassment and sexual assault on and around campus have quickly intensified efforts to comply with Title IX.¹⁵⁴ Law schools should follow their lead before the U.S. Department of Education targets them for their lack of compliance with federal law.¹⁵⁵

B. Combatting Discrimination in the Classroom

“I use a lot of skills of being a mother: very sweet, very nice, very nurturing, but switching at a moment’s notice and letting them know there is no messing around in my class and these are my expectations. And also I take a very feminine approach to it; it’s about establishing relationships where they don’t want to let me down.” -Eliana

¹⁵³ Note that even this white male defender and educator referred to his female colleagues as “girls”!

¹⁵⁴ For instance, “55 colleges and universities nationwide [are] under scrutiny by the U.S. Department of Education for [their] handling of reported sex crimes on campus.” Jack Flynn, *Amherst College, Responding to Federal Title IX Probe, Cites Major Improvements in its Handling of Sexual Assault Complaints*, MASSLIVE (May 1, 2014, 7:12 PM) http://www.masslive.com/news/index.ssf/2014/05/amherst_college_responding_to.html.

¹⁵⁵ This Article does not seek to expound on the requirements of Title IX; it is mentioned here only to emphasize the real threat that federal authorities could intervene to ensure compliance.

In spite of their many positive interactions with students, female faculty of color also endure challenging classroom confrontations, especially from white male students. Existing literature has documented how many of these faculty members enter the classroom with a presumption of incompetence working against them.¹⁵⁶ Some faculty members have devised creative strategies to combat these classroom challenges on their own. Yet, individual efforts are not enough; broader structural support, following the lead of the institutions discussed below, is also sorely needed.

1. Individual Strategies: Over-Preparation, Confidence, and the Art of Gender Judo

Many female faculty of color respond to anticipated or real student confrontations in the classroom by working harder than they thought possible, mastering the material before they even enter the classroom in order to combat the presumption that they are not qualified to teach. Hannah, a multiracial woman, believes she “had to do more to prove that I knew what I was talking about than I would if I were a white male. I firmly believe that.” Hannah recalls being “challenged” in the classroom frequently, especially when she first started law teaching, and the challengers “tended to be white men, absolutely.” In order to prove her competency, Hannah took to “infusing references to things that demonstrated the depth of my knowledge.” For instance, she made sure to mention her prior, prestigious, corporate law practice and specifically drew from her practical experience when discussing particularly difficult material in class. While many law professors mention prior practice and share practice-related insights in class, Hannah did so specifically in order to “demonstrate the kind of work that I was working on and that it directly related to what I was teaching them.” In this way, she could assert her competence and prove to her students that she was qualified to teach them, at least for this particular subject.

Similarly, a Latina named Armida believes that “it’s all about credentializing yourself,” especially to gain legitimacy with the “white males” who tend to challenge her in the classroom. Thus, she suggests the following as “a tactic you can employ” sometime “at the beginning” of the academic year: “incorporating in the conversation [past] experience from a

¹⁵⁶ See generally PRESUMED INCOMPETENT: THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS FOR WOMEN IN ACADEMIA, *supra* note 25.

large law firm. That impresses them [and] gives them a value in me. [They think,] ‘Sullivan & Cromwell, that means that she’s smart.’”

A Black senior female named Brianna suggests that it may not be enough to “know the stuff inside and out,” or reveal previous prestigious work experience. Hannah’s experience makes this clear, because in spite of her hard work and over-preparation, she was still frequently challenged in class. Even her attempts to prove her competency were not met with complete respect. Brianna notes that because “people of color and women in particular don’t get the benefit of the doubt” that they are experts and know the material well, “over-preparation is the norm” for them. She believes that older, white, male professors “can walk in with old crusty notes and not have really innovated their classes in a lot of different ways and can not be on the top of their game on any given day,” and students will not punish them for their lack of preparation because they at least look like what the students expect in a law professor. Of course, women of color law professors are not “afforded that luxury,” and therefore have to work much harder to earn and keep their students’ respect.¹⁵⁷ Brianna explains that while you “have to know your material,” it is equally important to “exude a confidence [through] a classroom persona.” She warns that female faculty of color who do not “go into that classroom and command that classroom” meet “students [who] sense vulnerability [and] will devour you.” Thus, it is not sufficient to prove competency by mastering the material; women of color must also exude confidence to be believable as law faculty members.

Eliana is a Latina who started a tenure-track position only recently. Yet, like Brianna, she “spent so much time” anticipating classroom challenges and developing strategies to avoid or combat them. Perhaps because of this, during her first year in law teaching she “never had a student challenge me.” Eliana provides many of the same suggestions as Brianna; for instance, “I immediately come in with a lot of authority, with a lot of telling [the students], ‘These are my credentials.’ ‘This is why we are doing this.’” If any issues arise, Eliana “use[s] humor” to neutralize tension, and also “a lot of skills [from] being a mother: very sweet, very nice, very nurturing, but switching at a moment’s notice and letting them know there is no messing around in my class and these are my expectations.”

¹⁵⁷ This Article does not suggest that most white male law professors are not innovative or excellent teachers; the inclusion of Brianna’s quote is simply to highlight a pattern in the data identifying the opportunity for older white male professors to rest on their laurels (even if they are not doing so), while women of color rarely have laurels available.

She describes this as her “feminine approach” to teaching, where the focus is on “establishing relationships where they don’t want to let me down” and believes this is why “students work really hard in my class.” In fact, researchers would characterize Eliana’s strategy as an example of “gender judo,” defined as the purposeful decision to “take feminine stereotypes that can hold women back—the selfless mother and the dutiful daughter, for example—and use those stereotypes to propel themselves forward.”¹⁵⁸ In spite of her success in employing gender judo, Eliana realizes that it “takes a lot of energy” for her to utilize this approach, “versus a white male colleague” who she believes would not have to strategize about asserting classroom authority and work as hard to maintain it.

2. Structural Suggestions: Mentors, Allies & Administrative Support

In addition to individual attempts to combat bias, some schools have found ways to offer structural support to faculty with regard to their teaching. Most do not target these efforts at improving the experience or the retention rates of female faculty of color, though they tend to have that effect. For instance, some schools offer new law teachers a “light load” in the first year or semester, where they teach just one class during their first semester and one or two during their second semester (at schools where the standard may be two classes per semester). This allows new faculty to ease into the law school environment and especially into class preparation. When Abigail, a senior white scholar, first started teaching, she says her school “didn’t, as we do now, allow our first year, first semester teachers to have a light load.” As a result, she recalls, “I taught four courses my first year, Torts I [and] Criminal Law in the Fall [then] Constitutional Law and Torts II in the Spring.” She clearly had no opportunity to ease into law teaching; in fact, during her first year on the faculty, she “had two-thirds of the [entering] class” of students in at least one of the “four huge classes” she was assigned to teach.

The “light load” may be especially important for women of color, as class preparation for this group refers not only to mastering the substantive material they plan to teach, but also the pedagogical approach and detailed strategies they will

¹⁵⁸ Joan C. Williams, *Women, Work and the Art of Gender Judo*, WASH. POST (Jan. 24, 2014), http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/women-work-and-the-art-of-gender-judo/2014/01/24/29e209b2-82b2-11e3-8099-9181471f7aaf_story.html.

employ to keep the class on track. For instance, a multiracial faculty member named Hannah is especially appreciative of the structural support she has received at her school. For all new law faculty members, in their “first year and the first semester, fortunately, we have a lighter load, so my introduction was merely preparing one class, and then the second semester I prepare[d] two.” This gave her the freedom and flexibility to spend considerable time on class preparation, noting that in her early years of law teaching, she “basically was working [the equivalent of] large law firm hours” in order to master the material and present a fully competent self in class, in part because she is motivated to be “as good as I can be for my students.”

While Hannah did work hard, she also credits mentorship and faculty support for improving her teaching. She notes, “Fortunately, there are two other professors here that teach [my first year course] on a regular basis, and one of them used the same textbook [as I did]. The other one has been teaching for probably something like 30 years.” While her school did not have a formal mentor program in place to connect her with these senior scholars, they had an informal open-door policy to encourage new faculty to feel comfortable approaching them for counsel. Hannah readily took advantage of the welcoming atmosphere at her school and especially the encouragement she received from those teaching in her subject area, and “would regularly just shoot them questions about the questions a student had, and I thought I had the right answer, but I wanted to make sure.” Thus, rather than avoiding her colleagues because they looked down on her, believed her to be ill-prepared, or were jealous of her accomplishments, Hannah was in an environment where she was made to feel comfortable reaching out to her colleagues for reassurance that she had the right answers and was well prepared to respond to her students. She would also ask these mentors directly, “How would you present this material?” And I would get back answers,” rather than snarky comments or hostility. Hannah was actually so comfortable asking for help that “sometimes I would just stop them in the hallway and ask them questions too.” All of these efforts at connecting with faculty, seeking out advice, and taking suggestions paid off. In spite of some challenging classroom confrontations from white male students, Hannah persevered, eventually earning two teaching awards in less than a decade of law teaching.

Mentorship does not necessarily involve a shared race or gender identity. Many of the women of color in the DLA sample

noted the ways in which white men and white women with positions of power sponsored or supported them, especially when they first entered legal academia. For instance, an Asian American named Vivian says the following of her mentor relationship with a senior white female scholar:

She's my . . . strongest ally. [T]hat relationship has been absolutely pivotal for me here. She was the Associate Dean when I got hired. She was my go-to person when I don't know what to do about something.

Although "most of my colleagues are white" and Vivian maintains "an arms-length relationship" with many, based in part on the distrust discussed earlier,¹⁵⁹ her relationship with this particular mentor has flourished; it is obviously not based on a shared racial identity, though she says specifically, "other stuff trumps race."

There are instances during which administrators took an active role in protecting and safeguarding the careers of vulnerable faculty, where they stood up for the faculty they had hired. Sometimes this was as simple as communicating openly with female faculty of color about student complaints or issues; other times, administrators simply refused to accommodate the outlandish demands of complaining white students or made clear to students that they believed in and supported these often marginalized faculty. In her first semester teaching, a white woman named Madison "ended up having one student who is notoriously difficult [which] made the day-to-day class more challenging." However, because Madison "had the full support of the faculty," it was "easier to manage" since she never felt she was dealing with his disruptions all on her own. In fact, at some point, "the Associate Dean did end up intervening and having a chat" with the problem student to get him in line. Unfortunately, even this basic level of support is the outlier rather than the norm in legal academia.

Lack of administrative support is much more common, leading the faculty members under attack to become further marginalized. Laila, a Middle Eastern female, was not told about numerous student complaints regarding her teaching in a timely fashion, when she could have worked to address them. When the Associate Dean finally conveyed student concerns months later, Laila recalls him saying, "Yeah, I think they said you were really mean, humiliating and degrading." She was shocked, but explained the situation, detailing how one of her

¹⁵⁹ See *supra* Part II.A. for more on the distrust lurking behind the mask of civility in faculty relations.

students consistently challenged her in class in various ways: interrupting her lectures, announcing that the professor “was wrong” on particular points of law, and even walking out of class during lecture instead of at the scheduled break time.

When Laila forcefully asserted her authority over the class, publicly telling the student that this sort of behavior was unacceptable, her attempted solution backfired and “created a huge chill among the class.” She did not realize then that it would go beyond momentary tension. At the time, she was afraid to discuss the situation with colleagues or administrators because “I didn’t want to be perceived [as if] I didn’t have control over the classroom.” Even years later, she believes that had her Associate Dean told her about it earlier, “maybe I could have had a discussion with them” to resolve what she had not realized was an ongoing student concern. She also realized later that the administration had not positioned her in a way to make a smooth transition into law teaching by giving her a light course load or small seminars to teach; instead, though it “was my first semester teaching [they] gave me two sections of Torts, so of course I’m not going to get professor of the year.” Overall, she was concerned that the administration was “looking at all the negative things” that students said, not allowing her the opportunity to share her side of the story, and “giving the students way more credit” than they deserved, while also “completely ignoring the things I was accomplishing.” Thus, the administration not only set her up to face great challenges by giving her two large first-year classes to teach during her first year on the faculty, but in taking the students’ side, they also further marginalized and devalued Laila’s competency as a legal academic.

Alicia, a Latina faculty member, had a white male student who was “very hostile” toward her during her first semester as a law professor. That student complained to one of Alicia’s “white male faculty member” colleagues about her pedagogical approach and demeanor. Rather than defend her to the student or suggest the student talk with Alicia directly, Alicia’s colleague promptly “assumed that of course the student was correct in his complaints.” When Alicia’s white male colleague later approached Alicia to discuss the situation, it was as an advocate for the student, speaking on his behalf. For Alicia, the “unfortunate circumstance of this faculty member taking the student’s side is that [it] empowered the student to act out even more” in class, which in turn led other students to get more comfortable challenging her as well. Ultimately, she

had “a little cabal of problematic students that I then had to manage” throughout the semester, disrupting her teaching and ruining the learning environment for all students. Just as with Laila’s example, Alicia’s challenging situation could have been nipped in the bud with the proper administrative support; instead of taking her side outright or discussing the situation with her in an open-minded fashion, her colleague sided with the aggrieved student, complicating circumstances further.¹⁶⁰

CONCLUSION

“[I]f you would like a woman of color on your faculty, then you have to go and hire a woman of color. You can’t [simply] hope a woman of color comes your way.” -Ryan

As a formal quantitative and qualitative national study of law faculty, DLA reveals the current climate in legal academia, and the unique challenges facing women of color. The environment creates obstacles for women of color law teachers that inhibit not only their success, but student learning as a whole. The good news is that legal institutions can employ strategies to combat these challenges and level the playing field so that law faculty from all backgrounds can succeed and students can focus on law school learning.

Many faculty members appreciate their colleagues and their work environments, though they worry about the bias and enmity lurking just below the mask of collegiality. Gender discrimination, from silencing and invisibility to outright harassment, plagues white women and women of color alike. Interactions with students are similarly varied, and similarly infused with both racism and sexism.¹⁶¹ Individual faculty members from all racial backgrounds, including men and women, report positive relationships with students. Yet, women

¹⁶⁰ Alicia ultimately decided to talk with her colleague not only about how his interference may have undermined her authority in the classroom, but also thereby worsened her classroom situation. She used scholarship to connect with him, because when she first approached him to discuss the situation, “I said, ‘We need to talk about what happens in the classroom to women of color and I need you to read this article.’” To his credit, he did and a productive discussion followed. This could be seen as another individual strategy that others could employ, educating their peers about their experiences in legal academia so that they understand the unique challenges, and perhaps will sympathize and take them into consideration come time for tenure or promotion review.

¹⁶¹ LGBTQ individuals, disabled individuals, and those from various socioeconomic backgrounds participated in the DLA study. These background characteristics were not presented or discussed in this Article in part to protect anonymity of participants. However, these salient characteristics likely have an effect on interactions as well, including marginalized populations suffering “othering” among faculty and challenges from students.

faculty and especially women of color endure disrespectful classroom confrontations from particular students.

Contemplating these challenges and opportunities collectively, it seems clear that legal academia is long overdue for broad structural change. While legal academia currently confronts a number of external challenges, it is past time for these institutions of higher learning to also do some internal soul-searching.¹⁶² Many changes should be swift and dramatic. For instance, law schools should immediately institute policies to safeguard against ongoing gender bias and sexual harassment. There should be zero tolerance for student-initiated, disrespectful confrontations in the classroom, which not only harm the law professor, but are disruptive distractions from learning for all students. Administrative support, rather than acquiescence or collaboration with student detractors, is also crucial to ensuring the success of all law professors and the students they seek to teach.

Other changes may have to be more subtle or gradual. How can administrators offer support to women of color so that they might improve student-faculty interactions? When faculty members demonstrate that women of color faculty are competent, experienced, and respected colleagues, rather than belittle or silence them in public and private, students may follow their lead. When the administration stands up for white female faculty and both male and female faculty of color, rather than siding with students, that too sends a clear message that these nontraditional faculty are nevertheless valued, warning students against future transgressions.

What follows is a list of specific proposals that administrators and faculty who are seriously committed to improving the experience of all law faculty and law students can adopt to move in the direction of more equality-based and equity-focused institutions:

- Loudly and proudly advertise not only a presumption of competence, but a presumption of excellence for all faculty
- Create formal mentoring programs that are subject-specific for new law faculty regarding both teaching and scholarship

¹⁶² External challenges currently facing legal academia include declining admissions rates, shrinking faculties and faculty budgets, and forced changes to curriculum and pedagogy. See, e.g., TAMANAHA, *supra* note 67, at 162-63; Herrera, *supra* note 67, at 209; Ernde, *supra* note 68; Jones & Smith, *supra* note 4; Schrag, *supra* note 67, at 407-08; .

- Cultivate an environment conducive to informal mentoring so that new law faculty can connect with senior scholars in a safe environment without judgment or tension
- Support law faculty in any challenges from students; while we must all be open to critique and willing to recognize our errors, give faculty the benefit of the doubt instead of readily agreeing with student complaints that confirm existing race/gender stereotypes
- Adopt a zero-tolerance sexual harassment policy defining violations and clarifying the appropriate reporting mechanisms as well as harsh penalties for violations
- Require participation from all faculty members in annual racial and gender equality trainings/workshops
- Discuss creative solutions for institutional housekeeping so that note-taking and other internal administrative requirements rotate equally among all faculty
- Reward extraordinary service commitments, including significant outreach to students, with decreases in other service or teaching obligations

This list should not be seen as exhaustive, or a panacea that will eliminate all vestiges of racism, sexism, and the intersection of the two in the legal academy.¹⁶³ In fact, when the DLA participants were asked for their own suggestions for how to improve diversity in legal academia, some of the most thoughtful responses came from those making clear that there was nothing new to suggest. For instance, an Asian American woman named Surya notes, “I honestly don’t think the problem is that administrators don’t know what they can do.” Her perspective is that many do not feel it is important to diversify the faculty in the first place, again suggesting diversity may be a “surface” value rather than a “core” goal for many institutions.¹⁶⁴ A Black faculty member named Ryan offers a particularly poignant suggestion: “[I]f you would like a woman of color on your faculty, then you have to go and hire a woman of color. You can’t [simply] hope a woman of color comes your way.”

This Article and the DLA data overall are more hopeful about the possibilities for and likelihood of change. Outreach, support, and a willingness to engage with underrepresented legal scholars would go a long way toward improving retention rates for faculty. As Isabella, a white woman, notes, to retain diverse

¹⁶³ For more strategies to combat institutional bias, see Yolanda Flores Niemann, *Lessons from the Experiences of Women of Color Working in Academia*, in PRESUMED INCOMPETENT: THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS FOR WOMEN IN ACADEMIA, *supra* note 25, at 446-99.

¹⁶⁴ See Lee, *supra* note 108, at 479-80.

faculty, “you have to make the work environment a friendly enough place that someone wants to be there.” Thus, the proposals above will only truly be effective when coupled with a sincere desire to diversify the faculty, to recruit and retain white women, women of color, men of color, and others from non-traditional and traditionally underrepresented backgrounds.

The DLA data reveal that marginalized faculty members are coping as best they can, creating strategies in the hallways to navigate difficult interactions with colleagues and in the classroom to guard against or respond to student confrontations. However, greater structural support is necessary to meet the identified structural challenges. We cannot expect individuals to fight alone against structural bias and win.

The real winners in a legal academy free of institutional bias are not only those facing that bias now, but also other faculty members who could learn and grow through respectful interaction with their colleagues. Students of color would be better served as well without the distractions of classroom confrontations and other challenging interactions on campus. Yet, since structural diversity (e.g., an increase in the number of underrepresented faculty) does not lead automatically to interactional diversity (i.e., meaningful cross-racial interaction), we must do more than diversify our faculty.¹⁶⁵ While ensuring critical mass is a necessary first step, for law schools to live up to their full potential, the environments must be such that faculty see each other as equals and are comfortable interacting with one another. When that happens, the legal profession as a whole comes out ahead.

¹⁶⁵ Deo, *supra* note 19, at 82-3, 85.

Chapter 13

MAKING DIVERSITY WORK IN ACADEMIC LIBRARIES

Miguel Juárez

As a second generation Mexican-American from a working class background, the academic library profession has proven to be a vast experience, filled with numerous opportunities and possibilities for learning, networking,¹ working with students, and learning how university environments, special collections, research, teaching, information, and the publishing world converge. But in my experience as a librarian of color, at times it has also been a challenging and sometimes hostile environment. I have always been a big picture and out-of-the-box thinker and in this essay, I write about issues all librarians of color face, may have faced, or may continue to face in the profession, but that no one really discusses.

Librarianship is more than shelving books, as librarians in the academic environment are typically defined and depicted; we know differently, but the general community doesn't. The profession also gets short-shrift from academe: teaching faculty often don't have an idea what we as academic librarians do and because they are often just as busy

1. Networking or the building of cultural and social capital is pivotal for librarians of color. Networking is the informal process that librarians utilize to hear of upcoming positions, changes inside libraries, and other issues that can seldom be disclosed publicly. Networking levels the playing field for librarians of color.

as we are in their positions, they do not have the time or the interest to find out what we do unless they develop a close working relationship with us. As an activist and community scholar in El Paso, Texas prior to attending library school as part of the Arthur A. Schomburg Fellowship Program,² I was not aware of what academic librarianship entailed or what it meant to become a librarian/archivist. My interests in information and building collections, coupled with the opportunity to obtain my library degree to work in various positions that aligned with my skills sets, positioned me to become an academic librarian and enjoy a productive, although at times, rocky career.

My experiences in the SUNY Buffalo library residency program are detailed in an article I wrote as a requirement of the residency. It described my experiences relocating from one geographical border to another, from the U.S./Mexican border to the U.S./Canadian border, to take advantage of the fellowship. This program was a forerunner of ALA's Spectrum Program.³ Relocating to Buffalo, New York from El Paso, Texas in 1997 to attend graduate school, where I was the only Latino library science student in the program, was somewhat of a culture shock. I quickly acclimated and made life-long friends, although I was subjected to some rather peculiar questions.⁴ It took me nine months to finish my coursework, obtain my MLS, and then begin my position as a Visiting Reference Librarian at the Oscar A. Silverman Undergraduate Library.

Luckily, at SUNY Buffalo, I had a strong mentor who guided me through my first months as an academic librarian and who stayed with

2. University at Buffalo, The State University of New York, "Arthur A. Schomburg Fellowship Program," accessed December 10, 2014, http://grad.buffalo.edu/FinancialSupport/Scholarships_Fellowships/schomburg.html.

3. Miguel Juárez, "De Frontera A Frontera/From Border to Border: The UB Library Internship/Residency Program," in *Diversity in Libraries: Academic Library Residency Programs*, ed. Raquel V. Cogell and Cindy A. Gruwell (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 29-34.

4. A few semesters prior to my arrival at SUNY Buffalo, Dr. Filiberto Martínez had been a doctoral student in the Library Science program, but by the time I got there he had graduated. Upon my arrival in Buffalo, some of the librarians asked me if I knew him. I didn't.

me as I transitioned to a full-time professional position one year later.⁵ I had also developed a great working relationship with one of my LIS professors whom I would often call and who always offered me sound advice as I contemplated new opportunities and even invited me to participate as a virtual guest in his online classes.⁶ At SUNY Buffalo, I engaged in outreach to student organizations and presented talks at career day at local elementary schools, where I asked students of color to envision themselves as future librarians. At a local career day, I told multicultural elementary students that if they were fanatical about organizing their CD collections, they could become librarians.

A brief discussion of my work in diversity efforts in academic libraries is needed, so that readers can have an idea of the range of my efforts in this rich area. After leaving the Undergraduate Library at the University at Buffalo, I took a position as the Fine Arts Librarian at the University of Arizona. At the University of Arizona library, I was one of the few Latino art librarians in the country and I strove to make a difference in diversity as part of the ARLIS, the Art Libraries Society of North America. I arrived at the University of Arizona at a time of turmoil in the Center for Creative Photography and again, I was one of a handful of Latino photography librarians, if not the only one, at a major university from 2000-2005. While at the University of Arizona, I was active in the group "Allies of LGBT Staff at the University of Arizona Library," worked on programming with this group from 1999 to 2005, and helped identify local funding to support a lecture by the late Leslie Feinberg at the Jewish Community Center.⁷

5. Thank you Glendora Johnson-Cooper (now an Associate Librarian/Social Sciences Librarian at SUNY Buffalo) for making my experience at SUNY Buffalo a great experience! Johnson-Cooper managed the Library Residency Program.

6. Thank you Dr. John Ellison for guiding me throughout my academic library career.

7. When I began my position as Fine Arts Librarian in 1999 at the University of Arizona Library, there was already an LGBT Employees group in existence. The Allies Group of LGBT Staff formed in 1996 after a library workshop, facilitated by Amy Zuckerman, called "Not So Straight II: A Continuing Dialogue with your Lesbian, Gay & Bisexual Colleagues. A result of

At Texas A&M, from 2005-06, as a new librarian, I was selected as chair of the Diversity Committee at the Sterling C. Evans Memorial Library, where I resurrected a languishing diversity committee. As part of our work, we increased attendance, participation, and interest in events, and I received letters of commendation for exceptional performance in chairing the committee. At Texas A&M a group of librarians took the exam and participated in the workshop for the book *Now Discover Your Strengths* and I was identified as being the only Woo⁸ in the library. The workshop leader told me someone else in another workshop had the same characteristic of being the only Woo in the library, and shortly thereafter left her institution. Even though I discounted it at the time, the same thing would eventually happen to me. I left Texas A&M in 2007.

While at UCLA, I was involved in diversity efforts in many of my professional positions and via service opportunities during the time period of 2007-2010. I served on the ALA Committee on Diversity (COD) from 2007-09, and was the Inaugural Chair of the Diversity Research Grant (DRG) Advisory Committee from 2007-09, when we designated the first research grant that was awarded to LGBT diversity research for the 2008-09 cycle. I also served as Juror for DRG Grant

this workshop was to continue working towards creating a more positive environment in the library. The Allies Group of LGBT staff organized yearly book exhibits during Pride Month, participated in the annual Pride March and promoted GLBT activities in the library. The group also maintained a listserv that included supportive staff and librarians, as well as support the Dean of Libraries and the Center for Creative Photography. In 2001, the core group of Allies members was mostly comprised of classified staff members. Although there were other LGBT librarians and managers on staff, these individuals did not seek to openly identify with the Allies Group, but were supportive of Allies' efforts. Having a background in programming and organizing exhibits in the past, and having an interest in LGBT issues in art, photography, and material culture, I was eager to work with the Allies Group in developing exhibits and programming. The group had not done as much programming associated with exhibits in their past.

8. According to the Clifton StrengthsFinder Themes that measures the presence of 34 talent themes: "People strong in the Woo love the challenge of meeting new people and winning them over and they derive satisfaction from breaking the ice and making a connection with another person." Strengths Test, "Clifton StrengthsFinder Themes," accessed 16 December 2014, http://www.strengthstest.com/theme_summary.php/.

after I stepped down from the chair position, from 2007 to 2010. While I was at UCLA, I also became chair of the Los Angeles meeting of the Southwest Oral History Association (SOHA) conference which was one of the most diverse meetings to date.

This overview delineates my academic library career, which took me to four Academic Level 1 institutions and six universities overall, including the State of New York at University at Buffalo in Amherst, New York; the University of Arizona Library in Tucson, Arizona; Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas; the Chicano Studies Research Center (CSRC) Library at UCLA; El Paso Community College; and the University of North Texas in Denton, Texas. In all of these places, I made friends and enjoyed working with diverse students, staff, and faculty.

As a result of all the micro-aggressions and things that happened to me while working at five predominantly white institutions, I could have easily become embittered, because I was often the only minority librarian, and more specifically I was often the only Latino male librarian on campus. After leaving my last position and instead of seeking another position, I decided to take time off to return to school and work towards a doctoral degree, something I had meant to do as early as my days at SUNY Buffalo when I was accepted into the doctoral program in American Studies. I decided to pass on the doctoral program at Buffalo and take the position as Fine Arts Librarian at the University of Arizona. In hindsight, my career could have been different if I had stayed and worked on my doctoral degree at Buffalo. Naively I thought that by working in a university, I would one day have the opportunity to take courses and obtain an advanced degree, but given the constraints of my positions, I never had the time to do so. The ability to take coursework and obtain additional graduate degrees is another opportunity that multicultural librarians often seek to supplement their MLS degrees, but because of workloads and other commitments, there is seldom time to pursue those additional credentials. Too often at many institutions librarians lack support in pursuing further graduate studies.

I believe that an enlightened academic library would be one that would allow actual time, as well provide support, both financial and release

time, for academic librarians to seek and acquire those advanced degrees and not just pay lip service to the availability of the opportunity to take three hours of coursework per semester. The library profession is littered with people who didn't finish their academic coursework because they were given the perk of taking three hours per semester for the rest of their lives. Yet in contrast, due to white privilege, some individuals are able to engage in coursework full-time, while their supervisors look the other way.

Queering the Academic Library Profession

To diversify the academic library profession I feel we need to queer it. By queering the profession, I mean *othering* it. This means making it what it has not traditionally been, and this concept may upset our ideas regarding traditional academic librarians. *Othering* it means one must employ different techniques to attract, hire, and retain people who do not look or act like you. It means hiring people who are different from present-day librarians or from the present wave of baby boomer librarians who have not retired. Coincidentally, the exodus of baby boomer librarians has only now begun to occur. Queering the profession also means collecting in areas that are non-traditional. It means hiring people who think differently, people who may challenge established environments. It means hiring people who you would not necessarily hire. These changes are needed for the academic librarian profession or we will not represent the diversity of our great country and we will also miss out on building collections of underrepresented groups who one day will be the majority population. Queering collections and libraries means giving face to hidden areas of growth, to non-hetero-normative, to non-white, to class issues, to the unspoken realities in people's lives.

As recent events (such as Sandra Bland's mysterious death, systematic civil rights violations, the high number of incarcerated Latinos and Blacks, and the anti-immigration rhetoric) have revealed, there is already an engrained and deep-seated distrust of underrepresented groups; hence, the push towards Ethnic Studies in public school curriculums

is an idea whose time has come. Yet changing the curriculum itself will not change the diversity of library staffs. In addition, much of the literature for diversifying academic libraries seems to focus on changing the environment for student success and not necessarily for staff and librarian success. But there have been some articles that showcase that diversity efforts have improved and that institutions are striving to “create inclusive communities.” William C. Welburn in his article “Creating Inclusive Communities: Diversity and the Responses of Academic Libraries,” sums up some of these advancements:

Racial and ethnic diversity is far more common in the staffs of academic libraries in predominantly white colleges and universities now than 40 years. Associations such as ACRL and ARL have become more inclusive in both participation and programming, leading initiatives that have created opportunities for groups that have been historically underrepresented among professional and managerial ranks. The strategies employed in cultivating leadership are well known in the academic library community. They begin with scholarship support to recruit new librarians from underrepresented backgrounds and one- to two-year residency programs in academic libraries, and continue with leadership institutes, dissemination of ideas at national conferences on diversity in libraries, and development of inventive hiring strategies. These strategies have enjoyed some important successes, as the competition for scholarships has increased and involvement in institutes has received widespread support within the academic library community. While turning the tide on declining participation and gaining in frontline and middle management positions, higher education in its libraries will continue to struggle over diversifying senior leadership.⁹

Welburn’s last phrase is key: “libraries will continue to struggle over diversifying senior leadership,” meaning that there will continue to be a lack of diversity among those that lead academic libraries. It is one thing for organizations to “value diversity,” and another to have diversity embedded in every level of the organization. What value is it to have entry-level non-tenured librarians from diverse backgrounds if the

9. William C. Welburn, “Creating Inclusive Communities: Diversity and the Responses of Academic Libraries,” *portal: Libraries and the Academy* 10, no. 3 (2010): 360.

tenure-granting bodies and administrative levels are still pretty much represented by the dominant racial group?

There is also a significant amount of white privilege in academic libraries and unfortunately it is not going to go away any time soon. White colleagues often hire people who look and act like them. When libraries do hire someone who doesn't think or act like them, they use phrases to question their choices and state things like: "You may not be a good fit here." Academic libraries do not hire based on differences, but on similarities. But who determines "good fit" in an era of changing demographics and in an era of changing expectations, in a time of change and flux? Privilege in its many forms, racial, class, gender, etc., is a problem facing academic libraries and a topic that is not addressed because it is the elephant in the room. In order to diversify staffs, collections, and institutions, it must begin with the individuals who chart the course for the library—what are their biases, what do they value, what do they give importance to? Any time you address this issue in the academic library environment, it makes people uncomfortable because it challenges deeply held feelings and presents ideas that may not be in line with their personal beliefs.

For the most part, academic libraries and the librarians who work in them often see themselves as bastions of progressiveness, but too often they are not. This sense of false progressiveness often manifests itself in library activities such as who is hired to support librarians' and archivists' work. Of the libraries I worked in throughout my career I noticed that white librarians often hired students and temporary staff who looked like them—white students and white contract librarians, many with little or no experience in working with or assisting students and staff from diverse backgrounds. We must not forget issues such as class in hiring diversely. I remember hiring a white student who was majoring in history to process a collection. She had only worked at fast food places but her goal was to become an historian. Later, after she obtained some experience, I was able to intercede on her behalf and place her as an intern at the Alamo in San Antonio. Thus, what I also want to stress is that at every library I worked in, it was important that I not lose my

ethnic identity but also my sense of fairness in providing opportunities for students, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds, class and/or situations. I purposefully made my ethnic identity, class, and interests part of my work in academic libraries, but it was also important that others be given the opportunity to learn about those who were different from themselves. As academic librarians of color, we cannot turn our backs against our cultures, or on students of color, just because we are trying to fit into a culture that oftentimes works against us.

Yet beyond who is hired and who is not, there are not enough minorities entering the profession to reflect growing multicultural populations.¹⁰ So imagine, once a person of color enters the profession and they find out that they are maybe the only librarian of color or one of the few at their institutions, what impetus does that provide for them to remain in the profession? How do they develop a supportive environment and a network of allies?

Becoming an Information Activist and Building Diverse Online Communities

As I mentioned earlier in this essay, even before becoming a librarian I was a community activist at heart. Being an activist, I have also always been very social and everywhere I have worked and lived I have built networks. Thus when social media was introduced as one of our tools in librarianship, I took to it like a fish to water.

Librarianship and social networking are two aspects of my life that have become interrelated. As long as there is a need for mediated use of information and scholarly guidance for use of collections, there will be a need for librarians and curators. As long as the standard modalities of scholarly creation and dissemination of knowledge, and the publications, databases, e-scholarship, and other ways that information is organized and sold to consumers exist, there will be a need for librarians in the

10. Ricardo Andrade and Alexandra Rivera, "Developing a Diversity-Competent Workforce: The UA Libraries' Experience," *Journal of Library Administration* 51 (2011): 693..

knowledge economy. In the next phase of library services, we will have to incorporate the data needs of faculty and researchers,¹¹ as well as respond to emerging trends in how users access data and information.¹²

Social media expanded the notion of mediated use in other formats and media. In many ways, librarianship has been a social media profession so the concept of social media is something we have worked with for a number of years, only in different forms. Social media tools by themselves will not replace librarianship but it will enrich it and make us work in new mediated ways.

Librarians and curators will continue to play roles in selecting and organizing information and collections for users, but now these roles will be shared in new and more exciting forms. I have used social media to engage with students, professors, and other users. I've used it to communicate with possible donors of collections, to approach potential donors, and to post announcements of lectures and events that I felt students and library users might be interested in. I also used this medium to get a sense of what was happening in the community and at venues around town (in the community).

I use social media to reach out to people in a non-obtrusive manner. I have also used it to develop affinity groups and as a form of outreach, as well as in the concept of "in-reach." In-reach is a form of communication with the people who already know, as opposed to the people who don't know. I have also used social media's chat capacity to have short and specific conversations with people in the same way that chat in libraries is frequently used to answer specific reference questions. All in all, social media is a good primer for librarians interested in learning and researching user needs.

11. Deborah E. Keil, "Research Data Needs from Academic Libraries: The Perspective of a Faculty Researcher," *Journal of Library Administration* 54, no.3 (2014): 233-240, DOI:10.1080/01930826.2014.915168.

12. Rajendra Madhavrao Kumbhar, "Academic Library's Responses to the Emerging Trends in Higher Education," *DESIDOC Journal of Library & Information Technology* 34, no. 6 (2014): 477-485.

For me, as an information community builder and scholar, social media tools are about making connections and harnessing the power of these tools to create new forms of communication, associations, and learning. Sometimes people are fearful of things they don't understand. These new technologies challenge notions of the familiar. In a way, as one of my social media friends Chola Con Cello has theorized, these tools speed up the process of making connections in ways people are uncomfortable with or are not ready to accept. Anytime someone fuses polar opposites (the ways artists usually do), people are going to react to these things and not always in a positive way. Yet at the same time, this creates a space where new ways of doing things emerges. In addition, having a background in information studies, now also informed by U.S. History, Borderlands and Transnational Urban History, and Digital Humanities, has created a rich hybridity within my research interests.

At every institution I have worked in I have made it a point to be engaged in building community with faculty of color, and with the community at large that I believe is integral to being successful in such an environment. As librarians and curators of color we often find ourselves in new cities and towns with no family, and often with no local support system and less cultural capital. Thus, it is important to build those social networks even if via social media, as many of us have done. My solution for maintaining engagement with librarians while pursuing a doctoral degree in a separate field has been creating affinity groups via social media. I have built two social media sites and am a member of many more groups where persons of color who are librarians, curators, and scholars, can come together to share ideas and projects, and where I remain tethered to colleagues in libraries and their institutions.

I'm the administrator of two social media groups where I engage with ethnic academic librarians: one is called "Latino/Chicano Academic Libraries" and includes 155 members and the other one is "Let's Build an Ethnic Studies Digital Archive," which has over 1,800 members who are librarians, archivists, faculty members, artists, writers, etc., all of whom are interested in ethnic studies, libraries, activism, arts, and more. I am also a member of other groups that include librarians: the

SUNY Buffalo Library Science Alumni; REFORMA Think Tank; Digital Frontiers; Ethnic and Multicultural Information Exchange Round Table (EMIERT); NACCS – National Association for Chicana and Chicano Studies; Archives Leadership Institute; Latina/o Studies Initiative; Teaching Face and Ethnic Studies; Latina/o Literature and Culture Society; ALA Think Tank; ALZAR; Social Responsibilities Round Table; *Archiveros, Documentalistas y C. Información*; Digital Humanities, Archives & Archivists; Critical Librarianship; *Bibliotecología Crítica para La Transformación Social*; SALALM; and *Archiveros en Facebook*, as well as others.

Climate & Karma: Why We Need a Diversity Report Card for Academic Libraries

I have suggested that departments initiate team building for new librarians in a department, without much success. It would be great if ALA or ARL or ACRL could create a diversity library report card for academic libraries that covers recruitment, retention, and attrition rates for librarians of color, so we could know where to apply and what libraries are challenged in these areas. The report card could mirror DiversityInc Magazine's "Top 50 Companies for Diversity," which features companies that "have publicly accessible materials on their diversity and inclusion initiatives" except in our case it would be for academic libraries.¹³ The diversity library report card could be modeled in accord with the diversity standards that were developed by the ACRL Racial and Ethnic Diversity Committee and approved by the ACRL Board of Directors in April 2012.¹⁴

Thirteen members of the committee developed the following standards:

13. Alexia Hudson-Ward, "Diversity and Inclusion: Online Resources for Education," *C&RL News* 75, no. 6 (2014): 336.

14. ACRL Racial and Ethnic Diversity Committee, "Diversity Standards: Cultural Competency for Academic Librarians, Approved by the ACRL Board of Directors, April 2012," *C&RL News* 73, no. 9 (2012): 551-561.

Standard 1. Cultural awareness of self and others. Librarians and library staff shall develop an understanding of their own personal and cultural values and beliefs as a first step in appreciating the importance of multicultural identities in the lives of the people they work with and serve.

Standard 2. Cross-cultural knowledge and skills. Librarians and library staff shall have and continue to develop specialized knowledge and understanding about the history, traditions, values, and artistic expressions of colleagues, co-workers, and major constituencies served.

Standard 3. Organizational and professional values. Librarians and library staff shall develop and support organizational and professional values dedicated to culturally competent service.

Standard 4. Development of collections, programs, and services. Librarians and library staff shall develop collections and provide programs and services that are inclusive of the needs of all persons in the community the library serves.

Standard 5. Service delivery. Librarians and library staff shall be knowledgeable about and skillful in the use and provision of information services available in the community and broader society, and shall be able to make appropriate referrals for their diverse constituencies.

Standard 6. Language diversity. Librarians and library staff shall support the preservation and promotion of linguistic diversity, and work to foster a climate of inclusion aimed at eliminating discrimination and oppression based on linguistic or other diversities.

Standard 7. Workforce diversity. Librarians and library staff shall support and advocate for recruitment, admissions, hiring, and retention efforts in libraries, library associations, and LIS programs to increase diversity and ensure continued diversity in the profession.

Standard 8. Organizational dynamics. Librarians and library staff shall participate in and facilitate the development of organizational dynamics that enable individuals, groups, and organizations to continually develop and exercise cultural competence.

Standard 9. Cross-cultural leadership. Library leaders shall influence, support, and encourage the creation of proactive processes that increase diversity skills; empower colleagues, co-workers, and constituents from diverse backgrounds; share information about diverse populations; and advocate for their concerns.

Standard 10. Professional education and continuous learning. Librarians and library staff shall advocate for and participate in educational and training programs that help advance cultural competence within the profession.

Standard 11. Research shall be inclusive and respectful of non-Western thought and traditional knowledge reflecting the value of cultural ways of knowing.¹⁵

Quality controls that I would add would include the Diversity Competency Descriptions developed by the Millennium Report Oversight Committee (MROC) at the University of Arizona, both at the Entry and the Mastery levels.¹⁶ These standards and competencies need to be part of the hiring stage and continue to the retention and promotion stages. They also need to be used in evaluating team leaders and library administrators. But by and large the aforementioned standards and competencies are not being practiced and are usually given lip service in academic libraries. Diversity efforts in academic libraries are highly fractured and inconsistent.

The creation of a tool for librarians to identify good places to work is essential in this day and age because that is how talented people decide where to work. As Alexia Hudson-Ward has stated in her article on recruitment and retention: "Potential employees desire meritocratic workplaces where the totality of an individual's diverse contributions and lifestyle choices matters as much as demographic differences."¹⁷

Numerous academic libraries embody cocoon-like environments not cognizant of the communities of color around them and this is reflected in lack of services for those communities or lack of collecting for and

15. Ibid., 552-553. Members of the 2012 Racial and Ethnic Diversity Committee included: Toni Anaya, University of Nebraska-Lincoln; Maria Carpenter, Northeastern University; Trevor Dawes, Princeton University; DeLoice Holliday, Indiana University; Emily Love, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Scott Mandernack, Marquette University; Charlene Maxey-Harris, University of Nebraska-Lincoln; Heleni Pedersoli, University of Maryland; Michelle Saunders, University of Arizona; Rayette Sterling, Eastern Washington University; Patrick Tomlin, University of Vermont; Melanee Vicedo, OCLC Fellow 2012; and Lesley Farmer, University of California-Long Beach, Editor.

16. Andrade and Rivera, "Developing a Diversity-Competent Workforce," 701-703.

17. Alexia Hudson-Ward, "Eyeing the New Diversity, An Emerging Paradigm for Recruitment and Retention," *American Libraries* July/August 2014, 32-35.

from them. My personal experiences suggest that institutions may talk the talk, but because of issues of white privilege and entrenched nepotism (and sometimes fear of the communities around them), although they mean well, they may not walk the talk. The situation is exacerbated by library organizations that supposedly exist to support academic libraries but have predominantly white boards.¹⁸

Sometimes there are signs that a certain position is not going to work out before one even starts. My advice is that if there are already signs that something does not sit right, it is best not to accept that position because usually those signs are spot on. When librarians take a new position, they are walking into a new culture; unless they have done their research or conferred with other librarians who have a history at that institution or if they are mentored by seasoned librarians who have the new librarian's best interest in mind, in the long run, the position might not work out.

Institutions should strive to hire diverse candidates but the reality is that in the present political climate, I feel diversity will continue to be a challenge to the profession. As this book of essays attests, a diverse environment is good for everyone: for students, for librarians, and for others. Even though demographics will continue to change and the country will strive to become more diverse, academic libraries need to reflect the communities they serve.

Efforts to diversify institutions begin with the people in those libraries; but most library directors and hiring committees are white, as well as predominantly straight. Just as these committees assess potential candidates in the hiring process, we too need to assess predominantly white academic libraries. In essence, we need to create a library report card

18. In 2014, the Association of Research Libraries (ARL), whose motto is "empowering the research library community," had a slate of fifteen white board members and no persons of color, as if diversity has taken a back seat: ARL, "Board of Directors," accessed December 11, 2014, <http://www.arl.org/about/board-of-directors>. On the other hand, the Association College and Research Libraries (ACRL) fared much better with three board members from underrepresented groups: ACRL, "Meet the ACRL Board of Directors," accessed December 11, 2014, <http://www.ala.org/acrl/aboutacrl/directoryof-leadership/board/meetboard>.

on diversity, inclusiveness, and equity. Even when institutions become more diverse, the nature of white privilege is usually carried over in the library's culture from the period when the library was predominantly white, which in many institutions is still the status quo.

I wish this essay would become happier right about here and we could all hold hands across the library boardroom and sing *kumbaya*, but today's academic library environments seem to be breeding grounds for incessant micro-aggressions against librarians of color. Academic librarians go into the profession, not because they are going to get rich, but because they love what they do. But seemingly, the constant micro-aggressions day-in and day-out eventually cause many to leave the profession or seek other kinds of opportunities. I know several academic librarians who are practically at the end of their ropes, but because they are holding out until their retirements, they are enduring the barrage of actions against them. It is also an economic issue: jobs are scarce and tenure-track positions are slowly becoming a thing of the past. Yet even in an unstable economy we need to do more. As ALA President Barbara K. Stripling recently stated in her article on equity, diversity, and inclusion in *American Libraries*:

What we know, however, is that we are not doing enough. Members of our communities and profession continue to face inequity and discrimination. We cannot pat ourselves on the back because we have groups to take action for us. Each one of us must accept personal responsibility to stand up for equity, diversity, and inclusion in our field and our communities.¹⁹

A solution would be to devote our work to transforming specific areas in data and information science, and evolve the profession into what it needs to be. With this idea in mind, I am reminded of the work of fellow information studies scholar Dr. Zapopan Muela-Meza and his

19. Barbara K. Stripling, President's Message, "Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion: Standing Up for Our Values," *American Libraries*, May 5, 2014, <http://americanlibrariesmagazine.org/2014/05/05/equity-diversity-and-inclusion/>.

theories of social transformation via critical bibliography.²⁰ In other words, what good is information if it doesn't aid in changing the lives of our citizens and our civilization? I believe that this book is one step in that direction.

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20. Zapopan Martín Muela-Meza, in "Bibliotecología crítica para la transformación social," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uG2BPwIh_Pc, accessed 12 December 2014. Dr. Muela-Meza, Ph.D. in Information Studies, University of Sheffield, UK, presented his paper on 19 April 2008 at the 1st Conference of LIS Alumni of the undergraduate program at the School of Philosophy and Letters, in Nuevo Leon Autonomous University, San Nicolas de los Garza, Nuevo Leon, Mexico.

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NBER WORKING PAPER SERIES

TAS LIKE ME: RACIAL INTERACTIONS BETWEEN GRADUATE TEACHING
ASSISTANTS AND UNDERGRADUATES

Lester Lusher
Doug Campbell
Scott Carrell

Working Paper 21568
<http://www.nber.org/papers/w21568>

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TAs Like Me: Racial Interactions between Graduate Teaching Assistants and Undergraduates
Lester Lusher, Doug Campbell, and Scott Carrell
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ABSTRACT

Over the past 40 years, higher education institutions in the U.S. have experienced a dramatic shift in the racial composition of students enrolled in both undergraduate and graduate programs. Using administrative data from a large, diverse university in California, we identify the extent to which the academic outcomes of undergraduates are affected by the race/ethnicity of their graduate student teaching assistants (TAs). To overcome selection issues in course taking, we exploit the timing of TA assignments, which occur after students enroll in a course, and we estimate models with both class and student fixed effects. Results show a positive and significant increase in course grades when students are assigned TAs of a similar race/ethnicity. These effects are largest in classes where TAs are given advanced copies of exams and when exams had no multiple choice questions. We also find that assignment to similar race TAs positively affect both section and office hour attendance, suggesting that TA-student match quality and role model effects are the primary drivers of the results.

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1 Introduction

From 1995 to 2012, the United States has steadily fallen relative to other developed countries in college completion rates. Over this short period of time, the US went from having the highest young-adult college completion rate among OECD countries to nineteenth.¹ Especially alarming is the fact that US college completion rates have stagnated *despite* increases in overall college attendance (Turner, 2004; Pew Research Center 2014) and large increases in the returns to a college education in the US (e.g. Goldin and Katz, 2009). Educational mobility in the US also trails the majority of other OECD countries. For example, in the US approximately 29% of men and 17% of women have less education than their parents, compared to the OECD averages of 19% and 13% of men and women, respectively.² Underlining these college completion rates are prominent racial gaps (Fry, 2002; Arcidiacono et al., 2011). In 2009, over 50% of Asian adults aged 25 and older held a bachelor’s degree or higher compared to less than 20% of African-Americans and Hispanics (Current Population Survey 2009). Such differences in postsecondary educational attainment could lead to persistent income inequality across racial groups (Altonji and Blank, 1999; Card, 1999; Jencks and Phillips, 1998).

A natural question to ask is, once students enter college, what factors determine the likelihood they succeed and graduate? Several prior studies have presented causal evidence on various university inputs that influence undergraduate success, including capacity constraints and resources (Bound et al., 2010; Bound et al., 2012), professor quality, gender, and race (Hoffmann and Oreopoulos, 2009b; Carrell and West, 2010; Hoffmann and Oreopoulos, 2009a; Carrell et al., 2010; Fairlie et al., 2014), coaching and advising (Bettinger and Baker, 2014; Angrist et al., 2009), and academic probation (Lindo et al., 2010).

One glaring omission from this literature centers on teaching assistants (TAs), who account for nearly 15% of the total employment of postsecondary teachers in the US annually

¹OECD (2014), Education at a Glance 2014, Chart A3.2. Twenty-eight member countries in 2012 were considered for the study.

²<http://www.businessinsider.com/r-us-falls-behind-in-college-competition-oecd-2014-9>

(Bureau of Labor Statistics, OES). TAs are graduate students employed by a university who perform various duties in the course while under the supervision of a professor or lecturer. Many of these duties likely impact student success in the course, including: 1) hosting small weekly discussion sections; 2) holding office hours; 3) tutoring; 4) proctoring exams; 5) grading assignments and exams; and 6) arranging other meetings with students. TA-student relationships are unique in that they are more likely to be a peer-based interaction, since the typical age gap between undergraduates and TAs is relatively small.³ Additionally, with class sizes and student-professor ratios increasing in the US (Cuseo, 2007; Kokkelenberg et al., 2008; Schanzenbach, 2014), TAs are likely to play an increasingly important role in the US post-secondary education system.

In this paper, we begin to shed light on the importance of TAs in the education production process. To do so, we focus on the role of TA race. Understanding how TA race influences student outcomes is particularly important given recent trends in the US. For the past 40 years, undergraduate and graduate programs have been experiencing a dramatic shift in student racial composition. In 1976, 82% of students enrolled in undergraduate programs in the US were White, compared to only 57% in 2013. A similar pattern can be observed in post-baccalaureate programs, where the fraction of non-White students grew by 180% from 1976 to 2013 (NCES 2014).

Why might students be influenced by TA race? Role model effects are often mentioned as an important determinant affecting educational outcomes. Another factor might include racial differences in the academic expectation of the student. Research from psychology and sociology suggests that equally skilled students of different races may perform differently due to the students' self-belief about their ability to succeed, and these gaps may be muted (or exacerbated) by the TA's race (Spencer et al., 1999). Another channel is a match quality effect, where TAs of different races may have, on average, particular teaching styles or

³Several studies have focused on the potential benefits of peer-based mentoring and tutoring. For example, Castleman and Page (2014) find that near-aged peer mentors in college who sent text messages during the summer to college-intending high school graduates substantially increased subsequent college enrollment.

capabilities which are better suited to students of similar race.⁴ Finally, TAs may exhibit bias with respect to how they treat, consciously or subconsciously, students of a similar race.

Several studies have investigated the importance of race and gender interactions between students and their teachers. A majority of these studies are at the primary and secondary school levels, and show mixed evidence of such interactions (e.g. [Ehrenberg et al., 1995](#); [Nixon and Robinson, 1999](#); [Lahelma, 2000](#); [Saft and Pianta, 2001](#); [Dee, 2004](#); [Dee, 2005](#); [Dee, 2007](#); [Carrington et al., 2005](#); [Carrington et al., 2008](#); [Holmlund and Sund, 2008](#); [Lavy and Schlosser, 2011](#); [Winters et al., 2013](#)). Fewer studies have evaluated teacher-student interactions at the postsecondary level, with a majority of studies focusing on professor gender. Results from early studies found mixed results, though these studies likely suffer from potential selection biases (e.g. [Rothstein, 1994](#); [Canes and Rosen, 1995](#); [Neumark and Gardecki, 1998](#)). More recent studies, which have exploited within class and within student variation to overcome selection issues have found positive same-gender effects on course grades, choice of major, course credits, and course dropping ([Bettinger and Long \(2005\)](#); [Hoffmann and Oreopoulos \(2009a\)](#); [Hoffmann and Oreopoulos \(2009b\)](#)). Likewise, using random assignment to courses [Carrell et al. \(2010\)](#) find that professor gender has a significant impact on female students' performance in STEM courses. Finally, most closely related to our study, [Fairlie et al. \(2014\)](#) focus on student-instructor race interactions at the community college level and find that race interactions play a large role in student outcomes.

To our knowledge, this is the first study to investigate the importance of TA-student race interactions.⁵ Our primary analyses come from detailed student administrative data from a public university in California, coupled with TA assignment data from the university's Department of Economics. The institution we study is large and racially-diverse. In 2014, of the over 34,000 students enrolled, 39% were Asian or Pacific Islander, 19% were Hispanic,

⁴This channel includes language matching where all else equal, a student learns more if particular material can be taught in the student's native language, and students who share the same race as their TAs are more likely to share the same native language.

⁵One exception is a study by [Borjas \(2000\)](#) who examined selection into course sections with foreign-born TAs across three introductory economics courses.

and 29% were White. Our data also include a survey that was offered to all professors who taught an economics class during the period of our study, which asked about exam structure (multiple choice vs. essay) and whether exams were shared with TAs prior to the exam date. Lastly, our data include an audit study conducted during the 2014-15 school year, which recorded student attendance during optional TA discussion sections and office hours.

We consider several empirical strategies to causally identify the effects of TA-student racial interactions and to overcome concerns of potential selection bias. Our primary analyses focus on models with class fixed effects, where we estimate differences in outcome variables between students across different races when assigned to the same TAs within the same class.⁶ Since the explanatory variable varies both within class, across students, and within student, across classes, the data also allow us to control for sorting that occurs across classes by simultaneously including student fixed effects and class fixed effects. This two-way fixed effect specification helps mitigate potential omitted variables bias. Still, a selection bias would arise in our setting if, for example, high ability students of particular races systemically enroll in classes with TAs of the same races. We find no evidence of endogenous sorting into classes by student race when predicting the race of the class' TAs with a full set of controls, including professor race and gender, student gender, high school GPA, age, class standing, and major. The lack of evidence of endogenous sorting is unsurprising since undergraduates in our setting have very little ability to identify which classes TAs are assigned to prior to enrolling in the class. Furthermore, the primary registration period for undergraduates occurs before TAs assignments are made by the economics department.⁷

We find that students perform better in classes taken with TAs who are of a similar race. We predict a 7.7% of a standard deviation increase in course grade for students who are assigned to TAs of similar race, relative to being assigned to TAs of dissimilar race.

⁶We define class as a combination of a course (e.g. Introductory Microeconomics), term (e.g. Fall 2010), and lecture. For popular courses, several lectures may be offered within the same term such that each lecture constitutes a different class. TAs are assigned to a single class within a term.

⁷While undergraduates still have the ability to register for courses after the end of the primary registration period, the majority of classes fill up by the time this period is over, leaving little capacity for students to be selective with their courses.

This result is robust across various specifications, racial categorizations, and subsamples. Race interactions have no impact on course withdrawal rates or likelihood of enrolling in subsequent courses in the same field.

Finally, we use the audit study and professor survey to offer evidence of the mechanisms driving the results. Identification of potential mechanisms is largely missing in the previous literature on racial interactions. Results show that students are more likely to attend their TAs' optional discussion sections and office hours when the TA is of a similar race, providing direct evidence of students responding to similarly-raced TAs. We also see that racial interaction effects are especially prominent in classes where TAs had been given a copy of the exam prior to the exam date. We interpret this result as evidence of "teaching to the exam", where TAs divulge information that is pertinent to the class' exams if given the opportunity. Students who are more likely to interact with the TAs by attending the TAs' discussion sections and office hours are the beneficiaries of teaching to the test. Lastly, racial interaction effects are strongest in classes which had no multiple choice on the exams. This result could stem from several possible explanations. First, critical thinking is typically a key component to success on essay-based questions, and critical thinking skills may be fostered in settings where students discuss and ask questions about the course material, such as in TA discussion sections and office hours. Another explanation suggests that TAs are (subconsciously) responding to students of similar race through grading. Classes with no multiple choice exams are classes where TAs have to exercise more subjective judgments when grading, and students of specific races may be more likely to answer non-multiple choice questions in a manner which TAs of similar race favor.

The remainder of this paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 introduces the data. Section 3 discusses our identification strategies and econometric specifications. Section 4 presents our results, and section 5 concludes.

2 Data

2.1 Data Sources and Institutional Background

Our paper centers on detailed student administrative data from a large, public university in California with a highly diversified student community. In 2014, over 34,000 students enrolled at the university, where 39% of the enrolled students were Asian or Pacific Islander, 19% were Hispanic, and 29% were White. U.S. News & World Report (2015) classifies the university admissions as “most selective” and ranks the university as one of the best public university in the United States. Our primary analyses link the student administrative data to graduate teaching assistant (TA) assignment data from the university’s economics department. The B.A. in Economics is the second largest major at the university, accounting for over 6% of degrees conferred annually. These data cover the academic school years from 2003 to 2011 for the three primary quarters of enrollment: Fall, Winter, and Spring.⁸

Each observation in our data set pertains to a student who enrolls in a class. We define a class as a combination of a course (e.g. ECN100), a term (e.g. Fall 2010), and a lecture. For popular courses, multiple lectures are often offered within the same term, with different TAs assigned to each lecture (and quite often, different professors). We have a series of student-level characteristics, including term admitted, major(s), admission basis (freshman vs. transfer), gender, race, nationality, parental education, and high school GPA. Student-by-term level variables include academic standing (Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior) and age. Finally, class-level controls include professor gender and race. We match each student by class observation to TAs assigned to the class. Since a single class may contain up to three TAs, we do not necessarily analyze one-to-one matches between a student and a TA.⁹ Consequently, as described in further detail in section 3, we link the race of a student enrolled in a class to the racial composition of the TAs assigned to the class.

⁸Hence, we do not focus on any special quarters, such as summer sessions.

⁹In economics courses, a student is technically assigned to a single TA, but often has the liberty to choose any of the TAs in their class to attend discussion sections, visit office hours, etc. Furthermore, it is the joint responsibility of all TAs within a class to assist with lectures, grade assignments and exams, etc.

Lastly, our paper utilizes two supplemental sets of data. First, in the Fall of 2014, we administered a survey that was offered to all professors who taught a class during our 2003 to 2011 time frame. For each class a professor taught, the survey recorded whether the professor shared a copy of the class’ exams with the TAs prior to the exam date and the structure of the exams (multiple choice vs. short/long answer). Approximately 58% of our total student-by-class observations are covered by professor survey responses. Secondly, in the Spring 2015 quarter, we conducted an audit study where student attendance by gender and race at TA discussion sections and office hours was recorded by an undergraduate research assistant who audited the class. TA discussion sections and office hours are hosted weekly throughout the quarter, and attendance in our setting is optional for enrolled students. Auditors visited the TA discussion sections during the third and fourth weeks of the term and the office hours during the fifth and sixth weeks. The audit study covers 124 discussion sections and 102 office hours.

2.2 Summary Statistics

The main part of our analysis focuses on two outcome variables at the student-by-class level: whether the student withdrew from the class (“Dropped Class”) and the grade received in the class, conditional on completing the course (“Standardized Grade”). We define a student as dropping the class if the student did not receive a letter grade (A through F with +/- modifiers), an “Incomplete” grade, or a “(No) Pass” grade in the class. “Dropped Class” is a binary variable. In order to account for differences in difficulty or grading standards across courses and terms, “Standardized Grade” is standardized to have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one by class. Other outcomes we save for the appendix include indicators for whether the student passed the class and whether the student enrolled in a class in the same subject in a subsequent term. [Table 1](#) presents summary statistics for our main sample of interest. We have 60,642 student-by-class observations, 19,522 students, 614 classes, and 286 teaching assistants. We define a student or a TA as of Asian race if their primary race is recorded as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, South-East Asian,

Vietnamese, Thai, or “Other Asian”.

3 Econometric Specifications

Our first specification estimates the impact of TA race for Asian and non-Asian student subsamples separately, using the following specification:

$$y_{ikt} = \gamma \textit{SameRaceTA}_{ikt} + \beta X_{ikt} + \lambda_k + \alpha_t + u_{ikt} \quad (1)$$

where y_{ikt} is an outcome for student i taking course k in school term t , X_{ikt} is a vector of student by class controls, λ_k and α_t are fixed effects for course and term, respectively, and u_{ikt} is the error term. $\textit{SameRaceTA}_{ikt}$ is the fraction of student i ’s TAs for course k in school term t that are of similar race to the student. In other words, if student i is (non-)Asian, then $\textit{SameRaceTA}_{ikt}$ is the fraction of the student’s TAs in course k and term t that are (non-)Asian. Since the number of TAs assigned to a class ranges from one to three, $\textit{SameRaceTA}_{ikt}$ carries a value of either 0, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, or 1. The estimated γ coefficients measure the average effect from taking a class in which all TAs are of a similar race versus all TAs of a different race, and captures both the racial interaction effect and a TA quality effect (if Asian TAs teach differently than non-Asian TAs, for example). The summation of the γ coefficients for the subsamples captures the interaction effect of a student being of similar race as their TAs (see Appendix).

The data also allow us to run the following specification, using class fixed effects:

$$y_{ikt} = \psi(A_i * \textit{AsianTA}_{ikt}) + \beta X_{it} + \lambda_{kt} + \alpha_{kA} + \delta_{tA} + u_{ikt} \quad (2)$$

where y_{ikt} is a class-specific outcome for student i , A_i is an indicator variable for whether student i is Asian, $\textit{AsianTA}_{ikt}$ is the Asian composition of student i ’s TAs for class kt , X_{it} is a vector of student by term controls, and λ_{kt} , α_{kA} , and δ_{tA} are class, course by race, and term by race fixed effects, respectively. Class fixed effects control for unobserved factors that

vary at the class level and affect student performance. Note that class fixed effects control for professor fixed effects since each class is taught by exactly one professor. These, in turn, control for the possibility that students of a particular race take classes with professors who are systematically different from other professors. Class fixed effects also avoid the need to rely on settings with standardized grading or testing procedures across classes since students within a class are completing the exact same assignments and tests. Thus, we are solely comparing the academic performances of Asian and non-Asian students within the same class and subjecting the students to the same class-level shocks, such as the professor’s and TAs’ characteristics (e.g. ability/experience) or the time of the class. Course by race fixed effects allow for racial differences in the outcome variable to vary across courses. These are necessary to account for the possibility that the courses in which non-Asians and Asians tend to perform differently are also the courses in which TAs tend to be non-Asian or Asian, respectively.¹⁰ Term by race fixed effects account for the possibility that the academic capabilities of Asian or non-Asian students are changing over time. ψ measures the average outcome gain for Asian students, relative to non-Asian students, from assignment to Asian TAs. Conversely, ψ measures the average outcome loss for non-Asian students, relative to Asian students, from assignment to Asian TAs versus non-Asian TAs.

Finally, to measure student attendance by race to TA discussion sections and office hours from the audit study, we consider the following specification:

$$fracStudentAsian_s = \rho AsianTA_s + \beta X_s + u_s \quad (3)$$

where each observation corresponds to TAs’ discussion sections or office hours. X_s comprises of indicators for the weekday, the time, and the individual auditor for the discussion section or office hour.¹¹ Observations are weighted by total attendance of students to the

¹⁰For example, Asian students may be more likely to enroll in an international studies course and Asian TAs may be more likely to be assigned to international studies. Indeed, our estimated magnitude of ψ slightly increases when we exclude course by race fixed effects (see Appendix Table A.3).

¹¹There were 23 separate auditors who attended the discussion sections and office hours.

discussion section or office hour. ρ is the expected increase in the fraction of attendees who are Asian in response to the discussion section or office hour being hosted by an Asian TA.

3.1 Identification

The primary threat to our identification strategy is potential selection into courses by TA race, which could result in a correlation between the error term u_{ikt} and the interaction term $A_i * AsianTA_{ikt}$ from specification (2). For example, our estimates would be biased if high ability Asian students systemically select into classes assigned Asian TAs and high ability non-Asian students systematically select into classes assigned non-Asian TAs. Prior work looking at professor-student relationships often suffer from such selection biases, where students of a particular gender/race, and different academic capabilities, select into classes based on the teacher gender/race.¹² To mitigate selection biases, previous studies often chose to focus on a sample of students or classes where selection was arguably not an issue.¹³ In our setting, it is nearly impossible for undergraduates to identify which TAs are assigned to which classes prior to enrolling in a class. Furthermore, the primary registration period for undergraduates occurs before the department even generates TA assignments for classes.¹⁴ While undergraduates (technically) have the ability to register for courses after the end of the primary registration period, the majority of classes fill up by the time this period is over, leaving little capacity for students to be selective with their courses. As a robustness check, we replace student-level controls in X_{it} with student fixed effects to control for any absolute sorting that takes place if, for instance, students taking classes with Asian TAs are systematically different from those who do not, irrespective of the student's race. Student fixed effects also implicitly control for differences in ability by race that exist across all classes, independent of the TAs' traits.

¹²Perhaps exacerbating selection biases in prior studies are services such as *ratemyprofessor.com*, which provide students with extensive information about their instructors.

¹³For example, Fairlie et al. (2014) focus on students with relatively low standing on registration priority lists since these students have little ability to be selective with their courses.

¹⁴For example, for the Spring 2014 term, which started in March, the primary undergraduate registration period started on February 3 and ended on February 14. The department of economics generated and privately revealed TA assignments on February 27 to TAs and professors.

We can formally test for endogenous enrollment by race since we have observables X_{ikt} that are correlated with u_{ikt} . In Table 2, we regress $AsianTA_{ikt}$ on observable characteristics and term and course fixed effects. The first column presents results from our main sample of interest, while the next two columns consider Asian and non-Asian student subsamples. The final three columns are laid out in a similar fashion, except they consider the subsample of classes taught by professors who completed the survey. Our regressors are generally small and weak predictors of Asian TA composition, and the race of the student is a very weak predictor of the racial composition of the TAs. For each regression, we test the hypothesis that all covariates are jointly equal to zero, conditional on term and course fixed effects, and report the p-values. Across all samples, we fail to reject the hypothesis that all covariates have no power in predicting TA race.¹⁵ Results from this analysis, coupled with practical knowledge of the selection process for students into classes, indicate that our primary regressor of interest suffers little to no endogeneity bias.

4 Results

4.1 Main Results

Table 3 presents our main results. The first two rows from Table 3 report estimates for γ from specification (1), where we regress our outcome variables on the fraction of TAs who are Asian and non-Asian for Asian and non-Asian student subsamples, respectively. Focusing on the first column, which includes term and course fixed effects, Asian students are about 0.2 percentage points more likely to drop the course when the racial composition of the TAs is entirely Asian, relative to being entirely non-Asian. Non-Asian students are about 0.1 percentage points more likely to drop the course when the class contains all non-Asian TAs. Both of these estimates are small and statistically insignificant. The summation of these two estimates is the expected relative effect between Asian and non-Asian students when

¹⁵We also consider the “sorting regressions” of Fairlie et al. (2014) in Appendix Table A.1, and find no evidence of endogenous sorting. The primary benefit of the Fairlie et al. (2014) specification is the ability to conditionalize on class fixed effects. A drawback is that one cannot simultaneously test the importance of observables X_{ikt} in predicting TA race.

the student has all Asian TAs instead of all non-Asian TAs. In order to test whether this summation is significant, we ran specification (1) with Asian TA composition on the entire sample while allowing for Asian-specific coefficients for each regressor. Standard errors are clustered by professor for all specifications.¹⁶ An estimate next to “Effect of Similar Race” reports the coefficient from the Asian TA composition variable interacted with an Asian student dummy variable and is equivalent to the summation of the coefficients on the TA racial composition variable from the separate regressions of Asian and non-Asian student subsamples. The second column for each outcome variable includes a full set of controls, while the third column replaces course and term fixed effects with class fixed effects. The final column for each outcome variable replaces student-level controls with student fixed effects. Panel B presents the results for classes where the professor responded to our survey. We find no evidence across all specifications that Asian and non-Asian students differ in their choice to drop a course based on the racial composition of the class’ TAs.

Table 3 also suggests that students receive significantly higher grades in response to being assigned TAs of similar race. Interpreting from column (5), we see that Asian students receive a 2.3% of a standard deviation increase in course grade when the racial composition of the TAs is entirely Asian. Similarly, non-Asian students see a 3.7% of a standard deviation increase in course grade when enrolled in a class with all non-Asian TAs. The summation of these two estimates is statistically significant, suggesting that students perform better when taking a class with TAs who are of a similar race as themselves. From our model with both class and student fixed effects, we predict a statistically significant 7.7% of a standard deviation increase in course grade when students are matched to TAs who are all of a similar race as themselves.¹⁷

¹⁶With fewer professor clusters than class clusters, we conservatively cluster at the professor level instead of the class level. Ideally, we would cluster at the TA level, but since a single class may contain up to three TAs, a single observation may belong to up to three TA clusters. There are fewer professors than TAs in our setting. As a robustness check, we consider the subsample of classes which had only one TA and cluster at the TA level. Both estimated magnitudes and standard errors slightly increase, with the results remaining largely statistically significant (see Appendix Table A.3, Panel C). The standard errors decrease when we cluster at the class level instead of professor level.

¹⁷When the data are parsed by White and non-White students and TAs, this coefficient drops slightly to

4.2 Mechanisms

An important question to address for welfare and policy implications centers on the mechanisms that are driving our results. TA race could influence student outcomes in several manners. Role model effects are often mentioned as a determinant affecting educational outcomes, where in our setting, students may be inspired by their TAs, or be more comfortable approaching and learning from their TAs, due to the TA sharing a similar race. Another channel is a match quality effect, where TAs of different race/ethnicity have particular teaching styles which are better suited to students of similar race/ethnicity. Included in this channel is a language matching effect, where students learn more if course material can be explained in the student’s native language, and students who share the same race/ethnicity as their TAs are more likely to share a native language. Thus, with a match quality effect, students and TAs are not directly responding to the other’s race, but instead students are reacting to a characteristic that is, on average, associated with their TAs’ race/ethnicity. Finally, TAs could exhibit bias with respect to how they treat students of a similar race. Discrimination could happen on a subconscious level as well where, for example, TAs of particular races may be more lenient when grading certain types of errors on exams that are more likely to be made by students of similar race. The consequences of each of the three channels provide us with testable hypotheses in order to separately identify the mechanisms behind our results. While we cannot rule out a discrimination effect, the body of evidence presented below suggests that match quality effects and role model effects are the primary drivers for our results.

To start, we test for student response to TA race in the form of student attendance to TA discussion sections and office hours in a setting where attendance is completely optional. Results from specification (3) for the audit study are presented in [Table 4](#). Across all specifications and in both discussion sections and office hours, we find that TA race is

0.076 standard deviations, and maintains statistical significance at the 1% level (see Appendix [Table A.5](#)). Racial interactions remain statistically significant when we consider specifications (1) and (2) with finer race categorizations (see Appendix [Table A.6](#) and [Table A.7](#)).

positively related to the race of the attending students. From column (3), we predict an 8.4 percentage point increase in the fraction of attending students who are Asian in response to the discussion section being taught by an Asian TA. For office hours, we estimate a 20 percentage point increase in fraction of Asian attendees in response to the office hour being hosted by an Asian TA.¹⁸ These results provide evidence of students directly responding to TAs of similar race. Furthermore, the underlying motive for the students' attendance may be driven by a match quality effect, where a student is learning more from their TAs due to the TAs' teaching styles or capabilities.

Table 5 presents results from the professor survey. We first see that in classes with no multiple choice exams, Asian students see boosts in their grades in response to Asian TAs, while non-Asian students see their grades rise when assigned non-Asian TAs. The estimated racial interaction effect in classes with no multiple choice is 0.217 for the specification with both student and class fixed effects. We observe smaller, statistically insignificant interaction effects when focusing on classes that had exams with multiple choice. One could interpret this finding as suggestive evidence of match-quality effect, where classes with no multiple choice exams may proxy for classes where critical thinking is a key component to student success, and critical thinking skills may be fostered in settings where students discuss and ask questions about the course material, such as in TA discussion sections and office hours. Another explanation, suggesting discrimination, stems from TA grading behavior. Classes with no multiple choice exams likely results in TAs having to exercise more subjective judgments when grading. Students of specific races may be more likely to answer non-multiple choice questions in a manner which TAs of a similar race favor. For example, an essay from an Asian student may be written in a style that is graded more favorably by an Asian TA relative to a non-Asian TA.¹⁹

¹⁸The total number of (non-)Asian students who attend discussion sections increases when the TA is (non-)Asian. On the other hand, the total number of office hour attendees decreases, irrespective of student race, in response to office hours being hosted by an Asian TA; the decrease in Asian student attendees is smaller than the decrease from non-Asian student attendees.

¹⁹This latter example would need to simultaneously apply to both Asian and non-Asian students, since both Asian and non-Asian students see boosts in their grades when matched to TAs of similar race while

Table 5 also suggests that the observed racial interaction effects are especially driven by classes where TAs were given advanced copies of the exam. From column (6), we predict an 11.6% of a standard deviation increase in course grade for Asian students when taking a class with all Asian TAs versus non-Asian TAs. Similarly, non-Asian students see a boost of 3.9% of a standard deviation in course grade in response to taking a class with all non-Asian TAs instead of Asian TAs. Estimated racial interaction effects are statistically significant at the 10% level across all considered specifications. We interpret these results as further reinforcement of a role model effect and TA-student match quality effect. When a TA is given a copy of the exam, the TA has the ability to “teach to the test” by adjusting his/her discussion section and office hour lessons to better suit the material that will appear on the exam. Teaching to the test would benefit students who attend discussion sections and office hours, and as evidenced from the audit study, attending students tend to be of similar race as the TA.²⁰

5 Conclusions

In spite of increases in overall attendance, college completion rates have stagnated in the US. A natural question to ask is, once the student enters college, what factors determine student success? The goal of this paper is to shed light on the importance of TAs in the education production process, focusing on the role of TA race. Understanding how TA race influences student outcomes is particularly important given recent trends in the US, where the fraction of non-White undergraduate and graduate students has nearly tripled over the past 40 years. Prominent racial gaps, in turn, lead to persistent income inequality across racial groups.

Our primary analyses come from detailed student administrative data from a public, diverse undergraduate university in California. We consider several empirical strategies to overcome concerns of potential selection bias. We first focus on models with class fixed effects,

taking a class with no multiple choice exams.

²⁰The racial interaction effect is strongest in classes that had both shared exams with TAs and no multiple choice (see Appendix Table A.4).

where we compare differences in outcomes between students across different races when assigned to the same TAs within the same class. Furthermore, we simultaneously control for sorting that occurs across classes by including student fixed effects. While selection bias could still arise from this two-way fixed effect specification, we find no evidence of endogenous sorting into classes by student race when predicting the race of the class' TAs with a full set of controls. The lack of sorting is unsurprising since students have very little ability identifying which classes TAs are assigned to, and TA assignments are generated after the undergraduates' primary registration period ends.

We find that students perform better when taking a class with TAs who are of a similar race. Race interactions have no impact on course withdrawal rates or likelihood of enrolling in subsequent courses in the same field. Students are more likely to attend their TA's optional office hours and discussion sections when the TA is of a similar race. Racial interactions are strongest in classes where TAs had been given a copy of the exam prior to the exam date, and when the exams for the class had no multiple choice. The body of evidence suggests that role model effects and match quality effects between TAs and their students play noticeable roles in determining student success.

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Main Tables

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	SD	Obseervations
<i>Panel A. Sample characteristics, student level</i>			
			19522
Male	0.528	0.499	
High School Grade Point Average (GPA)	3.641	0.360	
Admitted as transfer	0.201	0.400	
International student	0.039	0.192	
First generation college student	0.388	0.487	
Double major	0.039	0.193	
<i>Panel B. Sample characteristics, class level</i>			
			614
Number of students registered	117.417	83.147	
Professor White	0.713	0.453	
Professor Asian	0.138	0.346	
	White	Asian	Other/ Minority
<i>Panel C. Student outcomes, student-class level</i>			
Dropped course	0.010	0.010	0.019
Observations: 60,642	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.135)
Grade	2.552	2.756	2.348
Observations: 57,718	(1.015)	(0.988)	(1.074)
Passed class	0.840	0.877	0.780
Observations: 59,121	(0.367)	(0.329)	(0.414)
Enroll in subsequent class, same field	0.643	0.605	0.608
Observations: 60,642	(0.479)	(0.489)	(0.488)
	Students		Teaching Assistants
	Mean	SD	Obs.
	Mean	SD	Obs.
<i>Panel D. Student and TA shares by race</i>			
White	0.332	0.471	
Asian	0.449	0.497	19,522
Other/Minority	0.219	0.414	

Table 2: Falsification Test – Regression of racial composition of TAs on observables

	Full Sample			Prof. Survey Sample		
	All students	Asian	Non-Asian	All	Asian	Non-Asian
Outcome: Fraction TAs Asian						
Asian Student	0.000 (0.004)	— —	— —	0.002 (0.004)	— —	— —
Female Student	0.000 (0.003)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.005 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.005)
Admit as Transfer	0.016** (0.008)	0.023* (0.012)	0.013 (0.011)	0.011 (0.010)	0.023 (0.015)	0.004 (0.013)
Age	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.001)
International Student	-0.011 (0.010)	-0.009 (0.010)	-0.014 (0.018)	-0.014 (0.010)	-0.009 (0.011)	-0.030 (0.021)
First Generation	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.005)
High School GPA	0.004 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.008)	0.013** (0.006)	0.003 (0.007)	-0.000 (0.009)	0.008 (0.008)
Admission Year	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.007 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.005)
Same Major as Class	0.000 (0.006)	0.002 (0.007)	-0.003 (0.007)	0.000 (0.007)	-0.000 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.008)
Double Major	0.000 (0.007)	0.001 (0.010)	0.001 (0.009)	0.007 (0.009)	0.005 (0.011)	0.010 (0.011)
Freshman	0.002 (0.010)	-0.010 (0.014)	0.012 (0.012)	-0.001 (0.013)	-0.015 (0.016)	0.012 (0.015)
Sophomore	0.008 (0.007)	0.005 (0.010)	0.009 (0.010)	0.002 (0.010)	-0.001 (0.012)	0.007 (0.012)
Junior	0.001 (0.006)	0.000 (0.008)	0.003 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.008)	-0.010 (0.010)	0.007 (0.008)
Female Professor	-0.056 (0.042)	-0.057 (0.041)	-0.056 (0.044)	-0.031 (0.059)	-0.047 (0.058)	-0.016 (0.061)
Asian Professor	0.054 (0.047)	0.046 (0.047)	0.061 (0.049)	0.093 (0.071)	0.081 (0.073)	0.107 (0.071)
Course & Term FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
P-value: Joint Significance	0.706	0.421	0.389	0.891	0.540	0.592
R-squared	0.220	0.235	0.209	0.306	0.311	0.306
Observations	60642	29391	31251	35023	17448	17575

Notes: Each specification presents results for a regression where the dependent variable is the fraction of the student's TAs in the class that were Asian. Coefficients for term and course FE are not shown. P-value for joint significance of all individual covariates, conditional on term and course FE, included. The first column is our full sample. The next two columns consider Asian and non-Asian student subsamples. The final three columns pertain to the sample of classes taught by professors who participated in our survey. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered by class. One, two, and three asterisks indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

Table 3: Main Results

	Dropped Class				Standardized Grade			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Panel A: Full Sample								
Asian Students								
w/ Asian TAs	0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	—	—	0.023 (0.014)	0.031** (0.014)	—	—
Non-Asian Students								
w/ Non-Asian TAs	0.000 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)	—	—	0.037** (0.014)	0.045*** (0.014)	—	—
Effect of Similar Race	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	0.061** (0.026)	0.076*** (0.024)	0.078*** (0.025)	0.077*** (0.019)
Observations	60642	60642	60642	51653	57718	57718	57718	49177
Panel B: Professor Survey Sample								
Asian Students								
w/ Asian TAs	0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	—	—	0.036* (0.019)	0.039** (0.018)	—	—
Non-Asian Students								
w/ Non-Asian TAs	0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	—	—	0.030 (0.022)	0.040* (0.023)	—	—
Effect of Similar Race	0.003 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	0.005 (0.006)	0.066* (0.039)	0.079** (0.036)	0.080** (0.036)	0.086*** (0.027)
Observations	35649	35649	35649	30670	33997	33997	33997	29262
Term FE	X	X			X	X		
Course FE	X	X			X	X		
Class FE			X	X			X	X
Student FE				X				X
Controls:								
Professor		X				X		
Student		X	X			X	X	
Student X Term		X	X	X		X	X	X

Notes: Each cell reports the coefficient for similar race graduate TA composition, or in the case of “Effect of Similar Race”, Asian graduate TA composition interacted with an Asian student dummy. Standardized grade has a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one by class. Controls include age when class began, high school GPA, and admission year, as well as indicators for student gender, international vs. domestic, whether parents attended college, admittance (transfer vs. freshman), whether the student is majoring in the subject of the course, double major, class standing (Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior), and professor gender and race. All “Effect of Similar Race” specifications include course by race and term by race fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered by professor. One, two, and three asterisks indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

Table 4: Audit Study of TA Section and Office Hour Attendance

	Discussion Section			Office Hours			Pooled	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
% students Asian								
Asian TA	0.076** (0.034)	0.085* (0.044)	0.084* (0.045)	0.330*** (0.120)	0.134 (0.124)	0.200* (0.103)	0.081* (0.045)	0.081** (0.038)
Observations		118			43			161
Mean of outcome		0.576			0.622			0.588
Controls		X	X		X	X	X	X
Weighted observations			X			X		X

Notes: Each cell reports the coefficient on an indicator for whether the TA for the discussion section or office hour was Asian. The outcome variable is the fraction of attended students who were Asian. Controls include indicators for weekday, time slot, and auditor. Robust standard errors presented in parenthesis. One, two, and three asterisks indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

Table 5: Professor Survey Results

	No Multiple Choice Exams				Some/All Multiple Choice			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Outcome: Standardized Grade								
Asian Students								
w/ Asian TAs	0.064** (0.024)	0.062 (0.061)	—	—	0.044 (0.030)	0.009 (0.034)	—	—
Non-Asian Students								
w/ Non-Asian TAs	0.132*** (0.024)	0.139*** (0.046)	—	—	0.002 (0.030)	0.026 (0.038)	—	—
Effect of Similar Race	0.196*** (0.041)	0.201*** (0.065)	0.199*** (0.042)	0.217*** (0.070)	0.046 (0.055)	0.035 (0.044)	0.046 (0.056)	0.040 (0.048)
Observations	9185	8883	9185	8883	24290	19861	24290	19861
	<u>Exams Withheld from TAs</u>				<u>Exams Shared with TAs</u>			
Asian Students								
w/ Asian TAs	-0.000 (0.021)	-0.030 (0.064)	—	—	0.081*** (0.027)	0.116* (0.065)	—	—
Non-Asian Students								
w/ Non-Asian TAs	-0.000 (0.032)	0.105 (0.103)	—	—	0.045 (0.035)	0.039 (0.051)	—	—
Effect of Similar Race	-0.000 (0.046)	0.075 (0.096)	-0.003 (0.048)	0.056 (0.093)	0.126** (0.055)	0.155* (0.081)	0.127** (0.055)	0.172** (0.081)
Observations	9189	8296	9189	8296	19119	15503	19119	15503
Term FE	X	X			X	X		
Course FE	X	X			X	X		
Class FE			X	X			X	X
Student FE		X		X		X		X
Controls:								
Professor	X	X			X	X		
Student	X		X		X		X	
Student X Term	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: Each cell reports the coefficient for similar race graduate TA composition, or in the case of “Effect of Similar Race”, Asian graduate TA composition interacted with an Asian student dummy. Standardized grade has a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one by class. Controls include age when class began, high school GPA, and admission year, as well as indicators for student gender, international vs. domestic, whether parents attended college, admittance (transfer vs. freshman), whether the student is majoring in the subject of the course, double major, class standing (Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior), and professor gender and race. All “Effect of Similar Race” specifications include course by race and term by race fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered by professor. One, two, and three asterisks indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

Results Appendix

Claim: summation of γ coefficients from subsample regressions of equation (1) produces racial interaction effect. Consider the following three regressions:

For Asian students:

$$y_{ikt} = \gamma_1 AsianTA_{ikt} + \beta X_{ikt} + \lambda_k + \alpha_t + u_{ikt} \quad (4)$$

For non-Asian students:

$$y_{ikt} = \gamma_2 AsianTA_{ikt} + \beta X_{ikt} + \lambda_k + \alpha_t + u_{ikt} \quad (5)$$

For non-Asian students:

$$y_{ikt} = \gamma_3 nonAsianTA_{ikt} + \beta X_{ikt} + \lambda_k + \alpha_t + u_{ikt} \quad (6)$$

γ_1 captures both the racial interaction effect and an overall TA quality effect (if, for example, Asian TAs teach differently than non-Asian TAs, on average). The difference between γ_1 and γ_2 is the relative racial difference predicted from assignment to a class with all Asian TAs, and thus captures the interaction effect of a student being of similar race as their TAs. Note that $\gamma_3 = -\gamma_2$. Hence, the summation of γ_1 and γ_3 captures the racial interaction effect. Thus, the summation of the γ coefficients for the subsamples from equation (1) produces the racial interaction effect.

“Sorting Regressions” from Fairlie et al., 2014:

$$\bar{X}_{ac} = \delta_1 AsianTA_c + \delta_2 I_a + \delta_3 AsianTA_c * I_a + v_{ac} \quad (7)$$

Table A.1: Sorting Regressions – Fairlie et al., 2014 (AER)

	Female	High School GPA	Age	Admit as Transfer	# Prior Units	Double Major	Inter- national	Class Major
Full Sample	0.014 (0.018)	-0.018 (0.014)	-0.024 (0.061)	0.007 (0.015)	-1.537 (1.924)	-0.014 (0.018)	-0.000 (0.012)	0.003 (0.017)
Professor Survey Subsample	0.013 (0.023)	-0.001 (0.016)	-0.065 (0.087)	0.008 (0.022)	-1.759 (2.934)	-0.008 (0.027)	0.009 (0.018)	-0.009 (0.022)
Classes with one TA	0.005 (0.024)	-0.019 (0.019)	-0.060 (0.071)	-0.007 (0.020)	-1.390 (2.424)	-0.011 (0.024)	-0.003 (0.016)	0.002 (0.021)
Class FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Notes: Each cell displays results from a regression of the race-specific average student outcomes in a classroom on an indicator for whether the average is associated with Asian students, the fraction of the TAs assigned to the class who are Asian, the interaction between these two variables, and class fixed effects. This table reports the coefficient on the interaction term, which can be interpreted as the extent to which Asian students sort into classes assigned Asian TAs. Outcomes for each regression vary across columns. Rows are defined by the subsample of students we consider. Students and TAs are classified as Asian if their primary race is recorded as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, South-East Asian, Vietnamese, Thai, or “Other Asian”. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered by professor. One, two, and three asterisks indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

Table A.2: Main Results – More Outcomes

	Passed Class				Enroll in Another Class			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Panel A: Full Sample								
Asian Students								
w/ Asian TAs	0.003 (0.007)	0.006 (0.006)	— —	— —	0.012 (0.018)	0.019 (0.016)	— —	— —
Non-Asian Students								
w/ Non-Asian TAs	0.013* (0.008)	0.014* (0.007)	— —	— —	-0.003 (0.013)	-0.008 (0.013)	— —	— —
Effect of Similar Race	0.017** (0.007)	0.020*** (0.007)	0.017** (0.007)	0.030*** (0.008)	0.009 (0.016)	0.011 (0.015)	0.017 (0.017)	0.004 (0.025)
Observations	59121	59121	59121	50329	22288	22288	22288	16904
Panel B: Professor Survey Sample								
Asian Students								
w/ Asian TAs	0.012 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	— —	— —	0.039* (0.022)	0.039* (0.022)	— —	— —
Non-Asian Students								
w/ Non-Asian TAs	-0.000 (0.009)	0.002 (0.010)	— —	— —	-0.007 (0.020)	-0.006 (0.021)	— —	— —
Effect of Similar Race	0.012 (0.011)	0.014 (0.011)	0.014 (0.011)	0.025** (0.010)	0.032 (0.020)	0.032 (0.019)	0.049** (0.023)	0.002 (0.046)
Observations	34751	34751	34751	29885	12622	12622	12622	9637
Term FE	X	X			X	X		
Course FE	X	X			X	X		
Class FE			X	X			X	X
Student FE				X				X
Controls:								
Professor		X				X		
Student		X	X			X	X	
Student X Term		X	X	X		X	X	X

Notes: Each cell reports the coefficient for similar race graduate TA composition, or in the case of “Effect of Similar Race”, Asian graduate TA composition interacted with an Asian student dummy. Both outcome variables are indicators, one for whether the student passed the class and another for whether the student (Freshman or Sophomore) took another class in the same field in a subsequent term. Controls include age when class began, high school GPA, and admission year, as well as indicators for student gender, international vs. domestic, whether parents attended college, admittance (transfer vs. freshman), whether the student is majoring in the subject of the course, double major, class standing (Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior), and professor gender and race. All “Effect of Similar Race” specifications include course by race and term by race fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered by professor. One, two, and three asterisks indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

Table A.3: Robustness Check – Additional Specifications

	Standardized Grade						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
<u>Panel A: Full Sample</u>							
Asian Students							
w/ Asian TAs	0.023 (0.014)	0.020 (0.017)	0.031** (0.014)	— —	-0.019 (0.021)	0.034* (0.017)	— —
Non-Asian Students							
w/ Non-Asian TAs	0.037** (0.014)	0.079*** (0.015)	0.045*** (0.014)	— —	0.132*** (0.019)	0.040** (0.017)	— —
Effect of Similar Race	0.061** (0.026)	0.098*** (0.023)	0.076*** (0.024)	0.096*** (0.024)	0.113*** (0.021)	0.074*** (0.020)	0.116*** (0.020)
Observations	57718	57718	57718	57718	49177	49177	49177
<u>Panel B: Professor Survey Sample</u>							
Asian Students							
w/ Asian TAs	0.034* (0.019)	0.011 (0.020)	0.037** (0.018)	— —	-0.038 (0.029)	0.018 (0.024)	— —
Non-Asian Students							
w/ Non-Asian TAs	0.030 (0.023)	0.072*** (0.020)	0.041* (0.023)	— —	0.159*** (0.024)	0.063** (0.026)	— —
Effect of Similar Race	0.065* (0.038)	0.083*** (0.031)	0.077** (0.036)	0.079** (0.031)	0.120*** (0.027)	0.081*** (0.026)	0.118*** (0.025)
Observations	33399	33399	33399	33399	28683	28683	28683
<u>Panel C: Single TA Class</u>							
Asian Students							
w/ Asian TAs	0.039** (0.017)	0.036 (0.022)	0.043** (0.019)	— —	0.031 (0.026)	0.063** (0.026)	— —
Non-Asian Students							
w/ Non-Asian TAs	0.051*** (0.018)	0.070*** (0.021)	0.052*** (0.017)	— —	0.077** (0.031)	0.037 (0.022)	— —
Effect of Similar Race	0.090*** (0.031)	0.106*** (0.034)	0.096*** (0.030)	0.108*** (0.035)	0.109*** (0.033)	0.100*** (0.030)	0.113*** (0.034)
Observations	17500	17500	17500	17500	16841	16841	16841
Term FE	X		X			X	
Course FE	X		X			X	
Class FE				X			X
Student FE					X	X	X
Controls:							
Professor		X	X				
Student		X	X	X			
Student X Term		X	X	X			

Notes: Each cell reports the coefficient for similar race graduate TA composition, or in the case of “Effect of Similar Race”, Asian graduate TA composition interacted with an Asian student dummy. Both outcome variables are indicators, one for whether the student passed the class and another for whether the student took another class in the same field in a subsequent term. Controls include age when class began, high school GPA, and admission year, as well as indicators for student gender, international vs. domestic, whether parents attended college, admittance (transfer vs. freshman), whether the student is majoring in the subject of the course, double major, class standing (Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior), and professor gender and race. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered by professor, except for in Panel C, where standard errors are clustered by teaching assistant. One, two, and three asterisks indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

Table A.4: Professor Survey Results

	Professor Survey Sample					
	All	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Outcome: Standardized Grade						
Effect of Similar Race	0.080** (0.036)	0.066 (0.039)	-0.067 (0.057)	0.167 (0.097)	0.179 (0.128)	0.235*** (0.046)
Multiple Choice Exams	—	Yes & No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Share Exams with TAs	—	Yes & No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Class FE	X	X	X	X	X	X
Course X Race FE	X	X	X	X	X	X
Term X Race FE	X	X	X	X	X	X
Controls:						
Professor						
Student	X	X	X	X	X	X
Student X Term	X	X	X	X	X	X
Observations	33997	27837	7915	13643	897	5382

Notes: Each cell reports the coefficient on the interaction between a student identifier for Asian and fraction of TAs Asian. The first column reports estimates for the subsample of classes where professors gave a response to whether they shared the exam with the TAs and what fraction of their class' exams were multiple choice. The remaining columns consider further survey subsamples. All specifications include course by race fixed effects. Controls include age when class began, high school GPA, and admission year, as well as indicators for student gender, international vs. domestic, whether parents attended college, admittance (transfer vs. freshman), whether the student is majoring in the subject of the course, double major, and class standing (Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior). Standard errors in parentheses, clustered by professor. One, two, and three asterisks indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

Table A.5: Main Results by White vs. Non-White

	Dropped Class				Standardized Grade			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
<u>Panel A: Full Sample</u>								
White Students								
w/ White TAs	0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	—	—	0.081*** (0.017)	0.075*** (0.016)	—	—
Non-White Students								
w/ Non-White TAs	0.002 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	—	—	0.031*** (0.010)	0.029** (0.011)	—	—
Effect of Similar Race	0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.111*** (0.024)	0.104*** (0.023)	0.107*** (0.024)	0.076*** (0.022)
Observations	60642	60642	60642	51653	57718	57718	57718	49177
<u>Panel B: Professor Survey Sample</u>								
White Students								
w/ White TAs	0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	—	—	0.078*** (0.021)	0.071*** (0.021)	—	—
Non-White Students								
w/ Non-White TAs	-0.000 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.002)	—	—	0.041*** (0.013)	0.038** (0.015)	—	—
Effect of Similar Race	0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.005)	0.119*** (0.030)	0.109*** (0.030)	0.114*** (0.030)	0.072** (0.030)
Observations	35649	35649	35649	30670	33997	33997	33997	29262
Term FE	X	X			X	X		
Course FE	X	X			X	X		
Class FE			X	X			X	X
Student FE				X				X
Controls:								
Professor		X				X		
Student		X	X			X	X	
Student X Term		X	X	X		X	X	X

Notes: Each cell reports the coefficient for White graduate TA composition, or in the case of Difference, White graduate TA composition interacted with a White student dummy. Standardized grade has a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one by class. Controls include age when class began, high school GPA, and admission year, as well as indicators for student gender, international vs. domestic, whether parents attended college, admittance (transfer vs. freshman), whether the student is majoring in the subject of the course, double major, class standing (Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior), and professor gender and race. All “Difference” specifications include course by race and term by race fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered by professor. One, two, and three asterisks indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

Table A.6: Estimated Role of TA Race for Student Outcomes - Group by Group Regressions

Panel A: Outcome - Dropped Class

	Full sample				Professor Survey Subsample			
	<i>Racial Composition of TAs</i> (Comparison Group: Own Race TA)				<i>Racial Composition of TAs</i> (Comparison Group: Own Race TA)			
	<i>White</i>	<i>Non-East Asian</i>	<i>East Asian</i>	<i>Hispanic (Other)</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Non-East Asian</i>	<i>East Asian</i>	<i>Hispanic (Other)</i>
<i>White</i>	—	0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.013** (0.007)	—	0.004 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.012 (0.008)
<i>Non-East Asian</i>	-0.006 (0.006)	—	-0.002 (0.010)	-0.005 (0.005)	0.007 (0.008)	—	0.005 (0.008)	-0.008 (0.014)
<i>East Asian</i>	0.000 (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	—	-0.004 (0.003)	0.000 (0.002)	0.005 (0.003)	—	0.001 (0.004)
<i>Hispanic (Other)</i>	-0.010 (0.009)	0.003 (0.008)	-0.005 (0.009)	—	-0.012 (0.013)	-0.001* (0.006)	-0.007 (0.011)	—

Panel B: Outcome - Standardized Grade

	<i>White</i>	<i>Non-East Asian</i>	<i>East Asian</i>	<i>Hispanic (Other)</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Non-East Asian</i>	<i>East Asian</i>	<i>Hispanic (Other)</i>
<i>White</i>	—	-0.023 (0.015)	-0.082*** (0.016)	-0.068 (0.051)	—	-0.003 (0.019)	-0.073*** (0.024)	-0.127* (0.067)
<i>Non-East Asian</i>	-0.078** (0.038)	—	-0.085** (0.037)	-0.176** (0.075)	-0.096* (0.053)	—	-0.110** (0.045)	-0.074 (0.101)
<i>East Asian</i>	-0.061*** (0.017)	-0.020 (0.015)	—	-0.001 (0.053)	-0.088*** (0.020)	-0.0457** (0.020)	—	0.023 (0.078)
<i>Hispanic (Other)</i>	0.022 (0.085)	0.032 (0.060)	0.056 (0.082)	—	0.013 (0.166)	-0.012 (0.095)	0.055 (0.156)	—

Panel C: Outcome - Take Another Class in Same Field

	<i>White</i>	<i>Non-East Asian</i>	<i>East Asian</i>	<i>Hispanic (Other)</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Non-East Asian</i>	<i>East Asian</i>	<i>Hispanic (Other)</i>
<i>White</i>	—	0.012 (0.019)	0.015 (0.016)	-0.023 (0.037)	—	-0.022 (0.024)	0.012 (0.035)	-0.037 (0.064)
<i>Non-East Asian</i>	-0.063* (0.032)	—	-0.016 (0.021)	-0.120** (0.060)	-0.100** (0.040)	—	0.001 (0.033)	-0.043 (0.062)
<i>East Asian</i>	0.004 (0.018)	-0.020 (0.015)	—	-0.064 (0.055)	0.030 (0.023)	-0.023 (0.018)	—	-0.002 (0.057)
<i>Hispanic (Other)</i>	-0.610 (0.090)	-0.018 (0.054)	-0.071 (0.083)	—	-0.002 (0.122)	0.001 (0.056)	-0.024 (0.117)	—

Notes: This table displays results from regressions that are run separately for each student race. Each cell reports the coefficient for TA racial composition. Standardized grade has a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. The outcome in Panel C only considers Freshmen and Sophomores, and switches on for students who took another class in the same field in a subsequent term. Controls include age when class began, high school GPA, and admission year, as well as indicators for student gender, international vs. domestic, whether parents attended college, admittance (transfer vs. freshman), whether the student is majoring in the subject of the course, double major, class standing (Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior), and professor gender and race. Course and term fixed effects included. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered by professor. One, two, and three asterisks indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

Table A.7: Estimated Role of TA Race for Student Outcomes - Finer Race Groups

	Teaching Assistants Race			Teaching Assistants Race		
	East Asian	Non-East Asian	Hispanic (Other)	East Asian	Non-East Asian	Hispanic (Other)
Outcome variable	Dropped Class			Standardized Grade		
Observations	59,664			56,804		
Student Race:						
East Asian	0.003 (0.003)	0.000 (0.002)	-0.015** (0.007)	0.145*** (0.030)	0.031 (0.024)	0.123 (0.088)
Non-East Asian	0.005 (0.004)	0.000 (0.004)	-0.013 (0.001)	0.079** (0.035)	0.058 (0.030)	-0.031 (0.098)
Hispanic (Other)	0.009* (0.005)	0.008 (0.007)	0.002 (0.013)	0.114*** (0.038)	0.035 (0.044)	-0.006 (0.107)
<i>F-test</i> : Own-race effect (p-value)	0.854			0.000		
<i>F-test</i> : Race effect (p-value)	0.076			0.002		
Outcome variable	Passed Class			Take Another Class		
Observations	58,174			21,894		
East Asian	0.025*** (0.008)	0.007 (0.008)	0.021 (0.032)	-0.015 (0.023)	-0.041 (0.025)	-0.026 (0.061)
Non-East Asian	0.010 (0.011)	0.006 (0.011)	-0.009 (0.033)	0.023 (0.027)	-0.006 (0.032)	-0.047 (0.067)
Hispanic (Other)	0.027* (0.016)	0.001 (0.014)	0.062 (0.040)	-0.021 (0.031)	0.016 (0.043)	0.077 (0.098)
<i>F-test</i> : Own-race effect (p-value)	0.010			0.853		
<i>F-test</i> : Race effect (p-value)	0.143			0.158		

Notes: This table displays results from outcome regressions in which we allow for interactions between finer student and TA races. We only show results for our preferred specification, which includes student by term controls and class fixed effects. We report the full set of nine identified interactions for each regression. Since we include student race controls and class fixed effects, all interactions involving white students or TAs are unidentified. Same-race interactions are shown in bold. "Take Another Class" only considers the sample of Freshmen and Sophomores. p-values for an F-test of the existence of same-race interactions and for the existence of any race interactions are also listed. Standard errors in parentheses, clustered by professor. One, two, and three asterisks indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels, respectively.

A BISEXUAL PERSPECTIVE ON LAW SCHOOL HIRING

ANN E. TWEEDY*

There is still a significant amount of discrimination in the legal academy relating to many different issues, including race, gender, sex, sexuality, and class. The most overt discrimination that I have faced has been based on being bisexual. This has been exacerbated by the fact that some of my scholarship is about sexuality. In this short Article, I focus on discrimination in law school hiring based on bisexuality. The topic is important because discrimination against bisexuals in the legal academy (and elsewhere) is little understood and often invisible. Additionally, because it was the type of discrimination that was the most apparent to me in the hiring process, I have important insights to share about it. Furthermore, the invisibility and lack of understanding of bisexuality mean that even people who are broad-minded and committed to social justice may discriminate against bisexuals without realizing it. I firmly believe that most or all of the people in the examples that I discuss below did not intend any harm, and many of them are colleagues whom I respect and admire.

Before I begin to discuss the different forms of stereotyping and discrimination I have faced related to my sexuality, I want to address a threshold question that some readers may be curious about. When I first presented the initial results of an online survey about discrimination against bisexuals that I was conducting at the time, a more senior professor who had once herself identified as bisexual asked me paradoxically why anyone would want to identify as bisexual. What was the point? I got the sense that she had faced a great deal of push-back and confusion in response to her own brief self-identification as bisexual and had concluded it was a pointless undertaking. (She now identifies as lesbian.)

I did not fully respond then, but I do think it is an important question. The point of identifying as bisexual, for me at least, is to be true to myself. In most of my life, I could pass as straight, and, in few situations, I could pass as lesbian, but, when a person passes, something is lost. Indeed, “[n]onrecognition or misrecognition . . . can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being.”¹ And,

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1 Holning Lau, *Transcending the Individualist Paradigm in Sexual Orientation Discrimination Law*,

as Kenji Yoshino explains, passing causes discrete types of harm to the person who is passing, including alienation (from both the stigmatized group from which she dissociates and the non-stigmatized group that she appears to join), an exertion of constant effort to maintain the subterfuge, and the moral harm of repeatedly engaging in deception.²

Beyond the pain of being misperceived and the related harms of passing, there is also the fact that failing to challenge the status quo facilitates its continuation. If bisexuals, who constitute—by most counts—the largest group in the LGBT community,³ agree to their own invisibility by not self-identifying, prejudice against bisexuals is unfortunately likely to continue unabated. As civil rights leader Baynard Rustin explained in an interview nearly thirty years ago:

[I]f people do not organize in the name of their interest, the world will not take them as being serious. And that is the chief reason that every person who is gay should join some gay organization. Because he must prove to the world that he cares about his own freedom. People will never fight for your freedom if you have not given evidence that you are prepared to fight for it yourself.⁴

And to say this is not to judge those who cannot come out or who choose not to, but only to recognize that the stakes are high for all of us.

Turning now to my experiences in the legal academy, first, I want to talk about the discrimination by religious schools. I entered the job market three times in order to land a tenure-track job, and each time it was clear to me that many, but not all, religious schools either avoided interviewing me or wanted to run in the other direction once some appointments committee members—often a dean who must have delegated the initial review of Faculty Appointments Register (“FAR”) forms to faculty—found out during the

94 CALIF. L. REV. 1271, 1275 (2006) (quoting CHARLES TAYLOR, *MULTICULTURALISM AND “THE POLITICS OF RECOGNITION”* 25 (1992)).

2 Kenji Yoshino, *Assimilationist Bias in Equal Protection: The Visibility Presumption and the Case of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,”* 108 YALE L.J. 485, 527–28 (1998).

3 Ann E. Tweedy & Karen Yescavage, *Employment Discrimination Against Bisexuals: An Empirical Study*, 21 WM & MARY J. WOMEN & L. 699, 699 & n.1 (2015).

4 *Brother to Brother: An Interview Between Bayard Rustin and Joseph Beam*, ADVOCATE.COM (Jan. 1, 2015), <http://www.advocate.com/arts-entertainment/people/2015/01/01/brother-brother-interview-between-bayard-rustin-and-joseph-beam> [http://perma.cc/65DM-8BVL].

interview that I had written about sexuality and the law. The discomfort was usually evident from the facial expressions of one or more search committee members or by a change in the tone of their questions after my scholarship on sexuality was discussed. Sometimes the committee member would ask questions in an incredulous tone, such as “What gave you the idea for that topic?”

At one point, I was told by a dean of a religious law school that almost all the schools that were affiliated with the same Christian denomination as her law school would be off limits to me because I’d written about polyamory, and my writing about that topic suggested that my values were not in accord with those of that denomination.

The discrimination by religious schools was disappointing but somewhat expected. Given the number of religious schools out there,⁵ I do believe it put me at a significant disadvantage in obtaining a tenure-track job. One bright spot is that I was eventually hired by Hamline University School of Law, which is a Methodist university.

What I found even more troubling than the discrimination by religious schools was that it seemed that even liberal schools that were dedicated to recruiting LGBT faculty often did not see me, as a bisexual, as being part of the LGBT community. In one case, this was clear to me from informal conversations with a search committee member who was also a friend.

Additionally, some of the faculty at schools I interviewed with saw my scholarship about polyamory as problematic because of its lack of concord with current LGBT advocacy priorities such as same-sex marriage. One of the strategies of marriage equality advocates has been to argue that gays and lesbians are entitled to marry because their relationships are the same as those of different-sex couples.⁶ However, my work on polyamory was about alternative plural relationships, and many seemed to see this work as implicitly detracting from mainstream scholarship on sexual orientation. Comments by appointment committee members (often tinged with suspicion) and body language when I answered questions

5 It appears that roughly one quarter of nationally accredited law schools are religiously affiliated. *See, e.g., ABA-Approved Law Schools*, AM. BAR ASS’N, http://www.americanbar.org/groups/legal_education/resources/aba_approved_law_schools.html [<http://perma.cc/96YQ-YEK5>] (last visited July 29, 2015) (listing accredited law schools and the date of each schools accreditation); Thomas R. Schaffer, *Erastian and Sectarian Arguments in Religiously Affiliated American Law Schools*, 45 STAN. L. REV. 1859, 1864 n.18 (1993) (noting the author’s conclusion that there were then forty-eight religiously affiliated law schools).

6 *See, e.g., Tweedy & Yescavage, supra* note 3, at 714 & n.75 (citing Janet E. Halley, “Like Race” *Arguments*, in WHAT’S LEFT OF THEORY: NEW WORK ON THE POLITICS OF LITERARY THEORY 40, 52–53 (Judith Butler et al. eds., 2000)).

about the article made this clear to me. At least one committee member asked me directly whether I was concerned about my project's possible detraction from the goals of the same-sex marriage movement.

The most blatant discriminatory comment I heard, however, was not about my article on polyamory, but rather about my empirical project on discrimination against bisexuals that was then just in the brainstorming stages. An appointments committee member who is nationally known for leadership on diversity issues stated during an interview that bisexuality was only a way to be cool and identify oneself as an ally to the gay and lesbian community, suggesting that it was not a real orientation at all. This appointments committee member then shook her head and said, "If you're suggesting that bisexuals need a specific legal remedy . . ." the implication clearly being that bisexuals have no legal problems. This committee member's comment had a significant effect on me, derailing that interview and harming the rest of my interviews that day. Indeed it comes to mind whenever I've interviewed since.

The type of discriminatory thinking that this comment represents—viewing bisexuality as an illegitimate orientation or a disingenuous way of retaining heterosexual privilege—is commonly experienced by bisexuals, as I learned during the course of my research.⁷ Since the committee member made this comment in 2009, much social science research about bisexuals has come to light, including data showing that bisexual women and men have much higher rates of suicide ideation than lesbians or heterosexual women or gay men or heterosexual men respectively, as well as other alarming health and mental health data, and the problems these data reveal may well be related to the level of stigma bisexuals face.⁸

7 See, e.g., MEG BARKER ET AL., THE BISEXUALITY REPORT: BISEXUAL INCLUSION IN LGBT EQUALITY AND DIVERSITY 21 (2012); Naomi Mezey, *Dismantling the Wall: Bisexuality and the Possibilities of Sexual Identity Classification Based on Acts*, 10 BERKELEY WOMEN'S L.J. 98, 116–18 (1995); Brent Chamberlain, *Stonewall Workplace Guides: Bisexual People in the Workplace: Practical Advice for Employers*, STONEWALL 2–3 (2012), http://www.stonewall.org.uk/documents/bisexual_people.pdf [<http://perma.cc/E3KA-ZUTP>]; see also Cindy Rizzo, *When You Use Your Identity As A Hammer, Everything Looks Like A Nail*, DO I LOOK LIKE A WRITER IN THIS? ON WRITING, IDEAS, LESFIC, LGBT ISSUES, AND OTHER LATE MIDLIFE THOUGHTS (Sept. 12, 2014), <https://cindyirizzo.wordpress.com/2014/09/12/when-you-use-your-identity-as-a-hammer-everything-looks-like-a-nail> [<http://perma.cc/5C2V-GDUL>] (discussing the common practice among lesbians of accusing bisexual women of unfairly taking advantage of heterosexual privilege).

8 S.F. HUMAN RIGHTS COMM'N LGBT ADVISORY COMM., BISEXUAL INVISIBILITY: IMPACTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 12–13, 27 (2011); see also Mark L. Hatzenbuehler et al., *Structural Stigma and All-Cause Mortality in Sexual Minority Populations*, 103 SOC. SCI. & MED. 33, 33 (2014) (reporting that the life expectancy of sexual minorities living in communities with high levels of anti-gay prejudice is twelve years shorter than for those living in low-prejudice communities); Mark L. Hatzenbuehler et al., *The Impact of Institutional*

Furthermore, the empirical research I conducted with my co-author shows that bisexuals face significant rates of employment discrimination.⁹

Negative views about bisexuality and ignorance about it affected my job search in multiple ways. I was rejected for my sexuality-related scholarship by many religious schools, liberal schools in some cases did not see me as LGBT, some liberal appointments committee members were troubled that my sexuality-focused scholarship did not fit with the advocacy priorities of the LGBT movement, and, finally, in one case, I faced disparaging comments about my orientation in the course of the interview. Together, these obstacles created a significant handicap that I hope can be remedied for others in the future. Greater awareness about these problems is the first step toward a solution.

Discrimination on Psychiatric Disorders in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations: A Prospective Study, 100 AM. J. PUB. HEALTH 452 (2010) (reporting increased rates of psychiatric disorders, especially mood disorders and generalized anxiety disorder, among LGB respondents living in states that passed anti-marriage equality constitutional amendments); Lori E. Ross et al., *Perceived Determinants of Mental Health for Bisexual People: A Qualitative Examination*, 100 AM. J. PUB. HEALTH 496, 497 (2010) (detailing bisexual participants' perception that biphobia and monosexism played critical roles in their mental health experiences).

9 See generally Tweedy & Yescavage, *supra* note 3.

Childbearing and (female) research productivity: a personnel economics perspective on the leaky pipeline

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Abstract

Despite the fact that childbearing is time-consuming (i.e., associated with a *negative resource effect*), we descriptively find female researchers with children in business and economics to be more productive than female researchers without children. Hence, female researchers with children either manage to overcompensate the negative resource effect associated with childbearing by working harder (*positive incentive effect*), or only the most productive female researchers decide to go for a career in academia and have children at the same time (*positive self-selection effect*). Our first descriptive evidence on the timing of parenthood among more than 400 researchers in business and economics from Austria, Germany and the German-speaking part of Switzerland hints at the latter being the case: only the most productive female researchers with children dare to self-select (or are selected) into an academic career. Our results have important policy implications when it comes to reducing the “leaky pipeline” in academia.

Notes

1. An alternative explanation might be that appointment committees in fact use higher hurdles for female researchers with children than for those without. While we do not rule out that occasionally such discriminatory hiring processes may exist, we expect them not to be widespread and hence conclude that if we observe positive productivity differences, these will be the results of a positive self-selection effect.
2. However, there is evidence—at least outside academia—that wages do not only reflect productivity differences but may also reflect differences in social norms—particularly when comparing wages of males and females as shown by Janssen et al. (2013). But of course, a large part of descriptive differences in the gender wage gap is due to differences in labor attachment, in career choices or in working time patterns as shown in an overview for example by Kolesnikova and Liu (2011).
3. As a robustness check we also measured career age by the number of years since obtaining the PhD (see e.g., Fiedler et al. 2008; Chlost et al. 2010) and find our results to be robust to this alteration.

4. Since Breuninger ([2012](#)), working on the same data set, detected “research abroad” (defined as a research stay of at least one month at a foreign research institution) to be related to research productivity, we also include it as a control variable. 71 % of the researchers in our data set stayed at a foreign research institution for at least one month. With the same reasoning, we further control for a researcher’s attendance of a formal mentoring program, since Muschallik and Pull ([2012](#)) have found publication productivity to differ between researchers who attended or still attend a formal mentoring program. Five percent of researchers in our dataset attended or still attend a formal mentoring program.
5. Flaherty et al. ([2013](#)), e.g., show that the research output at the time of the tenure review of faculty members who stopped their tenure clock is not significantly different from non-users and they conclude that “stopping the tenure clock policies” are effective for leveling out the playing field for the tenure decision. However, they also find that faculty members stopping the clock suffer from lower incomes as stopping the tenure clock might signal a lower commitment.
6. Interestingly, a handicap-system favoring female researchers with children would not reduce incentives for the others, but would in fact restore incentives for all researchers by reducing contestant heterogeneity—as has been shown theoretically for appointment tournaments (see Chlosta and Pull [2010](#)) and empirically for tournaments in a business context (see Backes-Gellner and Pull [2013](#)).

BEING A DEAN IS A DRAG

... BUT NOT FOR THE REASONS YOU MIGHT EXPECT

Kellye Y. Testy*

I love my job of being a law school dean. Given the title of this essay, I thought it best to make that clear right up front. Because I have now been in this role a while, I hear from a lot of people who are considering whether to serve as a dean.¹ There is a lot to consider in answering this question; although I love this job, it is certainly not for everyone. The demands of this 40-mile-wide-and-inch deep job are immense, bear almost no resemblance to the job of law professor that most candidates previously hold, and usually mean that you get credit only when things go amiss rather than well. What's not to love?

For me, the joys of being a law school dean start with the opportunity to help an institution become more than a sum of its parts: to be a catalyst for its many constituents together advancing the institution to greater levels of excellence and accomplishment. I love helping a school build and sustain momentum to identify and achieve its mission and goals and then seeing that mission make a difference in the lives of its graduates and in the contributions they make to a more just world. Further, I believe deeply in the power of legal education to train our world's most capable problem-solvers and in the role of lawyers in defending liberty and advancing

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1. I helped found a conference to encourage diversity in law school leadership, which now takes place in Seattle every other year, and have recently helped AALS launch a new educational program for educating law school leaders, including deans and associate deans. Further, for several years I also have served on the ABA Section of Legal Education Committee that plans and executes a workshop for new law school deans each summer. See *Kellye Y. Testy: Biography*, UNIV. OF WASH., <http://www.law.washington.edu/directory/Profile.aspx?ID=313&vw=bio> (last visited Aug. 27, 2013).

justice. The opportunity to be the chief cheerleader for a law school is thus a great privilege for me.

With most of the people I talk with about whether they should serve as a law school dean, I can enthusiastically share these joys while also giving them a realistic picture of the challenges of serving as dean. For instance, many new deans fear that the dean's role in raising funds for the school will be unpleasant. Most of us, however, find this one of the parts of the job that is the most enjoyable and rewarding. Thus, while being a dean may be a drag, it is not for the reasons one might expect. Rather, being a dean may be a drag only in the sense of requiring (more for some persons than others) a measure of gender performativity. Because of the complex nexus between gender and sexuality,² this aspect of being a dean is one that merits discussion when I get asked by potential deans whether their status as gay or lesbian persons is likely to be a negative factor in their selection as a dean or in their ability to do the job well.

Before I explore this concept of drag more fully,³ let me first note that it is regrettable that gay and lesbian candidates must still be asking these "will it matter" questions in this second decade of the Twenty-First Century. Like many institutions in our society, law schools are very much in need of outstanding leaders; it is thus damaging to individuals, institutions, and the rule of law that bias and discrimination on the basis of personal identity characteristics⁴ might impede excellent leaders from taking up those posts. Regrettable as it may be, this question is still a relevant one, although more so in some cities and institutions than in others. Law schools, after all, are part of a broader culture that is very much in flux on the issue of gay and lesbian equality.⁵ While in a few cities, being gay or lesbian has almost achieved the privilege of being unremarkable, in many others it is still a form of otherness that is at worst a beacon for violence and hostile discrimination and at best a lingering source of social and

2. See, e.g., Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990); see Diane Richardson, *Patterned Fluidities: (Re)Imagining the Relationship Between Gender and Sexuality*, 41 *SOCIOLOGY* 457, 458-59 (2007).

3. While the term drag refers most commonly to men performing female gender identity roles, as in "drag queen" or "drag shows," it also means the performance of any gender identity that does not align with biological sex. See *Portrait of a Drag Queen: Next Magazine Survey Provides Insight Into the Personal Lives of Drag Queens*, HUFFINGTON POST (Nov. 15, 2012), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/15/drag-queens-survey-next-magazinepersonal_n_2138085.html.

4. Including race and ethnicity, sex, gender, sexuality, age, disability and other identity characteristics.

5. See *Law School LGBT Survey Results*, LSAC.ORG, <http://www.lsac.org/jd/diversity/lgbt-chart.asp> (last visited July 29, 2013).

professional unease. One of the first pieces of advice I give is thus that the decanal candidate should seek to find a city and an institution⁶ that has as much formal and substantive equality for gays and lesbians as they can find.

That said; there is still the question of whether even in such a progressive city and institution a gay or lesbian dean can thrive personally and professionally. My answer to this is a qualified yes. The qualification, however, often relates as much to gender identity as it does to sexuality, and in some ways is much more complex. And this is why I often say that being a dean may be a “drag” for some persons. In common parlance, being in drag means to perform a gender identity other than one’s biological sex: men portraying themselves as women or women portraying themselves as men.⁷ For some decanal candidates, getting selected and succeeding as a dean may involve elements of drag with regard to their gender identity – an issue related to but separable from the issue of being more or less “closeted” about one’s sexuality in serving as a dean or other institutional leader.⁸

The gender performativity of being a dean is complex and different for women than for men.⁹ For men, the harshest social penalty is reserved for

6. Candidates should be careful not to assume that schools in the same city will be the same with regard to gay and lesbian equality. Even in a progressive city, a school that is religiously based may not welcome a gay or lesbian person as its dean, or may insist upon that person remaining closeted in the decanal role. As an example, while I felt very supported personally by university leadership in my first deanship, which was at a Jesuit Catholic university, I was told explicitly that I could not be a public advocate for gay and lesbian rights while serving as dean due to the difficulty in distinguishing the dean’s voice from the institution’s voice and the conflict that would pose with its Catholic mission and values. While I regretted this state of affairs, I also understood it. It is true that when the dean speaks it is with less his or her own voice and more with that of the institutional. That is why understanding the institution’s mission and goals is so important; a dean will be most professionally effective and personally fulfilled when his or her values are aligned with those of the institution.

7. See Kathryn Abrams, *Cross-Dress in the Master’s Clothes*, 109 YALE L.J. 745, 747 n. 13 (2000).

8. Whether to be “out” as a GLBT person as a leader depends to a large degree on the nature of the institution and city as noted earlier. That is not to say that this is a simple “yes” or “no” decision. Rather, it is a complex and constantly negotiated and calibrated set of micro and macro decisions. I have chosen to focus this essay on gender rather than on sexuality per se, leaving that topic for another day.

9. Even more complex and difficult issues are raised for trans persons, although those issues support the main point of this essay that gender performativity is often at the forefront of professional identity roles. For outstanding work on transgender issues, see, e.g., Dean Spade, *Be Professional!*, 33 HARV. J. L. & GENDER 71 (2010). Likewise, due to intersecting issues of race, gender, sexuality and class, issues of professional identity in leadership are made further complex when race and class are considered in addition to issues of gender and sexuality. This broader subject is addressed in my book in progress. See Kellye Y. Testy, *The Complexities of Leadership* (forthcoming).

not being manly enough. Put differently, given gender inequality, femininity is penalized whether it appears in a biological male or female. As a result, I have seen many very able male leaders have difficulty being selected as a dean when their gender identity bends toward the feminine, whether they are gay or straight. Not surprisingly, however, once a man is known to not be gay his femininity is often embraced positively as an indication that he is capable of exhibiting leadership traits more commonly associated with women – including being a good listener, being empathetic, being collaborative, and being caring. For men whose sexuality remains a question, or who are known to be gay, however, any femininity often remains negative, raising, for instance, concerns that they might not be able to make tough decisions.

For women, there is increased complexity because women must steer between being either too feminine or not feminine enough. Due to lingering and persistent bias against women in the workplace, there are still fewer female law schools deans than there are males.¹⁰ Moreover, it is still likely that if you asked most people to conjure an image of a law school dean in their heads that it would not be a female image that would first emerge. As a result, there is some expectation – of course unstated – that a dean not be “too much of a girl.” I saw this vividly with a woman who was a recent dean who had a very feminine and stylish dress and demeanor. She was not taken as seriously as she should have been given the quality of her ideas and the courage of her leadership. While some of what she faced may have been due to the national rank of the institution she led (make no mistake, this is a hierarchal business), I remain sure that a significant measure of the lack of respect she commanded was gender based. Some women may have to do a bit of drag in order to be perceived as more

10. *Women in Law in the U.S.*, KNOWLEDGE CENTER (March 11, 2013), <http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/women-law-us>. It is interesting to me that the number of women deans seems to be on the rise right at the time that being a law school dean is perhaps at its most challenging. This convergence of progress amid tumult makes me consider whether we may be seeing another application of the late Professor Derrick Bell's convergence theory. See Stephen M. Feldman, *Do the Right Thing: Understanding the Interest-Convergence Thesis*, 106 NW. U. L. REV. 248, 248 (2011), available at <http://www.law.northwestern.edu/lawreview/colloquy/2012/4/LRColl2012n4Feldman.pdf>. Interest-convergence theory states that minority groups only achieve political or legal gains when their interests align the dominant group's interests. *Id.* In other words, minority groups only progress when the dominant group sees a benefit from such progress. Moreover, any benefits conferred on the minority group are merely incidental to the dominant group's true, self-interested motivations. See Derrick A. Bell, Jr., *Brown v. Board of Education and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma*, 93 HARV. L. REV. 518, 524 (1980). It is possible that we are in a time when the hardships and risks of stepping up for law school leadership make the increases in the numbers of women and minorities in those ranks less about equality than might first appear.

masculine than they may otherwise choose to be in order to succeed as a dean. I am also convinced that it would not matter if a “too feminine” woman were gay or straight; in this case, gender trumps sexuality because the gender is so strong as to render the sexuality issue invisible. People usually conflate femininity with heterosexuality.

On the other hand, neither can women deans be “too much of a guy.” And this is where some women, both who are lesbian and who are not, may have to do a bit of reverse drag and be more feminine in dress and appearance than they might otherwise choose to be. What is interesting on this point is that the social/professional penalty for a lesbian woman not “going in drag” may be harsher than it would be for a heterosexual woman, especially where that woman is visibly heterosexual (usually meaning that she has a husband or male partner in tow). I have seen several examples of masculine appearing women who are accepted once it is clear that they are married or otherwise partnered with a male. On the other hand, masculinity in a woman known or suspected to be lesbian is less accepted. In both directions, in this case, sexuality trumps gender: a heterosexual woman’s masculine appearance is accepted in the professional realm while a lesbian woman’s masculine appearance is penalized.

For both men and women, gender is salient in gaining and succeeding in leadership roles. While gender’s persistence presents complexities for leaders and we rightly bemoan the lingering effects of bias, it should come as no surprise that our society’s deepest conflicts are extant in the field of leadership. Leadership is at heart about vision and relationship building. As we choose our leaders, we choose the future for our institutions and our society. Once in place, our leaders then toil in a complex web of relationships, all of which are moored to both the promise and the ills of our world. May we continue to heal; and in the meanwhile, do what is necessary to put the right leaders in the right places—even if it means helping each other learn to walk in heels.



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Presumed Incompetent: the Intersections of Race and Class for Women in Academia

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Introduction

Angela P. Harris and Carmen G. González

As editors who are also women faculty of color, we produced this volume to provide a framework for understanding the contradictory culture of academia. On the one hand, the university champions meritocracy, encourages free expression and the search for truth, and prizes the creation of neutral and objective knowledge for the betterment of society – values that are supposed to make race and gender identities irrelevant. On the other hand, women of color too frequently find themselves “presumed incompetent” as scholars, teachers, and participants in academic governance. The essays collected in this volume examine the ways that higher education reflects and reproduces—yet also sometimes subverts—the social hierarchies that pervade American society, including race, gender, class, and sexuality.

The United States continues to be a nation profoundly marked by racial, gender and economic inequality. The U.S. has among the highest levels of income inequality in the developed world and the lowest rates of upward mobility (Massey 2008; Herz 2006; Scott and Leonhardt 2005; Keister 2000; Schor 1992). Notwithstanding the accomplishments of the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, white women and people of color continue to experience covert and unconscious bias in the job market that depresses earnings and restricts social mobility (Tsang and Dietz 2001; Castilla 2008; Lempert 2010). Recent studies confirm pervasive bias against people of color in employment, housing, credit, and consumer markets (Massey 2008; Pager and Shepherd 2008).

Despite this evidence of persistent inequality, the belief in meritocracy and the narrative of upward mobility through hard work and self-sacrifice continue to serve as defining national myths (Delgado 2007; Hochschild 1996). Higher education, in particular, is widely regarded as the ticket to social advancement. Higher education exerts a powerful pull on the American imagination. Armed with studies showing that college graduates have far higher incomes than those who only hold a high school diploma or less, policy makers frequently exhort young people to earn a college degree (Gates Foundation 2010). Education and non-degree training programs are similarly urged upon older workers as a solution to unemployment and underemployment. And education is not only an

individual advancement strategy. An educated, skilled workforce, we are told, is essential to sustain corporate investment in U.S. research and development and prevent capital flight in a fully globalized economy. Thus, higher education is deemed essential in the United States for economic advancement and success, both individual and national (Lewin 2010).

However, a large body of social science research indicates that higher education is not immune from the inequities that plague the rest of American society. Most of this research focuses on the experiences and outcomes of college and university students, and indicates that Latino/a, African American, and Native American students have lower rates of college enrollment and retention than white students. The National Center for Education Statistics, for example, reports that in 2001–2, Asians/Pacific Islanders had the highest six-year graduation rate, followed by whites, Hispanics, blacks, and American Indians/Alaska Natives. Approximately 67 percent of Asians/Pacific Islanders, compared with 60 percent of whites, 48 percent of Hispanics, 42 percent of blacks, and 40 percent of American Indians/Alaska Natives graduated with a bachelor's degree or its equivalent within six years (National Center for Education Statistics 2010). Underrepresented students of color also report higher levels of stress and anxiety, caused partly by straitened economic circumstances and partly by the alienating environment of predominantly white institutions (Schwitzer et al. 1999). For many students from a working-class or impoverished background, whether they are students of color or not, college and graduate school is a mystifying—even hostile—place, full of opaque cultural codes and academic challenges for which they are poorly prepared (Terenzini, Cabrera, and Bernal 2001). Finally, for students of color, racism in the form of daily “microaggressions” is another constant concern (Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso 2001). As psychologist Claude Steele's research indicates, for instance, even the fear that one will be judged according to extant stereotypes can depress academic performance (Steele 1997).

Although full-time, tenure-track faculty at U.S. colleges and universities have been less well studied, at first glance they would seem to have little to complain about. These academic workers have reached the top of the privilege and status hierarchy. Although the ivory tower itself is under assault from the same economic and social pressures that have made so many American jobs increasingly precarious—an issue to which we return later—by all external measures, full-time faculty enjoy levels of autonomy, prestige, and economic reward that are unusual indeed.

This book demonstrates, however, that the women of color who have managed to enter the rarefied halls of academe as full-time faculty find themselves in a peculiar situation. Despite their undeniable privilege,

women of color faculty members are entrenched in byzantine patterns of race, gender, and class hierarchy that confound popular narratives about meritocracy. Far from being above the fray, faculty at institutions of higher education are immersed in the daunting inequities and painful struggles taking place throughout an increasingly multicultural America.

For many women of color on college and university campuses, the problems begin with numerical representation. While the nation's student population is becoming increasingly diverse, the overwhelming majority of full-time faculty positions continue to be filled by white men and women. From 1997 to 2007, for example, the percentage of students of color enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities climbed from 25 to 30 percent (Ryu 2010). However, the percentage of full-time faculty positions held by people of color increased only slightly—from 13 percent in 1997 to 17 percent in 2007 (Ryu 2010). Women of color, in particular, continue to be underrepresented. In 2007, women of color held only 7.5 percent of full-time faculty positions. Moreover, the percentage of women of color declined steadily with rising academic rank. Women of color comprised 10.4 percent of instructors and lecturers, 9.9 percent of assistant professors, 6.6 percent of associate professors, and only 3.4 percent of full professors (Ryu 2010). In addition to being concentrated in the lower academic ranks, women of color are also overrepresented in less prestigious academic institutions, such as community colleges (Jayakumar et al. 2009; National Center for Education Statistics 2009).

These statistics, however, tell only part of the story. Although quantitative data and statistical measurements are crucial in understanding the experiences of women of color in academia, we have made the choice in this volume to focus instead on personal stories and qualitative empirical data, such as surveys and interviews. In our view, qualitative research is particularly important in the investigation of social hierarchies. As feminist scholars and those in the critical race theory tradition have established, personal stories may bridge the epistemological gap that frequently appears between the lives of people with a particular privilege and those who lack that privilege (Delgado 1989; Montoya 1994). Storytelling by individuals, when done well, packs an emotional punch and provides the psychological detail necessary to understand a person with very different life experiences (Delgado 1989). Qualitative empirical research, in similar fashion, creates a frame in which to interpret the quantitative data. The narratives collected in this volume reveal that not only the demographics but the culture of academia is distinctly white, heterosexual, and middle- and upper-middle class. Those who differ from this norm find themselves, to a greater or lesser degree, “presumed incompetent” by students, colleagues, and administrators.

The essays collected in this volume explore the presumption of incompetence through a series of interrelated themes that place the

contradictory predicament of women of color faculty in a larger historical and cultural perspective. One of these themes is the negotiation of identity in the academic world—the privileges and challenges that arise from the intersections of race, gender, class, and other claimed and assigned identities. These essays illustrate what critical race theorists have called “working identity” (Carbado and Gulati 2000b; Houh 2006; Onwuachi-Willig 2007; Yoshino 2006). Social identities are not static but emerge in the context of interaction. And in the field of everyday interaction, identity performances may clash with stereotypes and expectations held by others (Carbado and Gulati 2000b).

Thus, students want their black women professors to be more “motherly.” White faculty may feel comfortable learning salsa with their Latina colleague or treating her like the maid, nanny, or secretary who ministers to their personal needs. Yet faculty and students of all ethnicities and genders may feel threatened when their colored female colleague acts like a serious intellectual rather than a mascot, cheerleader, or seductress (Pleck 1990). When an academic woman of color’s behavior thwarts expectations, the result may be what Peggy Davis calls *microaggressions* (P. Davis 1989): subtle or blatant attempts at punishing the unexpected behavior. These pages are filled with stories of microaggressions and responses to them, including attempts by the person disciplined to accommodate, resist, or perform a kind of jiu-jitsu with others’ demands. In the process, the faculty member in question may find herself embracing a new identity, clinging tenaciously to an old one, or some combination of both (Carbado and Gulati 2000b). Or the result may be a subtle and complicated palimpsest of identity as new identifications are written over old ones.

These identity performances take place against a backdrop of institutional privilege and subordination. The obvious dimensions of structural injustice include race, gender, class, and sexuality (and we could add disability, not represented in this volume). The contributors to this book find themselves disciplined by colleagues, students, or administrators whenever their assigned and/or claimed identities do not match cultural stereotypes. As the cognitive psychology literature explains, unconscious bias plays a part in the way teachers and students are perceived by others (Chang and Davis 2010). Given a climate of shared cultural stereotypes and images, it is not surprising that although each of these stories is unique, the authors also describe strikingly similar barriers to their success.

However, just as every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way (as Tolstoy wrote), each workplace structured by caste has unique features. In the academic workplace, judgments of worth tend to be extremely subjective. Reputation is the coin of the realm, and reputations are built

not only by objective accomplishments but through images and sometimes outright fantasies—individual or collective—that cling to the nature of the work and the person being evaluated. Academic judgments, then, are especially susceptible to unconscious bias, although the precise forms this bias takes varies from one institution to another.

This point brings us to a second theme that connects these essays: the link between agency and structure, the individual and the collective. As feminist consciousness-raising groups recognized long ago, the personal is political. Predominantly white and male employment and educational institutions systematically disfavor women of color, not solely through individual bias but as part of larger systems of education, employment, media, and other civil society institutions that perpetuate and extend the privileges created by group subordination. It is important, then, to read even the most seemingly personal stories in this collection as symptomatic of a larger, structural problem, rather than solely the issues of any one woman or department, college, or campus.

A third theme raised in many of the essays in this volume is the nature of academic culture itself. Academia, as a legion of satirical novels has pointed out, has its own culture in which certain faculty qualities and attitudes—brilliance, rigor, seriousness, rationality, objectivity—are greatly prized. The origin of academia's reverence for these qualities can be traced back to the birth of the scientific method. As scholars of the university have noted, the campus has had a long love affair with science or, perhaps more accurately, with the idea of science. Within the pecking order of the university, the most valued pursuits are those that most easily claim rigor, objectivity, and, these days, technocratic mastery. Thus, there has been a long struggle between the sciences and the humanities, and within the sciences, between the “hard” and “soft” ones. The qualities that are valued in scholarly endeavor are also esteemed in professional life. Research universities are more prestigious than teaching ones; research is valued over teaching at nearly all universities, and teaching is valued more than community service (Wisniewski, Ducharme, and Agne 1989). Among researchers and scholars, the romance of the brilliant, lonely genius in pursuit of Truth—even if the heavens should fall—still lingers around promotion reviews.

These revered characteristics, however, are not only associated with the hard sciences. They are also traditionally linked with masculinity and are understood as the opposite of femininity. For instance, rationality is prized at the expense of recognizing—or being able to deal with—emotion (Harris and Shultz 1993). On every campus, tasks associated with femininity—such as teaching—are valued less than those associated with masculinity, and the most prestigious disciplines are those with the fewest women. This means not only that people with female bodies or feminine

self-presentations are likely to be excluded from certain disciplines or understood as inferior. It also means that the disciplines themselves—forms of knowledge and the methods of producing them—are understood and pursued in gendered terms (McCloskey 1998; Keller 1983; Resnik 1989–90). Methods of knowledge production that do not fit the model of the brilliant genius who works alone and possesses learning inaccessible to the masses, such as participatory action research, are marginalized or actively denigrated. And methods of knowledge production that challenge the idea of value-free academic inquiry are bitterly attacked. For instance, in the 1980s in the discipline of law, a storytelling movement pursued by critical race theorists drew harsh (one might say hysterical) criticism because of its departure from the norms of objectivity and neutrality (Farber and Sherry 1993).

Racial hierarchy also pervades the history of academic culture, although its influence is harder to see. Scholars in the hard sciences often protest that their work is value neutral and politics-free and, therefore, that questions of social hierarchy and caste are irrelevant. The history of science, however, shows this is not the case. One need not take up the extreme claim that there is no such thing as objective truth to see that cultural, social, and political interests shape what people investigate and, therefore, what they find (Blackburn 2005). For example, from their inception, Western scholarly disciplines as distinct as geology, botany, and tropical medicine flourished, to a great degree, in service of Europe's colonial enterprise. These disciplines enabled Europeans to exploit the mineral riches of the colonies, profitably cultivate tropical cash crops in far-flung colonial plantations, and protect the colonizers from the ravages of tropical disease (McNeill 2010; McClellan 2010; Brockway 2002; Drayton 2000). Meanwhile, the so-called natives were pronounced uncivilized and stripped of their natural resources in the name of scientific conservation or sustainable resource extraction (Drayton 2000; Harding 1998). This, of course, does not make tropical medicine and botany false. It does mean, however, that political interest shapes scientific knowledge in subtle and occasionally blatant ways.

Again, the issue is not only the use of scientific knowledge for political ends. Nor is it only the exclusion of people of color from the ranks of those engaged in the pursuit of scientific knowledge. What is insidiously troubling about Western intellectual culture is its espousal of “value-free science” to mask the ways that the idea of pure and interest-free truth has been and continues to be used to perpetuate unjust social hierarchies. Perhaps the most obvious example is the scientific literature on race. Stephen Jay Gould, in his book *The Mismeasure of Man*, skillfully shows how leading scientists in the late-nineteenth century produced scholarship that was woefully deficient, even by its own standards, yet remained

highly regarded because it confirmed the prejudices Anglo-Europeans held about white supremacy and black inferiority (Gould 1981).

As we move further into the twenty-first century, these debates about whether and under what conditions knowledge can be value-free may be overshadowed by changes in the institution of the university itself. Many scholars argue that American colleges and universities today, influenced by neoliberal ideology and struggling with financial burdens, have embraced corporatization (Nussbaum 2010; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Washburn 2006; C. Nelson 2010; Nelson and Watt 2004; Giroux 2009; Saunders 2010; Johnson, Kavanagh, and Mattson 2003; Bok 2003). Features of this corporatization include closer and more explicit partnerships, especially in the hard sciences, with private industry; the adoption of business models for university governance (including the move to abolish tenure), instead of traditional shared governance; and a focus on short-term financial returns, which privileges revenue-generating ventures in business, science, and engineering over disciplines like the humanities and the arts that do not generally generate profit.

The corporatization of the university has also facilitated a marked shift in the academic labor market away from full-time, tenure-track positions and toward contingent labor, including greater reliance on adjunct and part-time faculty and graduate students for teaching. Data collected by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) from the period including the 2008 recession reveal a telling pattern in full-time appointments: the total number of faculty members grew, but most of the new appointments were in non-tenure-track positions. Just in the two years between 2007 and 2009, the growth in full-time, non-tenure-track and part-time faculty positions outstripped the increase in tenure-track jobs (American Association of University Professors 2010–11). According to federal data analyzed by the AAUP, graduate student employees and faculty members serving in contingent appointments made up more than 75 percent of the total instructional staff in 2009. These trends suggest that the market for full-time, tenure-track academic work may become a winner-take-all market, with a handful of academic superstars at the top and an enormous underclass for whom academia is a classic “bad job,” featuring low pay, few or no benefits, and low job security or input into shaping the rules that govern one’s working life. The data also suggest that women of color are likely to be disproportionately represented at the bottom, exacerbating the presumption of incompetence.

The advancing corporatization of the academy also presages a number of cultural changes that may adversely affect women faculty of color. Colleges reportedly are coming to treat their students more and more like customers, and arguably students have adopted that attitude for themselves, coming to higher education to buy the commodity of

credentials, rather than to learn (of course, it is not clear there ever was a golden age when most students did come to learn!) (Giroux 2009; Saunders 2010). It is possible that this shift will also exacerbate the presumption of incompetence by encouraging the disciplining (through poor evaluations or microaggressions) of faculty members whose identities, authority, insights, pedagogical approaches, and/or failure to conform to stereotyped expectations challenge entrenched racial, gender, class, or other hierarchies. If academic women become service workers who must please, rather than educate, their students, their career advancement will likely be determined to a greater extent than before by their ratings on “customer service” evaluations.

A 2009 study conducted by researchers at the universities of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, British Columbia, Michigan, and Washington and at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point highlights the pitfalls of this service-worker model. The researchers found that volunteers who viewed videos featuring a black male, a white female, or a white male playing the role of a bookstore employee assisting a customer consistently rated the performance of the white male as superior even though the actors in the video read the same script, performed the same tasks, and were filmed in the same location. This preference for white males was exhibited by white men and women viewers as well as viewers of color of both sexes. Surveys of patient satisfaction with the performance of doctors and customer satisfaction with country clubs belonging to a large hospitality company revealed the same bias (Hekman et al. 2010). The results of this study bode ill for female academics of color.

A fourth theme in these essays is mechanisms for change. The restrictiveness of American academic culture has its origins in the history of American education. The nation’s most prestigious universities were not established to educate women, people of color, or the working class. On the contrary, they were designed to serve the interests of wealthy white men (Karabel 2006; Saunders 2010). Not until the decades following the Second World War did social movements, federal legislation, judicial decisions, and presidential decrees pry open the doors of the nation’s universities to large numbers of women, people of color, and members of the working class (Brubacher and Rudy 1997). While many of the formal barriers have been lifted, academic institutions remain, at their core, profoundly inhospitable to the experiences and points of view of those formerly excluded. The Third World Feminist movement of the 1970s on college campuses around the country succeeded in planting women’s studies and ethnic studies departments where there had been none (Hu-DeHart 1993; Sandoval 2000). Yet, in the end, the values that animated the founding of these departments were at least partly eclipsed by the larger culture of the university.

Regrettably, the culture of academia overall remains not only remarkably blind to its own flaws, but deeply invested in a thoroughgoing denial. Most faculty of color on predominantly white campuses, if they have worked for more than a year or so, are familiar with the committee appointed to investigate diversity concerns. Such committees tend to spring up like mushrooms after a rain in the wake of racist incidents and create files of paper that are then stored until the next scandal. The culture of academia, ultimately, is impervious to change because its power structure is designed to reproduce itself. Here we return to our first theme: the links among race, gender, sexuality, and class. When the people in power receive a mandate to search out excellence, the first place they look is to people like themselves, and too often that is also where the search ends. Social science literature, for instance, abounds with studies demonstrating that “employers assign higher subjective ratings to male or white employees than they do to women or minorities with comparable work records” (Merritt and Reskin 1997, 229 n. 98).

In addition to underscoring the need for meaningful structural change, these essays highlight the need for individual women of color to recognize and honor the connections among body, mind, culture, and spirit—connections that are denied by the rationalist and masculine-dominated culture of the academy—to survive and thrive in a hostile academic environment. The women who tell their stories in this collection individually and collectively experience physiological and psychic effects from being presumed incompetent. Mounting public health evidence suggests that chronic stress—like the pressure of being continually misperceived or belittled or having to fight off microaggressions—can result in higher levels of hypertension, cardiovascular disease, and coronary heart disease (Lewis 2006; Lepore 2006; Peters 2006). At a subtler level, the anti-racist psychiatrist Frantz Fanon wrote decades ago about the psychic strain white supremacy places on people of color (Fanon 1967). More recently, Patricia Williams has described the effects of constant racist belittling as “spirit-murder” (P. Williams 1991).

Within academic culture with its masculine bent, there is no easy way to articulate or deal with the emotional, the psychic, or the spiritual. Many of the authors in this collection, however, have developed resources for naming their wounds and healing them, including friendship, alliances, and poetry. Similarly, some of the authors in this collection have found ways of combating the relentless individualism of academic culture to reclaim community and solidarity in their professional and personal lives.

The remainder of this introduction provides an overview of the essays in this book. It also discusses the “silences” within this collection—the stories that women of color shared with us about their experiences in academia but, for various reasons, decided not to publish at this time.

Part I: General Campus Climate

The articles in Part I lay the book's foundation by examining—from a variety of perspectives—the ways that academic institutions create an inhospitable climate for women faculty of color. The authors analyze the dissonance between the intersecting identities of women of color (including gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, and class) and academia's white, male, middle and upper-class, heterosexual norms. Through personal narratives, interviews, and traditional academic research, these authors describe and explain how cultural stereotypes distort the ways women faculty of color are perceived, evaluated, and treated by students, colleagues, and administrators. The problem often begins during hiring when unconscious bias triggers greater scrutiny of the presumptively incompetent applicants of color while the flaws of white male applicants are minimized or disregarded. Women of color must perform their social identities carefully and selectively to avoid being criticized, marginalized, dismissed, or rejected by colleagues and students. This performance may be particularly treacherous for women teaching or writing in disciplines (such as ethnic studies and women's studies) that challenge dominant ideas about equal opportunity. The essays lament that white faculty and administrators, despite personal and institutional commitments to social justice, often fail to recognize or address the demoralizing and potentially career-threatening microaggressions that routinely confront women faculty of color. This denial is particularly troubling to the extent that the increasing commercialization of higher education encourages students to see themselves as customers and treat their professors as service workers who must cater to their needs and preferences. As the authors explain, hiring additional faculty of color is necessary but does not solve the problem. Rather, what is required is transforming academic culture so that it welcomes and embraces those who are currently regarded as “other” and increases the opportunity for alternative points of view to challenge dominant ideologies and deep-rooted social hierarchies.

Part II: Faculty-Student Relationships

Part II examines faculty-student relationships, specifically the social environment of aspiring academics and the challenges that women faculty of color experience in the classroom. These authors analyze the obstacles that female students of color must overcome to enter the professorial ranks, including lack of mentoring or encouragement, the need to counter negative stereotypes, and the presumption that they were admitted to competitive academic programs or hired as faculty only because of their race and gender. In addition, women from working-class or impoverished backgrounds often struggle with the disorientation associated with stepping into middle- and upper-class working environments and the

nagging sense that they have abandoned their communities of origin or “sold out.” The authors also explore the experiences of junior faculty as they find their voices in the classroom, grapple with student demands and expectations (including the internalization of racial, class, and gender stereotypes by their students of color), and experiment with novel pedagogical strategies designed to transform conventional approaches to the study of race and gender. Finally, the essays examine gender and racial bias in teaching evaluations and the procedures that might ameliorate this bias.

Part III: Networks of Allies

The articles in Part III examine the supportive (and not-so-supportive) relationships that academic women of color form at work. The research indicates that building networks is crucial to professional success in academia. These essays suggest that allies are also essential for individual well-being and the work of making the campus climate more hospitable for women faculty of color. At the same time, building networks on campus can be challenging for academics. The authors in this part identify two broad challenges to building networks. The first is institutional—the structure and culture of academia. As graduate students, women of color may be hesitant to establish strong relationships with junior faculty, who may share their interests but also may lack the power to mentor them effectively or may not receive tenure. When women of color enter the ranks of junior faculty, their challenge is to overcome the competitive nature of academia. Establishing relationships of openness and trust is crucial, these authors suggest, even if it means violating norms of secrecy around issues like salary and perks. Racial solidarity can help establish this openness and trust, but the authors also note that even in a racially homogenous group, hierarchies of status connected with the rank of the school or role within the institution (tenured versus untenured, for example) may appear. Joint appointments raise another kind of institutional challenge to, and opportunity for, networking. Participation in two departments can facilitate network building, but it can also place intolerable demands on a faculty member’s time and energy.

The second broad challenge to building networks for academic women of color is overcoming social privilege. Several of the essays, for instance, address the issue of organizing as women. Organizing and supporting one another as women faculty members requires white women to identify and work through their racial privilege. Another, more subtle issue related to privilege is being the first or the only person of one’s community in academia. This position brings with it the heavy burden of needing to serve a specific community without becoming overwhelmed by the demands for one’s time and attention.

Part IV: Social Class in Academia

The essays in Part IV, “Social Class in Academia,” analyze class consciousness and bias in higher education. Women from the lower or working class face enormous obstacles in the academy, due not only to material deprivation but also to the alienation of working-class academics from their origins and native communities. These academics face enormous pressures to pass as middle or upper class, and they must carefully evaluate the potential repercussions of “coming out” as working class—much like the risks of coming out as gay in the larger society.

The essays analyze the ways that race, class, and gender reinforce the marginalized status of women faculty of color. For example, these authors examine the condescension that characterizes the way white faculty and other diasporic immigrant academics treat American-born or American-raised Latinas because of their families’ actual or presumed lower-class origins. Another manifestation of class and racial bias is the preferential treatment some white faculty and administrators give middle- and upper-class Asian American and elite Indian, African, and Latin American immigrant faculty at the expense of “presumptively incompetent” U.S.-raised Latinas and African Americans thought to come from the working class. Finally, as anti-immigrant hysteria sweeps the nation, Latinas are vulnerable to being perceived as “illegal aliens” and linguistic traitors and may face not only marginalization in academia but verbal and physical harassment by students. These essays present a sobering account of the intersections of race, class, and gender for academics from the working class.

Part V: Tenure and Promotion

The articles in the fifth part, “Tenure and Promotion,” are among the most gripping in the book. Here, in a series of often harrowing personal narratives, women faculty of color tell candid stories about their own paths to tenure and beyond. Although each woman’s story is different—a common saying in academia is that “all tenure is local”—some disturbing connections are evident. These women faculty of color experience academia as a foreign space and wonder whether they really belong there, despite their qualifications. Self-doubt and shame are constant threats. These essays also suggest that women faculty of color too often face belittling, sometimes openly racist, comments about their qualifications, their activities, and their research, especially when that research involves race and/or gender. According to these authors, women faculty of color are overburdened with externally—and internally—imposed demands that they do everything better than their colleagues, and they are also singled out to fulfill special demands, such as being the “face of diversity” for their departments or campuses or mentoring all students of color.

These essays also reveal the workings of aversive racism in academic institutions. Many of the women who tell their stories in this section were hired, promoted, and given or denied tenure in ways that violated normal campus procedure. Hostile white colleagues, in some of these accounts, went to great lengths to sabotage the women they felt did not belong in their institution. Also destructive were those colleagues who professed support for the professor under fire but encouraged her to accede to unreasonable demands to appease the attackers or leave the institution “for her own good.” In an environment where great lip service is given to diversity and federal affirmative action policies apply, overt racism is discouraged. Therefore, battles over racial and gender hierarchy are fought through individual women’s bodies and minds.

The essays in this section, however, are not only shocking and sad. They are also filled with humor, wisdom, and inspiration as the authors draw insights from their own experiences and give advice to those still walking the path through hiring to tenure. These essays are also filled with the hope and faith that solidarity among women faculty of color and their allies will ease the way for the next generation of academics.

A Note on the Silences Shouting from Within This Anthology

One of the most telling experiences that we, the editors, had concerns the essays that are not in this collection. Although the essays included are rich, varied, and multilayered, many women who responded to our call for papers expressed enthusiasm for *Presumed Incompetent* coupled with reservations about contributing. Some of these potential contributors finally decided not to have their experiences included for several reasons.

First, some would-be contributors felt too wounded spiritually and psychologically to write about their experiences. Several women asserted that it would take years to fully process the covert and overt acts of hostility that they encountered on a regular basis from students, colleagues, and administrators. Many women described stress-related physical and psychological symptoms and disorders, including high blood pressure, asthma attacks, autoimmune disorders, significant weight gain, depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, and cancer.

Second, a significant number of women decided not to contribute to the anthology for fear of retaliation. They believed that they would be penalized for airing their home institution’s dirty laundry in public, and they were not prepared to become pariahs. One woman felt that writing about her experiences would not only burn bridges at her current institution but also undermine her future career prospects. She described the vilification and rejection that her home institution had lavished on a

highly qualified applicant who had published an article detailing the bias she had experienced as a woman of color at another university. Rather than being moved by the applicant's gut-wrenching tale, her prospective colleagues dismissed the narrative as a fabrication, and declined to hire her.

Third, many women believed the problems they encountered at their home institutions were part of a pattern or practice experienced by many others. In their view, it was impossible to write about their individual experiences without disclosing the experiences of others. Unwilling to publicly embarrass colleagues already burdened by institutional inequities, these women informed us that they could not participate, even anonymously.

Fourth, several women reported that trusted mentors had warned them that publishing an essay based on personal experience would be regarded as "unintellectual" and would subject them to personal and professional ridicule. Several potential contributors hold prominent positions in university administration and public service in addition to their accomplishments as teachers and scholars. They informed us that describing their personal experiences in academia would harm them professionally and impede their efforts to create opportunities for students and colleagues. Sadly, for these would-be contributors the price of individual success was, apparently, silence about the ways in which academic attitudes and institutional practices reproduce hierarchies of race, gender, and class.

Fifth, a number of women expressed apprehension about writing in an area outside their professional specialization. These potential contributors explained that they were trained to do analytical work in their respective disciplines but lacked the requisite theoretical background to examine fully the complex ways that race, gender, sexual orientation, and class had shaped their professional lives. Other women—under constant pressure to prove themselves in their academic disciplines and overwhelmed by service obligations as the representative of color on multiple university committees—simply decided they could not afford to devote the necessary time and effort to this project.

Sixth, many women privately told us their stories in great detail but declined to put them in print to avoid exacerbating already tense and fractured professional relationships at their home institutions. For instance, several of these women reported having been recruited by prominent liberals who seemed genuinely excited at the prospect of increasing the diversity of experiences and perspectives at their universities and who offered mentorship and support. However, after the women's arrival these faculty members treated their protégées in a condescending manner -- boasting about how much they had done to help the women succeed,

taking credit for their accomplishments, and/or publicly expressing worries about whether they could satisfy the university's promotion and tenure requirements. In addition, a few women reported that they were penalized when they expressed opinions that diverged from those of their patrons. Stunned at being cast in the role of charity recipients by colleagues they had regarded as supporters, these women declined to contribute until they could figure out how to do it in a manner that would prompt self-reflection, rather than defensiveness, from their misguided "benefactors."

Seventh, a few women feared that making their stories public would undermine fragile coalitions among faculty of color in their department by exposing the complicity of certain colleagues in perpetuating the presumption of incompetence. For example, stories like this one emerged, which we couch in general terms to protect confidentiality:

A troubling pattern that plagues many educational institutions is the tendency of faculty and administrators to adopt a faculty member of color as the official pet or mascot. The pet may be a key administrator's personal favorite, who serves as the official spokesperson for all faculty of color. She may be the "exceptional" woman of color whose accomplishments (real or imagined) or compliant attitude put other faculty of color in a negative light. In public, the pet makes a dramatic display of her selfless efforts to support colleagues of color. In private, the pet is harshly critical of the teaching and scholarship of these same colleagues, thereby reinforcing the race- and gender-based presumption of incompetence.

As this narrative suggests, academic institutions may pit faculty of color against one another by bestowing lavish rewards on one faculty member to avoid accusations of racism when they denigrate another. This behavior is consistent with broader societal patterns. As Richard Delgado observes, when racialized groups coexist in a particular location, whites often maintain racial hierarchies by giving one group preferential treatment at the expense of those less favored (Delgado 1999). Regrettably, some members of the favored group, including those who describe themselves as feminists and critical race scholars, may enhance their own status by collaborating in characterizing other faculty of color as inferior. Feeling unable to describe these dynamics without exposing other women of color, many potential contributors opted for silence.

Eighth and relatedly, several women declined to participate because their stories raise uncomfortable questions about what will happen as faculty of color achieve critical mass in higher education. Will they reproduce the dysfunctional racial and gender hierarchies of predominantly white

institutions, or establish a new paradigm? In a handful of institutions where faculty of color have achieved critical mass, women faculty of color reported that the internalization of long-standing societal norms has simply reconfigured the racial and gender hierarchy, rather than eliminating it. In other words, the dominant racial group subordinates other racialized groups—often in alliance with white faculty, who continue to enjoy high status. Minority women of color remain at the bottom of such hierarchies and may even be worse off than in majority-white institutions because they feel unable or unwilling to denounce oppressors who also happen to be people of color. One woman described this situation as “the Anita Hill paradox at the institutional level.” Institutional transformation therefore requires that all faculty—white and of color—acknowledge and demolish conscious and unconscious biases, rather than replicate divisive survival strategies of the past.

Finally, several women felt that their experiences in academia, though personally challenging, had been relatively benign in comparison to those of friends and colleagues in other departments and at other institutions. In some instances, particular women were treated well precisely because their home institution was seeking to overcome its (well-deserved) reputation as a hostile environment for women faculty of color. It is important to keep in mind that the essays collected in this anthology reflect a range of experiences and institutional settings, and do not presume to represent the experiences of all women of color in all institutions at all times.

These silences and omissions magnify the importance of the essays in this volume as timely and valuable contributions to our knowledge about the current state of higher education. As a group, these essays add texture and nuance to the big pictures conveyed by empirical research, and provide the intimate details of lived and felt experience that only personal narrative can offer. Moreover, these essays go beyond simply providing a critique. Read together, they yield a multitude of lessons for administrators and faculty, both white and of color. Thus, in the conclusion to this volume, Yolanda Flores Niemann condenses and summarizes these lessons and offers concrete recommendations for moving forward.

A final editorial observation may be necessary regarding the impact of affirmative action on the presumption of incompetence. A popular argument against affirmative action is that it contributes to the stigmatization of those who are its beneficiaries -- and even those perceived to be beneficiaries. Certainly the successes of women faculty of color are often met with envious grumbling about affirmative action, and some social science research confirms that white men and others use this rationalization to justify their discomfort about female success (Heilman, Block, and Lucas 1992; Heilman 1996; Krieger 1998). It is conceivable,

therefore, that the essays in *Presumed Incompetent* could support the conclusion that affirmative action is damaging those it attempts to help

However, we do not believe the converse is true – that eliminating affirmative action will erase the presumption of incompetence. Evidence of condescension and belittlement long predates affirmative action policies in academia. For instance, in the autobiographical book “Having Our Say: The Delany Sisters’ First 100 Years,” two African American schoolteachers born in 1893 and 1891 relate their experiences of being challenged because of their race despite their qualifications as professionals (Delany and Delany 1997). Nor has the termination of affirmative action programs in recent years at several universities eliminated the presumption that students of color are less qualified and capable. Indeed, one recent study found that students in states that had abolished affirmative action reported more stigma and hostility than students going to school in states with such programs (Bowen 2010). The stigmatization effect appears to be a complex phenomenon not directly dependent on the presence or absence of affirmative action programs (Krieger 1998; Bowen 2010).

More importantly, the potentially stigmatizing effects of affirmative action must be weighed against the alternatives. Krieger, surveying the research, concludes that the abolition of affirmative action would significantly reduce the presence of women and people of color by eliminating an important mechanism that compensates for discriminatory disadvantage. Abolishing affirmative action also sends a message to the larger society that racism and sexism have been overcome and that there is no need to examine one’s attitudes and behavior for unconscious bias (Merritt 2010). We therefore believe that the benefits of affirmative action far outweigh its drawbacks.

The essays in *Presumed Incompetent* point, finally, toward the Third World Feminist recognition that the business of knowledge production, like the production of tea, spices, and bananas, has an imperialist history that it has never shaken. Inventing the postcolonial university is the task of the twenty-first century. We can only hope that this task of decolonizing American academia is completed before the tenure track itself disappears. Otherwise, scholars in the next century may confront another ironic example of women finally rising in a profession just as it loses its prestige and social value.

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Time Allocations and Reward Structures for US Academic Economists from 1995–2005: Evidence from Three National Surveys

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Abstract

Using survey data collected in 1995, 2000 and 2005 from US academic economists, in which respondents were asked to indicate what percentage of their work time they allocate to research, teaching and service activities, and also how their departments and schools weight research, teaching and service in determining annual raises and making promotion and tenure decisions, we find these economists were allocating more time to teaching even though perceived departmental and school incentives provided a clear premium for research. The overall samples did not show major changes in their allocation of time from 1995–2005, but there were different responses at different types of schools, with increased time spent on research by faculty at doctoral schools while at masters' and baccalaureate schools more time was devoted to teaching. We use regression analysis to investigate factors that affect how different faculty members allocate their time between teaching and research. In addition to Carnegie school classifications and related school characteristics, faculty members' gender and rank were significant predictors of how economists allocate their time. Male economists, particularly among assistant professors at research universities, spent less time on teaching and more time on research than female economists.

JEL classification: A20, A22

1. Introduction

In this paper we report survey data on time allocation decisions made by US academic economists, and investigate factors that explain those allocations. We combine data from national surveys conducted in 2005 (Watts and Becker, 2008) and in 1995 and 2000 (Becker and Watts, 1996, 2001), which they used to identify teaching methods in undergraduate economics courses. Our focus here is on questions from the background sections of these surveys, in which respondents were asked to indicate the percentage of time they allocated to teaching, research, and service, and the weightings they felt their departments assigned to each of these activities for decisions on annual raises and, separately, for promotion and tenure decisions.

The limited research on factors affecting how faculty members allocate time to different activities has been noted before (Gautier and Wauthy, 2007; Toutkoushian, 1999). The earlier research almost always considers faculty members across fields and departments, focusing on rank/tenure or other variables

that presumably affect all faculty members in much the same way, or on general problems and issues such as the difficulty of accurately measuring output in research, service and especially teaching. A large share of this work has been done by economists, who not surprisingly focus on the effects of incentives facing faculty. But despite that, the previous studies rarely deal with faculty members from economics or any other particular discipline, as we do here – although a few make some comparisons across faculty from different disciplines.

By drawing on the three national surveys of US economists, we are first able to see how well these responses match with the responses of faculty members from the cross-discipline surveys that are featured in most of the earlier research. But our focus on economists and the factors that are important in their time allocation decisions also leads us to consider issues that might have different effects from what is or might be seen in most other fields. The most notable such factor is gender, which has been shown to play some (relatively modest) role across faculty from all disciplines, but may have more impact in economics given the historical under-representation of females in economics – at least in the United States – that has been documented both in terms of the shares of undergraduate and graduate degrees awarded, and the share of faculty members at different ranks and types of schools.¹ After briefly reviewing earlier studies on these topics, we use the three national surveys of US economists to develop new findings on these topics and issues.

2. Literature review

Becker (1979) provided an early theoretical model of the expected effects of raising weights assigned to research or teaching, given differences in the ability to quantify and agree upon measures of faculty performance. Flemming (1991) raised additional questions about measures of research output, and how those measures can be subject to different incentive issues and to the mix of pure vs. applied research.

A 1994 report from the U.S. National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) found full-time faculty reported working more than 50 hours a week, on average, with more time devoted to research at research-intensive institutions. A 1997 NCES study using data from the 1993 National Survey of Postsecondary Faculty (NSOPF) found that full-time faculty spent, on average, 54% of their time teaching and 16% on research, with men spending a higher percentage of time (18% vs. 12%) on research, and a lower percentage (55% vs. 62%) on teaching. Using the same NSOPF data, Bellas and Toutkoushian (1999) found that after controlling for race, experience, marital status, number of children, age, highest degree, rank, field and Carnegie classifications of institutions, women spent only 3% more time teaching than men, and 2% less time on research. They also found that men reported working about two hours a week more on the job than women, but only about one hour a week after controlling for the same factors listed above.

Also using the NSOPF data, Walstad and Allgood (2005, p. 182) concluded that many economics professors at research universities had ‘a low regard for teaching and a high regard for research’ – and did not find that to be true for professors in other social sciences, the biological or physical sciences, mathematics and statistics, engineering, or business. They found physical and biological scientists were closer to economists’ views than respondents from other academic disciplines, ‘but not nearly as extreme in the views of the teaching and research tradeoffs as... economics professors’ (pp. 182–3). In a later working paper using the NSOPF data, Allgood and Walstad (2006) found a bi-directional but asymmetric substitution effect in faculty allocations of time to research or teaching, with a 10%

¹ See annual reports of the American Economic Association’s Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession, published in the annual May *Proceedings* volumes of the *American Economic Review* (or in recent years in the supplementary online *Proceedings*); annual reports on bachelor’s degrees awarded in economics drawn from the AEA Universal Academic Questionnaire, published by John Siegfried in the *Journal of Economic Education*; and Ginther and Kahn (2004).

increase in time spent on research leading to a 1.5% decrease in time spent on teaching, and a 10% increase in time spent on teaching reducing time spent on research by 8.5%.

For a sample of US faculty members from the arts and sciences, Singell, Lillydahl and Singell (1996) found that most differences in faculty time allocations were accounted for by structural differences between universities with different research orientations. They also found that faculty characteristics reinforced the different institutional missions, and concluded that self-selection will condition university policies intended to change faculty behaviour – for example in trying to direct more faculty time to teaching at research universities.

Milem, Berger and Dey (2000) found that faculty could devote more time to both teaching and research, and that substitutions between teaching and research might be unidirectional, so that spending less time on teaching could lead to spending more time on research, but devoting less time to research would not lead to spending more time on teaching.

Becker, Lindsay and Grizzle (2003) argued that many universities require faculty to do both research and teaching because stronger students choose to attend universities where faculty are doing more research. They report a strong negative relationship between faculty time devoted to teaching and time doing research.

Laband and Tollison (2003) found a substantial increase in the emphasis on research at US and other universities from 1974–96, tied to stronger incentives for faculty to increase research output (including higher salaries, reduced teaching loads and increased support for travel to conferences). Measured by the share of uncited papers, however, which remained constant at 26%, they found no improvement in the quality of research published.

Gautier and Wauthy (2007, p. 274) argued that faculty time allocation across teaching and research is 'largely a matter of taste and incentives' and support university-wide 'yardsticks' to allocate research funds as a way to improve both teaching and research. Einarson and Clarkberg (2004) found that the time faculty report spending with students outside the classroom is not affected by reported faculty work time constraints, but is affected by faculty having children and by differences in beliefs about the educational role of faculty members.

Link, Swann and Bozeman (2008) reported that time allocations by science and engineering faculty at top US universities are affected by tenure, promotion, and other career path issues, with full professors spending more time on service and less time on teaching and research. Long-term associate professors spend more time teaching and less time on research. Female faculty members appear to allocate more time to service and less time to research.

3. Data

The 1995, 2000 and 2005 mail surveys from which our data are drawn were all five pages long, with few changes in items across the different years. In 1995, 2947 economists were selected either as academic members of the American Economic Association (AEA) or as college/university teachers of economics listed by College Marketing Guide (CMG), a private company that offered mailing lists of US college and university instructors. Unfortunately, for the 2000 and 2005 surveys mailing lists of AEA members by employee type were no longer available. Instead, in 2000 a sample of 3103 economists was drawn entirely from CMG lists. In 2005 the CMG lists were no longer available, so lists of economics instructors were purchased from Market Data Retrieval (MDR), a private company that offered mailing lists of various groups, including college teachers in different disciplines. The 2005 survey was mailed to 3711 academic economists.

In all three surveys fixed-interval sampling was used to identify the questionnaire recipients from the respective source lists. In 1995 the response rate was 21%, in 2000 it was 19%, and in 2005 it was 13%. Results from all three surveys are based on opportunistic samples and self-reported data. There is no way of knowing whether respondents are representative of all US teachers of undergraduate economics courses, but our intuition is that those with greater interest in teaching were more likely to complete and return surveys. Even if this is true, it is not clear that would lead to a predictable bias in responses to the questions of interest in this paper. For example, instructors more interested in teaching might be likely to report higher percentages of time spent on teaching and higher weights on teaching for annual raise and promotion/tenure decisions because they have found positions that reward teaching, either at departments and schools that emphasise good teaching or working as teaching specialists in more research-oriented departments. On the other hand, they might report higher percentages and weights on research if they feel the research demands they face at their schools are excessive. Consequently, we have not attempted to adjust for any possible bias resulting from sample selection issues.

Definitions for variables on faculty members' personal time allocations and departmental incentives – indicating the percentage of time instructors report spending in teaching, research and service, and the weightings these same respondents feel their institutions assign to these activities in awarding annual raises or promotion and tenure – are reported in Table 1. Mean responses and standard deviations are provided for 1995, 2000 and 2005.² Percentages do not sum to 100 because some respondents could view their time allocation as including activities other than teaching, research and service, including administration.³

As reported in Harter, Becker and Watts (2004), from 1995 to 2000 economists were allocating more time to teaching even though their perceptions of departmental and school incentives (for promotion and tenure decisions as well as annual raises) provided a clear premium for research. The disparity in time allocation and reward structures continues in the 2005 data. Specifically, for the overall sample we see almost no change in faculty time allocations from 2000 to 2005, with US economists spending a little over half of their time on teaching, a little over 20% on research, and about 9% on service activities. This is very much in line with findings from the NSOPF data for faculty from all departments, reported above.⁴

Other than a slight decrease in the perceived weightings assigned to research, the relative weightings on teaching, research and service for promotion and tenure decisions changed very little from 2000 to 2005 in the overall sample. For annual raises the importance of both teaching and research decreased slightly from 2000 to 2005, perhaps reflecting a general funding environment over that period in which most US departments and schools were, in practice if not in word, giving across-the-board raises more often than differentiating on merit. But in general there was very little change in the structure of incentives from 2000 to 2005.

² The mean values are slightly lower and the numbers of observations slightly higher here than the basic results reported in Watts and Becker (2008) because we are focusing on a sub-section of the survey and made some minor adjustments. Specifically, if a respondent reported percentages for the weights on promotion and tenure decisions that totalled 100 but left some entries for those variables blank, it seemed clear the blanks represented a zero so we replaced the blanks with zeros. We did the same for variables on department weights for annual raise decisions and faculty time allocation percentages. For some variables this increased the number of observations and lowered mean values.

³ Tables of z-statistics for differences in the mean values reported in Tables 1 and 2, across the three survey periods, are available on request. We make no attempt to draw statistical inferences because of the nature of the survey data.

⁴ Guest and Duhs (2002) provide survey evidence for economists in Australia, and conclude that rewards for teaching are too low in Australian schools to promote better student ratings of teaching. They also note the limited use of teaching methods that engage students in learning.

Table 1 Variable definitions and mean values
(standard deviations in parentheses)

Variable definition	1995		2000		2005	
	n	Mean	n	Mean	n	Mean
Proteach – weight in percentage that teaching has in school decisions about promotion and tenure	556	44.13 (25.95)	534	49.00 (24.31)	401	49.85 (22.59)
Proresearch – weight in percentage that research has in school decisions about promotion and tenure	557	43.68 (27.90)	531	37.52 (25.74)	400	35.42 (24.06)
Proservice – weight in percentage that service has in school decisions about promotion and tenure	555	11.94 (9.77)	529	13.15 (10.34)	401	13.89 (9.89)
Annteach – weight in percentage that teaching has in school decisions about annual raises	478	37.53 (27.32)	420	41.02 (26.71)	297	38.09 (26.18)
Annresearch – weight in percentage that research has in school decisions about annual raises	480	40.49 (28.57)	415	36.86 (26.48)	295	35.84 (27.47)
Annservice – weight in percentage that service has in school decisions about annual raises	478	12.19 (12.75)	414	12.36 (11.28)	295	13.16 (12.10)
Teach – percentage of work time devoted to teaching	588	51.96 (22.96)	567	55.85 (21.92)	455	56.45 (23.60)
Research – percentage of work time devoted to research	587	29.54 (22.06)	564	22.82 (18.88)	450	22.52 (20.77)
Service – percentage of work time devoted to service activities	na	na	562	9.09 (8.57)	451	9.32 (8.95)

There are several possible explanations for the disproportionate amount of time spent teaching, compared to the reward structures for teaching and research. Teaching loads and large class sizes in economics courses (both in absolute terms, and compared to class sizes in other disciplines) may require more time than the mix reflected in departmental or school incentives; or additional time spent on research may not reliably lead to more publications, and so have a lower expected return than additional time spent on teaching; or as a matter of tastes economics faculty at most schools may prefer to spend more time teaching than doing research.

The 1995 and 2000 data showed interesting differences in time allocation and incentive structures for baccalaureate and doctoral institutions, however, so to determine whether these differences persisted

in 2005, in Table 2 we break down the time allocation (part A) and incentive results (part B) across different types of institutions using three Carnegie classifications – bachelor's, master's, and doctoral institutions. There were insufficient responses from associate-degree-granting institutions in the 2005 survey to include that as a fourth group.

Table 2 Means of percentages of faculty time allocations and departmental incentives by Carnegie Classification of Institution (standard deviations in parentheses)

Table 2A Faculty time allocations

Faculty time variables (percentages)	1995 values	2000 values	2005 values
Baccalaureate Institutions			
Teach	47.08 (19.19) n=98	61.13 (17.79) n=113	64.29 (19.82) n=101
Research	32.65 (19.89) n=98	17.22 (14.50) n=112	14.60 (12.43) n=100
Service	na	10.00 (9.26) n=112	9.76 (7.86) n=100
Masters Institutions			
Teach	56.03 (20.16) n=134	57.60 (19.83) n=193	59.97 (21.32) n=157
Research	24.63 (16.93) n=134	19.80 (14.14) n=190	19.87 (17.45) n=157
Service	na	9.60 (8.34) n=191	9.80 (8.01) n=157
Doctoral Institutions			
Teach	64.70 (20.95) n=99	48.51 (19.02) n=72	45.69 (23.57) n=162
Research	16.48 (15.40) n=98	29.01 (18.85) n=72	33.38 (24.06) n=159
Service	na	9.98 (8.11) n=72	8.71 (10.36) n=160

Table 2B Departmental incentives

Departmental incentives variables	1995 values	2000 values	2005 values
Baccalaureate Institutions			
Proteach	34.02 (16.48) n=96	59.81 (17.69) n=110	59.43 (16.31) n=100
Proresearch	54.91 (19.25) n=96	25.75 (16.30) n=109	24.87 (14.74) n=99
Proservice	10.92 (6.90) n=96	15.93 (11.43) n=108	15.64 (8.74) n=99
Annteach	31.92 (15.92) n=83	49.58 (26.91) n=77	42.06 (28.21) n=71
Annresearch	52.60 (20.87) n=83	24.59 (19.25) n=76	21.72 (20.57) n=70
Annservice	11.72 (8.94) n=83	14.49 (10.81) n=76	16.06 (13.18) n=70
Masters Institutions			
Proteach	50.78 (17.23) n=131	50.23 (17.48) n=179	54.84 (16.06) n=137
Proresearch	33.32 (16.97) n=131	32.81 (17.84) n=179	29.93 (16.11) n=136
Proservice	15.69 (9.16) n=131	16.02 (8.89) n=178	15.34 (7.91) n=137
Annteach	40.09 (26.26) n=110	41.40 (25.16) n=142	44.49 (24.43) n=90
Annresearch	28.77 (22.32) n=110	30.57 (21.82) n=142	30.04 (21.68) n=89
Annservice	13.94 (13.55) n=110	13.34 (11.95) n=141	14.03 (10.11) n=89

Table 2B Departmental incentives (cont.)

Departmental incentives variables	1995 values	2000 values	2005 values
Doctoral Institutions			
Proteach	61.08 (18.93) n=96	39.71 (15.04) n=68	30.56 (16.23) n=130
Proresearch	22.52 (15.90) n=96	49.29 (18.41) n=68	57.57 (21.07) n=131
Proservice	16.35 (11.57) n=96	11.28 (7.32) n=68	10.52 (8.46) n=131
Annteach	53.44 (27.62) n=77	40.98 (16.97) n=58	28.56 (17.04) n=113
Annresearch	21.91 (18.30) n=77	45.31 (19.86) n=58	56.09 (23.24) n=113
Annservice	16.53 (14.79) n=77	12.31 (7.15) n=58	11.06 (9.04) n=113

We find only small changes in time allocations in 2005 for any of the different types of schools, but the direction of changes are different at different types of schools. At bachelor's and master's institutions there is a small increase in time devoted to teaching, and at bachelor's institutions there is a small decrease in time devoted to research. Conversely, at doctoral institutions we see a small decrease in time spent on teaching and a small increase in time spent on research. This probably signals that faculty at the different types of schools are being held to different kinds of performance standards.

That is supported by comparing changes in incentives structures from 2000 to 2005, when there is a decrease in the weightings for both teaching and research in determining annual raises at bachelor's institutions and an increase in the importance of teaching for both promotion/tenure decisions and annual raises at master's universities. Conversely, at doctoral institutions the relative weighting for teaching declined while the importance of research increased. Although faculty at the doctoral schools still continue to report spending nearly half of their time on teaching – and considerably more time than the perceived weights for teaching in departmental and school incentive structures – over time the faculty at these schools do seem to be responding to a rising premium on research. Those internal incentives from departments are no doubt reinforced by a growing difference in compensation levels for economists at doctoral/research schools, compared to other schools with more of a teaching mission, as reported annually in the *May American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings* volume.

4. Determinants of time allocations

To investigate the determinants of time allocations reported by academic economists, we report results from ordinary least squares regressions in which the dependent variables are the percentages of time allocated to either teaching or research. Independent variables include both individual respondent characteristics – gender, rank, whether or not the respondent speaks English as a first language, and membership in the American Economic Association (AEA) – and institutional characteristics such as the Carnegie classification for respondents' schools, the average size of principles classes and average teaching loads for faculty in the respondents' departments, and weightings assigned to teaching and

Table 3: Additional variable definitions and mean values for combined (1995, 2000 and 2005) responses (standard deviations in parentheses)

Variable name	N	Mean
Assoc – dummy variable = 1 for schools with Carnegie classification of Associate	1696	0.10 (0.30)
Bacc – dummy variable = 1 for schools with Carnegie classification of Baccalaureate	1696	0.19 (0.40)
Masters – dummy variable = 1 for schools with Carnegie classification of Masters	1696	0.29 (0.46)
Male – dummy variable = 1 for males	1663	0.80 (0.40)
Instructor – dummy variable = 1 for faculty with rank of Instructor or Lecturer	1636	0.09 (0.29)
Asst – dummy variable = 1 for faculty with rank of Assistant Professor	1636	0.20 (0.40)
Assoc – dummy variable = 1 for faculty with rank of Associate Professor	1636	0.27 (0.45)
Other Rank – dummy variable = 1 for teaching assistants, adjunct professors, emeritus professors, or other miscellaneous ranks	1636	0.03 (0.16)
English1 – dummy variable = 1 for faculty who speak English as their first language	1663	0.89 (0.31)
Class Size – average size of principles classes in the respondent's department	1382	66.34 (90.10)
SemLoad – the average semester teaching load for tenure and tenured-track faculty in the respondent's department	1444	3.10 (1.05)
1995 Dummy – dummy variable = 1 for responses from the 1995 survey	1696	0.37 (0.48)
2000 Dummy – dummy variable = 1 for responses from the 2000 survey	1696	0.35 (0.48)
AEA Member – dummy variable = 1 for respondents who report that they are AEA members	1635	0.64 (0.48)

research activities for promotion and tenure decisions. We also included dummy variables to indicate the year for each survey response – 1995, 2000 or 2005 (the omitted category).⁵

In Table 3 above we report descriptive statistics for the additional variables included in the OLS regressions, based on data from all three surveys. Most respondents are male and speak English as their first language. The largest number of respondents – but not a majority – taught at doctoral institutions.

As expected, the variables for Carnegie classification were highly correlated with other variables measuring institutional characteristics, such as average class size in principles courses and weightings for teaching and research activities in the respondents' promotion and tenure or annual raise decisions.⁶ Therefore, to test whether the Carnegie classifications had the expected effects on time allocations for teaching and research, we first used OLS to regress only the Carnegie classification variables on our dependent variables. We report these results combining all three survey datasets in Tables 4A (using percentage of time spent on teaching as the dependent variable) and 4B (using percentage of time spent on research as the dependent variable). The omitted comparison groups are the Carnegie Doctoral and Research classifications – the separate Carnegie classification for Research schools was dropped before the 2005 survey was conducted, so for 1995 and 2000 we combined the Doctoral and Research classifications. It is clear that respondents from the Research and Doctoral institutions spend more time on research and less time on teaching than respondents at schools with the other classifications.

Table 4A: OLS regression for Carnegie Classifications:
Dependent variable = percentage of time spent on teaching

Carnegie Classification	Coefficient	<i>p</i> value
ASSOCIATE	31.718	0.000
BACCALAUREATE	12.588	0.000
MASTERS	12.782	0.000
Constant	38.035	0.000

n = 1609
adjusted R-squared = 0.17

⁵ The reports by Becker and Watts cited above, reporting responses on teaching and assessment methods from these three surveys, were remarkably consistent over the three survey periods; but of course that does not mean that how faculty members allocated their time across teaching and research, or their perceptions of how their schools and departments were rewarding teaching and research over this 15-year period, would also be so uniform. To test that we estimated the equations reported below in Tables 5–7 (except that initially we did not include the AEA membership variable) for each of the survey years. We then compared the estimated equations using F tests. The null hypothesis of no difference between the pairs of estimates for different years was rejected for all equations with time spent on teaching as the dependent variable. It was nearly rejected for the research equations for 1995 and 2000 ($p = 0.07$) and 1995 and 2005 ($p = 0.09$), but not rejected for 2000 and 2005. Because an AEA mailing list was used to draw most of the 1995 sample but not the 2000 and 2005 samples, as noted above, we added the AEA membership variable and re-estimated the annual equations and F tests, feeling that membership in AEA was likely to signal more interest in research activities. Although that lowered some of the F values the same results persisted for the teaching equations, and the null hypothesis was still rejected in the research equations for 1995 and 2005. Therefore, in the final estimates reported here, we add binary variables to indicate the year in which the survey results were provided and include the AEA membership variable.

⁶ Many of the simple correlation coefficients with the school classifications were higher than 0.5 (for absolute values), including teaching loads and weightings for teaching and research in promotion and annual raise decisions.

Table 4B: OLS regression for Carnegie Classifications:
Dependent variable = percentage of time spent on research

Carnegie Classification	Coefficient	<i>p</i> value
Associate	−29.824	0.000
Baccalaureate	−13.832	0.000
Masters	−13.917	0.000
Constant	35.086	0.000

n = 1599

adjusted R-squared = 0.20

As a robustness test, and because of the change in the Carnegie classifications before the 2005 survey, we also ran regressions for each of the three survey data sets individually, and with the combined data sets for 1995 and 2000. Those results are not reported here but are available on request. The results were quite stable, with signs for all variables unchanged in all of the regressions.

In Tables 5A and 5B we replace the variables for Carnegie classifications with variables for instructors' personal characteristics and the institutional variables such as class size, semester teaching load, and rewards for teaching and research that were correlated with the Carnegie classifications.⁷ The first column of results includes observations from faculty at all schools, regardless of the Carnegie classification of the school. The next four columns show results for faculty at each of the four Carnegie Classifications (again combining the Doctoral and Research classifications, which had been merged by 2005).

For the set of academic rank variables, our omitted category was full professors and endowed chairs. We include an 'Other Rank' variable here to identify teaching assistants, adjunct professors and a few others who do not fit traditional rank categories for regular faculty. Not surprisingly, except for the 'Other Rank' group and at the Associate Schools where teaching loads for all faculty members are very high, we find that most respondents spend more time on teaching than the full professors and endowed chairholders, who normally have more experience in teaching their courses. But those differences are only significant for the instructor/lecturer group (and even there not in the Associate schools), and for the Other Rank group at the Doctoral and Research Schools. Instructors and associate professors spend less time on research than full professors, but assistant professors reported spending more time on research (except at the Associate schools). That coefficient is significant for the overall sample and at Doctoral/Research schools – almost certainly a reflection of promotion and tenure incentives.

⁷ We lose 300–400 observations by including the class size and semester load variables in the regressions. In an attempt to avoid losing these observations we tried using indicator variables when mean values for these variables were inserted for the missing values. This worked reasonably well for the Semester Load variable but not for the Class Size variable, which exhibited considerably more variation. Using the indicator variables for just Semester Load saved only 127 observations and did not affect signs for other variables, so we dropped all use of the indicator variables.

Table 5A OLS regression for individual and school variables:
Dependent variable = percentage of time spent on teaching

Variable	All Carnegie Classifications – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	ASSOC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	BACC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	MASTER Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	DR/RES Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)
MALE	–2.341 (0.098)	6.530 (0.130)	–3.207 (0.209)	–2.933 (0.241)	–4.356 (0.095)
INSTRUCTOR/ LECTURER	11.279 (0.000)	–0.584 (0.892)	23.451 (0.001)	13.238 (0.016)	19.021 (0.000)
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	1.865 (0.215)	–0.569 (0.907)	5.181 (0.081)	2.722 (0.272)	–1.703 (0.540)
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	1.982 (0.136)	5.578 (0.241)	–0.561 (0.821)	2.303 (0.299)	2.140 (0.388)
OTHER RANK	–5.494 (0.162)	–5.781 (0.398)	–3.113 (0.657)	25.044 (0.173)	–20.097 (0.006)
ENGLISH FIRST LANGUAGE	1.694 (0.363)	12.728 (0.059)	–0.422 (0.917)	1.391 (0.611)	0.596 (0.874)
WEIGHTING FOR TEACHING IN P&T DECISION	0.292 (0.000)	0.258 (0.001)	0.257 (0.000)	0.370 (0.000)	0.130 (0.025)
PRINCIPLES CLASS SIZE	–0.014 (0.031)	–0.083 (0.002)	–0.015 (0.670)	–0.095 (0.021)	–0.001 (0.946)
SEMESTER LOAD	4.732 (0.000)	4.954 (0.172)	3.694 (0.001)	3.991 (0.003)	8.496 (0.000)
1995 DUMMY	2.220 (0.119)	4.236 (0.349)	–3.342 (0.344)	1.941 (0.435)	9.175 (0.001)
2000 DUMMY	1.724 (0.201)	5.500 (0.185)	–3.603 (0.134)	3.589 (0.111)	5.996 (0.028)
AEA MEMBER	–3.666 (0.003)	–4.853 (0.196)	–2.627 (0.273)	–3.739 (0.057)	–4.720 (0.064)
CONSTANT	27.074 (0.000)	15.240 (0.450)	40.471 (0.000)	27.381 (0.000)	20.761 (0.002)
n	1104	115	253	387	349
ADJUSTED R- SQUARED	0.31	0.22	0.25	0.18	0.27

Table 5B OLS regression for individual and school variables:
Dependent variable = percentage of time spent on research

Variable	All Carnegie Classifications – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	ASSOC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	BACC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	MASTER Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	DR/RES Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)
MALE	2.160 (0.056)	–0.533 (0.806)	1.725 (0.399)	3.443 (0.053)	2.300 (0.343)
INSTRUCTOR/ LECTURER	–5.859 (0.002)	0.915 (0.671)	–12.801 (0.022)	–10.706 (0.009)	–12.423 (0.002)
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	4.567 (0.000)	–1.254 (0.611)	1.853 (0.431)	2.551 (0.149)	10.231 (0.000)
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	–1.703 (0.108)	–4.577 (0.057)	–1.090 (0.580)	–0.010 (0.995)	–2.902 (0.207)
OTHER RANK	–2.774 (0.373)	–2.864 (0.404)	–4.252 (0.442)	–5.701 (0.662)	–1.141 (0.866)
ENGLISH FIRST LANGUAGE	–7.990 (0.000)	–3.157 (0.342)	–6.676 (0.040)	–9.212 (0.000)	–6.230 (0.074)
WEIGHTING FOR TEACHING IN P&T DECISION	0.265 (0.000)	0.469 (0.000)	0.251 (0.000)	0.351 (0.000)	0.161 (0.001)
PRINCIPLES CLASS SIZE	0.011 (0.043)	–0.004 (0.776)	0.025 (0.357)	0.040 (0.182)	0.007 (0.388)
SEMESTER LOAD	–4.664 (0.000)	1.238 (0.522)	–4.487 (0.000)	–4.783 (0.000)	–9.259 (0.000)
1995 DUMMY	2.071 (0.067)	2.418 (0.281)	4.980 (0.088)	–0.003 (0.999)	0.349 (0.886)
2000 DUMMY	–0.419 (0.697)	0.797 (0.700)	2.547 (0.182)	–3.194 (0.047)	–1.339 (0.597)
AEA MEMBER	4.477 (0.000)	5.951 (0.001)	2.934 (0.124)	4.514 (0.001)	5.349 (0.023)
Constant	29.864 (0.000)	–0.339 (0.975)	25.562 (0.000)	28.881 (0.000)	45.940 (0.000)
n	1097	113	251	384	349
Adjusted R-Squared	0.42	0.24	0.38	0.35	0.34

Faculty members who spoke English as their first language generally spent significantly less time on research than non-native English speakers. This may be because the native-English speakers were more likely to be at schools that put more emphasis on teaching, while the non-native English speakers were more likely to be at schools that placed a higher value on research. Using a chi-squared test, we found a statistically significant difference in the distribution of native English speakers versus non-native English speakers across the different Carnegie classifications of schools. Specifically, there were fewer non-native speakers at Associate and Baccalaureate schools.

The signs on the variables for departmental weightings of teaching and research activities in promotion and tenure (P&T) decisions – as perceived by respondents – have the expected signs and the coefficients are significant. The same is true for variables on class size in principles courses and faculty semester teaching loads: at schools where principles classes are smaller and faculty members teach more courses, respondents report spending more time teaching and less time doing research – although these results are not always significant for the ranges of class sizes and teaching loads reported within a particular Carnegie group of schools.

The dummy variables indicating which annual survey a respondent completed are only significant in the teaching equation for the Doctoral/Research schools, and in the research equation for the overall sample only for the 1995 survey only at the 0.10 level. As noted above, the 1995 sample was the only group drawn largely from an AEA mailing list, and the AEA membership variable does indicate that economists who are AEA members report spending significantly more time on research and less time on teaching.

Noting that there are both gender and rank effects on how academic economists allocate their time, we used interaction terms to investigate whether women and men at different ranks allocate their time differently. First we looked at the effects of gender and gender*rank interaction terms, while dropping the individual rank variables, to explore the effect gender may have on time allocations if women have different career paths and timelines across academic ranks, compared to males. Then we dropped the individual gender variable and used the different rank variables with the set of rank*gender interaction terms, to investigate the effect of rank if the distribution of male and female faculty members across ranks is different. In both sets of estimations using interactive terms we drop the Other Rank respondents who were included in Table 5, to focus on respondents in regular faculty positions (i.e. ranks of Instructor/Lecturer, Assistant Professor, Associate Professor or Full Professor/Endowed Chairs).

As reported in Table 6A, investigating whether gender makes a difference in how time is allocated to teaching and research by faculty members with different ranks, we find that although males spend less time teaching there are statistically significant positive interaction effects for males who are instructors. For the results from all types of schools, using an F-test to test the null hypothesis that the coefficients on MALE, MALE*INSTRUCTOR, MALE*ASSISTANTPROF, and MALE*ASSOCPROF are all zeroes, we find an F value of 6.72 (with four degrees of freedom and 1069 observations) with a *p* value of 0.000. Therefore, we reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is a difference between males and females. In the estimations for different types of Carnegie schools, we reject the null hypothesis at Baccalaureate and Doctoral/Research schools (with *p* values of 0.00) but not for Associate and Masters' schools (with *p* values of 0.73 and 0.13, respectively).

Table 6A OLS regression with interaction terms investigating gender and career paths:
Dependent variable = percentage of time spent on teaching

Variable	All Carnegie Classifications – coefficient (p value)	ASSOC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)	BACC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)	MASTER Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)	DR/RES Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)
MALE	–4.214 (0.007)	6.703 (0.206)	–3.585 (0.205)	–4.811 (0.074)	–6.208 (0.030)
MALE*INSTRUCTOR/ LECTURER	12.423 (0.000)	–1.616 (0.736)	27.128 (0.000)	12.387 (0.040)	19.982 (0.000)
MALE*ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	0.442 (0.261)	–2.296 (0.670)	4.886 (0.142)	0.588 (0.833)	–3.046 (0.333)
MALE*ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	1.548 (0.278)	0.677 (0.897)	–1.268 (0.635)	2.682 (0.263)	2.234 (0.400)
ENGLISH FIRST LANGUAGE	1.775 (0.335)	12.396 (0.066)	–0.885 (0.820)	1.575 (0.566)	0.985 (0.792)
WEIGHTING for TEACHING in P&T DECISION	0.289 (0.000)	0.237 (0.004)	0.249 (0.000)	0.367 (0.000)	0.159 (0.007)
PRINCIPLES CLASS SIZE	–0.015 (0.026)	–0.087 (0.001)	0.007 (0.840)	–0.100 (0.015)	–0.001 (0.888)
SEMESTER LOAD	4.765 (0.000)	5.171 (0.158)	3.923 (0.000)	4.059 (0.003)	8.406 (0.000)
1995 DUMMY	2.431 (0.088)	6.069 (0.200)	–3.240 (0.342)	1.667 (0.505)	8.195 (0.002)
2000 DUMMY	1.700 (0.206)	6.042 (0.151)	–2.769 (0.239)	3.158 (0.163)	5.314 (0.051)
AEA MEMBER	–4.039 (0.001)	–5.834 (0.146)	–2.878 (0.215)	–3.636 (0.065)	–6.127 (0.016)
Constant	29.481 (0.000)	17.050 (0.407)	40.465 (0.000)	29.767 (0.000)	23.345 (0.000)
n	1081	106	247	386	342
Adjusted R-squared	0.31	0.23	0.27	0.18	0.27

We also investigated the gender and rank interactions using the percentage of time spent on Research as the dependent variable. As reported in Table 6B, we found there are statistically significant negative interaction effects for males who are instructors and positive interaction effects for males who are assistant professors. Once again using an F-test to test the null hypothesis that the coefficients on MALE, MALE*INSTRUCTOR, MALE*ASSISTANTPROF, and MALE*ASSOCPROF are all zeroes, for the results from all types of schools we find an F value of 10.65 (with four degrees of freedom and 1062

observations) with a p value of 0.000 and again reject the null hypothesis of no difference between males and females. In the estimations for different types of Carnegie schools, we reject the null hypothesis at Master's and Doctoral/Research schools (with p values of 0.01 and 0.00 respectively), but not for Associate and Baccalaureate schools (with p values of 0.42 and 0.49, respectively).

Table 6B OLS regression with interaction terms investigating gender and career paths:
Dependent variable = percentage of time spent on research

Variable	All Carnegie Classifications – coefficient (p value)	ASSOC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)	BACC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)	MASTER Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)	DR/RES Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)
MALE	0.855 (0.490)	0.574 (0.833)	0.515 (0.821)	2.537 (0.184)	–0.673 (0.795)
MALE*INSTRUCTOR/ LECTURER	–7.222 (0.001)	–0.409 (0.866)	–9.389 (0.116)	–11.125 (0.013)	–16.213 (0.000)
MALE*ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	5.527 (0.000)	–1.803 (0.503)	1.894 (0.478)	3.596 (0.071)	12.358 (0.000)
MALE*ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	–1.796 (0.114)	–4.855 (0.068)	–0.105 (0.961)	–0.108 (0.949)	–3.764 (0.119)
ENGLISH FIRST LANGUAGE	–8.201 (0.000)	–3.181 (0.347)	–7.058 (0.026)	–9.406 (0.000)	–6.491 (0.056)
WEIGHTING for RESEARCH in P&T DECISION	0.264 (0.000)	0.477 (0.000)	0.243 (0.000)	0.354 (0.000)	0.155 (0.001)
PRINCIPLES CLASS SIZE	0.012 (0.030)	–0.005 (0.717)	0.008 (0.771)	0.040 (0.177)	0.008 (0.281)
SEMESTER LOAD	–4.704 (0.000)	1.346 (0.499)	–4.620 (0.000)	–4.735 (0.000)	–9.583 (0.000)
1995 DUMMY	2.042 (0.071)	2.142 (0.368)	4.855 (0.091)	0.449 (0.801)	0.498 (0.833)
2000 DUMMY	–0.175 (0.870)	0.616 (0.772)	2.716 (0.150)	–2.802 (0.082)	–0.768 (0.755)
AEA MEMBER	4.545 (0.000)	5.053 (0.011)	3.327 (0.075)	4.504 (0.001)	5.630 (0.014)
Constant	31.164 (0.000)	–0.986 (0.929)	27.532 (0.000)	29.220 (0.000)	49.494 (0.000)
n	1074	104	245	383	342
Adjusted R-squared	0.42	0.22	0.37	0.36	0.36

Finally, as reported in Tables 7A and 7B, we investigate the possible effect of rank that might be related to differences in the distribution of men and women across different ranks. We found that all of the ranks listed in the table spend more time teaching than the omitted category of full professors and endowed chairs, except for Instructors and Assistant Professors at Associate Schools, where teaching loads for all faculty members are very high. In the results for all schools we find statistically significant

negative interaction effects for male assistant professors. Using an F-test to test the null hypothesis that therefore reject the null hypothesis to conclude that rank and gender interact. In the estimations for different types of Carnegie schools we reject the null hypothesis for Baccalaureate and Doctoral/Research schools (with p values of 0.00), but not for Associate and Master's schools (with p values of 0.43 and 0.07, respectively).

Table 7A OLS regression with interaction terms investigating gender distribution across rank:
Dependent variable = percentage of time spent on teaching

Variable	All Carnegie Classifications – coefficient (p value)	ASSOC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)	BACC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)	MASTER Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)	DR/RES Carnegie Classification – coefficient (p value)
INSTRUCTOR/ LECTURER	7.872 (0.086)	–6.870 (0.360)	6.421 (0.694)	18.180 (0.164)	18.608 (0.012)
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	6.435 (0.005)	–5.279 (0.598)	8.137 (0.063)	9.273 (0.014)	4.660 (0.241)
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	4.461 (0.060)	19.819 (0.052)	1.972 (0.608)	1.719 (0.685)	5.548 (0.204)
MALE*INSTRUCTOR/ LECTURER	4.603 (0.367)	7.509 (0.336)	20.624 (0.245)	–5.834 (0.682)	1.390 (0.870)
MALE*ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	–5.948 (0.019)	5.843 (0.576)	–3.374 (0.489)	–8.637 (0.039)	–8.049 (0.071)
MALE*ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	–2.854 (0.247)	–16.976 (0.113)	–3.255 (0.415)	0.995 (0.821)	–3.642 (0.420)
ENGLISH FIRST LANGUAGE	1.808 (0.327)	12.007 (0.074)	–0.539 (0.891)	1.648 (0.547)	0.836 (0.823)
WEIGHTING for TEACHING in P&T DECISION	0.291 (0.000)	0.280 (0.001)	0.256 (0.000)	0.370 (0.000)	0.143 (0.017)
CLASS SIZE	–0.015 (0.028)	–0.084 (0.001)	–0.010 (0.764)	–0.095 (0.022)	–0.002 (0.808)
SEMESTER LOAD	4.722 (0.000)	5.130 (0.156)	3.747 (0.000)	4.074 (0.003)	8.577 (0.000)
1995 DUMMY	2.188 (0.124)	5.672 (0.227)	–3.610 (0.291)	1.390 (0.579)	8.629 (0.001)
2000 DUMMY	1.620 (0.228)	6.447 (0.123)	–3.151 (0.179)	3.173 (0.162)	5.639 (0.039)
AEA MEMBER	–4.013 (0.001)	–4.280 (0.267)	–2.896 (0.218)	–3.758 (0.055)	–5.232 (0.041)
Constant	25.301 (0.000)	17.757 (0.375)	36.918 (0.000)	24.533 (0.000)	16.808 (0.008)
n	1081	106	247	386	342
Adjusted R-squared	0.32	0.25	0.27	0.18	0.27

Table 7B OLS regression with interaction terms investigating gender distribution across rank:
Dependent variable = percentage of time spent on research

Variable	All Carnegie Classifications – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	ASSOC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	BACC Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	MASTER Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)	DR/RES Carnegie Classification – coefficient (<i>p</i> value)
INSTRUCTOR/ LECTURER	–2.434 (0.503)	3.963 (0.299)	–28.634 (0.028)	–10.741 (0.249)	–5.225 (0.431)
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	0.994 (0.585)	–1.438 (0.817)	1.207 (0.729)	–2.497 (0.353)	4.644 (0.199)
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	–2.460 (0.192)	–4.828 (0.347)	–2.967 (0.338)	–1.932 (0.523)	–0.958 (0.809)
MALE*INSTRUCTOR/ LECTURER	–4.749 (0.242)	–3.977 (0.306)	18.826 (0.182)	–0.188 (0.985)	–11.050 (0.148)
MALE*ASSISTANT PROFESSOR	4.612 (0.022)	0.054 (0.993)	0.584 (0.881)	6.258 (0.036)	7.892 (0.052)
MALE*ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR	0.742 (0.704)	0.325 (0.952)	2.397 (0.455)	2.008 (0.522)	–2.668 (0.517)
ENGLISH FIRST LANGUAGE	–8.064 (0.000)	–3.341 (0.326)	–6.466 (0.041)	–9.386 (0.000)	–6.210 (0.068)
WEIGHTING for RESEARCH in P&T DECISION	0.263 (0.000)	0.474 (0.000)	0.261 (0.000)	0.355 (0.000)	0.151 (0.002)
CLASS SIZE	0.012 (0.030)	–0.005 (0.726)	0.006 (0.816)	0.037 (0.216)	0.008 (0.257)
SEMESTER LOAD	–4.725 (0.000)	1.035 (0.603)	–4.653 (0.000)	–4.767 (0.000)	–9.627 (0.000)
1995 DUMMY	2.038 (0.072)	2.240 (0.348)	5.173 (0.069)	0.443 (0.804)	0.159 (0.947)
2000 DUMMY	–0.221 (0.836)	0.653 (0.760)	2.707 (0.147)	–2.917 (0.073)	–1.008 (0.684)
AEA MEMBER	4.440 (0.000)	5.232 (0.007)	2.561 (0.172)	4.489 (0.001)	5.162 (0.026)
Constant	32.003 (0.000)	0.790 (0.942)	27.859 (0.000)	31.828 (0.000)	49.324 (0.000)
n	1074	104	245	383	342
Adjusted R-squared	0.42	0.22	0.38	0.35	0.36

Looking at the same question but using the percentage of time spent on Research as the dependent variable, with results reported in Table 7B, we found significantly positive interaction effects for male assistant professors. In the results for all schools, using an F-test to test the null hypothesis that the coefficients on the rank variables and all of the gender and rank interaction terms are zeroes, we find an F value of 7.46 (for six degrees of freedom and 1060 observations), with a *p* value of 0.000, and

reject the null hypothesis that rank and gender do not interact. In the estimations for different types of Carnegie schools we reject the null hypothesis for Master's and Doctoral/Research schools (with p values of 0.03, and 0.00, respectively), but not for Associate and Baccalaureate schools (with p values of 0.40 and 0.16, respectively).

Taken together, these results suggest that male and female faculty members behave differently, particularly at the rank of assistant professor, with males reporting that they spend more time doing research than females. The typical ages for assistant professors are the same ages at which it is most common for families to have young children, so female faculty members are perhaps spending more time in child bearing, child care, and other household production activities. They might also be working at different kinds of schools, either due to their own preferences and self-selection of jobs or because of differences in the job offers they receive. We compared the gender distribution across Carnegie classifications using a Chi-squared test and fail to reject the null hypothesis whether the Research and Doctoral classifications are combined or not. Specifically, combining the classifications we find $\chi^2_3 = 2.44$ with a p value of 0.487, and not combining the classifications we find $\chi^2_4 = 7.47$ with a p value of 0.113.

5. Conclusions, policy implications, and some speculations

Although we noted some periods in which departmental incentives for teaching versus research exhibited modest changes, in general across all types of schools the incentive structures and faculty behaviours are more notable for stability than for change. However, there are important and persistent differences in incentives and behaviours across different types of schools – measured here using Carnegie classifications – and for faculty members with different personal characteristics, including gender and academic rank.

Salary differentials for US economists at research versus teaching institutions have increased sharply over the past decade, as reflected in annual reports that appear in the *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings*. Adding that observation to our findings from these survey data raises and highlights an interesting and provocative question: are we witnessing an increasingly sharp demarcation between 'two nations' of economics departments, based on which departments have faculty who regularly publish in established economics journals and which do not? Economists at different kinds of schools appear to perceive these kinds of differences in the incentive structures they face, and allocate their time in different ways in response to those incentives. But at the same time, at all kinds of schools academic economists report devoting a disproportionate amount of time to teaching, compared to their perceptions of how teaching and research are rewarded at their schools.

The finding that rank affects how economists at different points in their academic careers allocate time to teaching and research activities is not surprising or necessarily troubling. But considered together with the apparent differences in career patterns or choices for male and female economists, which affect the distribution of time to teaching and research activities, this may represent an important issue that deserves more investigation and discussion. The gender finding is in some ways the most interesting and challenging issue to face and interpret. But the truth is earlier research in economic education has not been able to provide conclusive answers on why females are less likely to major in economics than males at the undergraduate level (at least in the United States), or to go on to graduate school and faculty positions at all kinds of schools. Some of the possible answers that have been suggested for these outcomes, such as gender role-model effects from female faculty to female students, have been heavily discounted or at least not well or consistently supported.

Similarly, at a very general level it could be suggested that positions in research/doctoral schools require greater time commitments to succeed and remain current with research skills and knowledge, and entail more risk in receiving tenure and salary increases. That could lead many female economists

who want to have children and be very active in child care to seek positions in teaching schools; or female economists might find teaching relatively more rewarding than males, on average. But it is also possible that predominantly male faculty in large, research departments engage in (statistical) discrimination against females in hiring or promotion decisions. Our findings cannot confirm or refute any of these possible explanations.

Moreover, considering the gender issue across academic fields and at other age levels further complicates things. For example, there are technical fields (notably science and medicine) that women today pursue far more than they did in the past, and at much higher levels than we see in economics. And the attitudes and experiences female students have at the precollege level are almost certainly important in shaping their choice of majors in general, and their early decision not to major in economics in particular. At the precollege level, gender differences are already widely observed in economics assessments, and perceptions (including peer perceptions) of economics as a difficult and somewhat technical subject probably discourage some women from taking courses or majoring in economics. But there must be other forces at play, too, because again we do see many women are majoring in other technical and difficult subjects, perhaps because they find the kind of work done in those areas more rewarding or interesting, or because those fields are perceived as being more welcoming and open to female students and young professionals. Those kinds of questions will probably have to be addressed in studies of precollege students, rather than studies of current faculty members. Our findings suggest that it is important for that kind of work to be done, because there are differences in how male and female faculty members in economics departments choose to do their jobs, and those differences may well be larger and more difficult to change than in other fields.

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CAN MENTORING HELP FEMALE ASSISTANT PROFESSORS?
INTERIM RESULTS FROM A RANDOMIZED TRIAL

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Can Mentoring Help Female Assistant Professors? Interim Results from a Randomized Trial
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ABSTRACT

Women continue to be underrepresented in academic ranks in the economics profession. The Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession of the American Economics Association established the CeMENT mentoring workshop to support women in research careers. The program was designed as a randomized controlled trial. This study evaluates differences between the treatment and control groups in career outcomes. Results indicate that relative to women in the control group, treated women are more likely to stay in academia and more likely to have received tenure in an institution ranked in the top 30 or 50 in economics in the world.

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Women continue to be underrepresented in academic jobs in economics. To address this problem, the Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession (CSWEP) of the American Economics Association (AEA) built on an initial workshop (Bartlett and Ziegert, 2000) and established the recurring CeMENT workshops to mentor women in research careers. The national CeMENT workshop (now the Workshop for Faculty in Doctoral Programs) focused on junior female economists employed at institutions where research weighs heavily in the promotion decision. The program was designed as a randomized controlled trial, held biannually from 2004–2014. Starting in 2015 the AEA began funding the workshops every year. An interim evaluation of the first three cohorts showed that the CeMENT program increased the number of publications and the number of federal grants for treated individuals (Blau et al., 2010).

This study evaluates differences between the treatment and control groups in tenure status and academic employment, as well as publications and grants. The dataset covers all six cohorts of randomized program participants. Individuals are observed for four to fourteen years post intervention, depending on cohort, enabling us to investigate longer-run outcomes for a reasonably large sample. Since we are primarily interested in tenure, we keep all those who, as of the fall of 2018, are observed for seven or more years since PhD. Results indicate that relative to women in the control group, treated women are more likely to stay in academia and more likely to have received tenure in an institution ranked in the top 30 or 50 in economics in the world.

I. The Context

Women remain underrepresented in the economics profession and progress in reducing gender disparities in economics has slowed over the past two decades (Lundberg and Stearns 2019). The annual reports of CSWEP have long documented a “leaky pipeline” from PhD programs to tenured academic jobs. A gender gap in tenure probability remains in economics

even after controlling for productivity indicators and other factors, in marked contrast to other social sciences and the natural sciences where such gaps have been narrowed or eliminated (Ginther and Kahn 2014, Ginther and Kahn 2009, Bayer and Rouse, 2016).

Research has highlighted numerous barriers that likely contribute to women's underrepresentation. Examples include reduced access to mentoring and social networks as well as possible biases in the refereeing process (see Lundberg and Stearns 2019 for a review). Based on a professional climate survey fielded by the AEA, the past, current, and future presidents of the Association acknowledged that “many members of the profession have suffered harassment and discrimination during their careers, including both overt acts of abuse and more subtle forms of marginalization” (Blanchard, Bernanke, and Yellen 2019).

The AEA has taken a number of steps to counter these problems, including the adoption of a professional code of conduct, the establishment of a standing Committee on Equity, Diversity, and Professional Conduct (CEDPC), and the development of EconSpark, a website designed to promote information exchange and safe and respectful discussion among economists (Blanchard, Bernanke and Yellen 2019). Programs like CeMENT can complement such activities and contribute to the advancement of women in the profession by addressing mentorship and networking challenges (Buckles 2019; Blau et al. 2010).

II. The CeMENT Intervention

The national CeMENT workshops were designed to expose participants to role models (senior female economists), to transmit information about what it takes to be successful, and to build peer networks of female junior faculty working in similar research areas. Each workshop lasted two days and was held in conjunction with the AEA annual meetings. Participants were arranged into small groups (4–5 participants and 1–2 mentors) based on research interests. The

workshops were widely advertised.¹

Each participant circulated a research paper or other related work (like a grant proposal) before the workshop. During the workshop, the small groups met to discuss and provide feedback on each participant's work (approximately one hour for each participant). In addition, plenary sessions were held consisting of panels of the senior mentors. Topics included research and publishing, grants, professional exposure, teaching, the tenure process, and work-life balance.

Applications for each workshop significantly exceeded available slots. After incomplete or inappropriate applications were eliminated, applicants were divided into groups by research area and were then randomly assigned to treatment (participant) or control (non-participant) status *within* each group. In an effort to maximize access to the program, more participants than non-participants were usually selected. For example, in a group of eight, five participants and three non-participants might be selected. Both non-participants and participants were told that CSWEP had received more applicants than could be accommodated, and that participants had been randomly selected from the pool of eligible applicants.²

III. Sample and Data Collection

Table 1 shows the number of people from the treatment and control groups who are included in each cohort of our sample, as well as information about the seven people who were lost to follow-up (see column 5). Most people were easily traceable in public databases and supplied additional information if contacted. If we could find no record of the person's current job, we assumed that they were not in a tenure-track position. Appendix 1 provides additional

¹ CSWEP also ran regional workshops for economists outside research universities that were not evaluated by random assignment.

² The experiment started before the AEA had established a pre-registration data bank and was registered ex post. Institutional Review Boards at Vanderbilt and Princeton Universities approved the study design.

details on our data collection methods. A larger problem is that significant numbers of those initially assigned to the control group later reapplied, and some of them were treated, as shown in column (4). In order to deal with this issue, we adopt an “intent to treat” framework in which initial assignment to treatment or control group is used to instrument whether the person was eventually treated. In addition, because 28 members of cohort 6 received their PhDs after 2011 and had to be dropped from the sample, we have re-estimated all our models using only the first five cohorts. The results (shown in Appendix 2 of this paper) are quite similar.

Information about the outcomes of individuals in our sample was collected from a variety of sources. Publications and publication dates come from *Web of Science*. Grants include all National Science Foundation and National Institutes of Health grants where the person is listed as the principal investigator (or co-PI). The use of these public sources enabled us to obtain consistent information on publications and grants for virtually the full sample. We note that we do not have information on articles that were forthcoming at the time tenure decisions were made nor on grants from sources other than NSF and NIH. In order to verify tenure status, we searched online curriculum vitae and university web sites with faculty listings. In cases where tenure status could not be determined in this way, we contacted individuals to ask if they had tenure. The tenure variable can be considered current as of September 2018.

Given this information, and using the rankings of journals and the world rankings of institutions in economics from Kalaitzidakis, Stengos, and Mamuneas (2003), we defined the following variables: *TenureStreamJob* is a job that is either on the tenure track or tenured (e.g., in a US context this would exclude lecturers). *TenureRank* is a tenured job. We distinguished between tenured jobs at institutions ranked in economics as 1–30, 1–50, 1–100, 1–200, or 201

plus (unranked).³ We also investigated whether the last job reported was a non-academic job.

IV. Results

The results of the treatment are evaluated as of fall 2018, four to fourteen years after the intervention, depending on cohort. Table 2 shows a comparison of selected pre-intervention characteristics of participants and non-participants.

Overall, most of the sample, 86–90 percent, had an academic first job. Most (90–92 percent) received their PhD from a US institution, with 73–76 percent obtaining their degrees from a top 40 institution. A substantial portion (26–30 percent) of the sample had their first job at institutions ranked in the top 40 (1–40), with 11–13 percent at top 10 institutions. While there are some differences between participants and non-participants on these dimensions, none is statistically significant.

Table 3 shows our main results. The fundamental goal of the CeMENT program was increasing the probability of holding an academic job and being in a tenured or tenure-track position. The results indicate that the treatment significantly increased the probability of women having a tenured or tenure-track position (i.e., having a tenure stream job) both overall and in an institution ranked in the top 100 in economics. The probability of having a tenure stream job was increased by 11 percentage points, or 14.9 percent relative to the mean; the probability of having a tenure stream job in a top 100 institution was increased by 15.9 percentage points or 56.4 percent. With respect to tenure itself, the treatment significantly increased the probability of a tenured job in an institution ranked in the top 30 by 6.9 percentage points (78.7 percent), and the probability of tenure in a top 50 ranked institution by 9.3 percentage points (73.8 percent). The

³Kalaitzidakis, Stengos, and Mamuneas (2003) provide world rankings of institutions in economics through 200; the 201+ category comprises institutions not included in their rankings. We added the Review of Economic Studies to their “Top 4” publications so that rank 1 here is the “Top 5.” Rank 2 publications include journals like *RESTAT JOLE*, *JMCB*, etc., and rank 3 includes other refereed journals.

treatment was also estimated to have increased the probability of a tenured job at an institution ranked in the top 100 or top 200, but these effects were not significant. At the same time, participants had a significantly lower probability of having a tenured position at a 201+ (unranked) institution; this probability was reduced by 12.0 percentage points (64.5 percent). These offsetting effects help explain why the “Any Tenure” coefficient is small and statistically insignificant. The treatment also significantly lowered the probability of holding a nonacademic job by 9.5 percentage points (40.8 percent).

In Table 4, we explore possible mechanisms for the effects on tenure, focusing on the impact of the treatment on the number of pre-tenure grants and publications. Estimated effects on grants and publications are shown in columns (1)–(5). Overall, we find that treatment significantly increases the number of pre-tenure grants (by 0.150) and publications (by 1.594). Women in the treatment group have 0.216 more top five publications, 0.460 more second-tier publications, and 0.918 more third-tier publications. Note that while the effect of the treatment on the number of second-tier publications is not statistically significant at the five percent level of confidence, it is large relative to its standard error and narrowly misses significance at the 10 percent level.

How important are these treatment effects on publications and grants in producing the observed tenure results? Columns (6) and (7) examine the probability of holding a tenured job in a top 30 or 50 institution controlling for total numbers of pre-tenure publications and grants. The estimated effects of the treatment on tenure in a top 30 place declines by almost half and becomes statistically insignificant, while the estimated probability of holding tenure in a top 50 institution declines by about a third and remains marginally significant. These estimates suggest that increases in publications and grants may not be the only drivers of the treatment effects on

tenure, at least at schools outside the top 30. Less tangible factors such as the provision of role models, networks, and information about how to navigate the system may play a role.

IV. Conclusions

We find that the CeMENT workshops were effective in retaining women in academia, and in helping them to achieve tenure in top 50 ranked schools. It is remarkable that a two-day intervention could have had such an effect. That said, the workshops were designed to create ongoing and lasting relationships. Indeed, we know of many women who kept in touch with contacts from CeMENT for years after their workshops and used each other as a source of support and advice. Our results speak to the importance of having mentors and peer networks and suggest the difficulties many women in economics face in developing these relationships. We hope that these results will inspire others to step forward with additional ways of tackling this persistent problem.

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Table 1: Structure of the Data

Cohort	Year	Treatment	Control	Controls Who Reapplied; #Treated	Missing & Assumed Non-Tenure Track
1	2004	45	34	5; 1T	1T; 2C
2	2006	36	27	10; 6T	
3	2008	41	20	4; 3T	2T; 1C
4	2010	28	19	5; 4T	1T
5	2012	37	50	12; 10T	
6	2014	15	13	6; 4T	

Notes: Column 3 shows those who initially applied and were treated in a given cohort. Column 4 shows those who were initially assigned to the control group. Column 6 shows people who could not be located. They are included in the analysis and assumed to be in non-tenure track positions. One cohort 3 control member died and was removed from the sample. Column 5 shows the number of people assigned to the control group who reapplied in a later cohort. The number after the semi-colon how many were eventually treated. 28 Cohort 6 members with PhD years after 2011 were dropped from the sample.

Table 2: Balance Between Treatment and Control Samples

	<u>Treatment</u>	<u>Control</u>	<u>p-value</u>
Top 10 PhD Institution	0.326	0.304	0.659
Top 20 (11-20) PhD Institution	0.235	0.207	0.546
Top 40 (21-40) PhD Institution	0.196	0.215	0.661
PhD non-US	0.078	0.104	0.408
Academic First Job	0.900	0.859	0.240
First Job Top 10 Rank	0.130	0.111	0.589
First Job Top 11-20 Rank	0.091	0.081	0.75
First Job Top 21-40 Rank	0.083	0.067	0.582
PhD Year	2005.374	2005.689	0.432

Table 3: IV Estimates of Intention to Treat Effects on Outcomes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Tenure stream	Top 100 Tenure Stream	Any Tenure	Tenured Top 30	Tenured Top 50	Tenured Top 100	Tenured Top 200	Tenured 201+	Last Job Non- Academic
Treated	0.110** [0.056]	0.159*** [0.057]	-0.053 [0.059]	0.069* [0.035]	0.093** [0.041]	0.062 [0.048]	0.040 [0.056]	-0.120** [0.049]	-0.095* [0.053]
Constant	0.649*** [0.169]	0.316* [0.173]	-0.099 [0.178]	-0.017 [0.107]	-0.267** [0.124]	-0.120 [0.147]	-0.013 [0.169]	-0.090 [0.149]	0.252 [0.162]
R-squared	0.035	0.039	0.166	0.066	0.095	0.071	0.065	0.048	0.039
Mean Dep.Var.	0.740	0.282	0.551	0.0877	0.126	0.186	0.277	0.186	0.233

There are 365 observations. Standard errors in brackets. All regressions include dummy variables for each cohort and for years 8 to 16+ since PhD. R-squared for the first stage is 0.744. F-statistic for the first stage regressors is 67.75. * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.

Table 4: IV Estimates Possible Mechanisms for Effects on Tenure

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
						Tenure Top 30 Place Given #Pubs. and #Grants	Tenure Top 50 Place Given #Pubs. and #Grants
	#Pre- Tenure Grants	#Pre- Tenure Pubs.	#Pre- Tenure Rank 1 Pubs.	#Pre- Tenure Rank 2 Pubs.	#Pre- Tenure Rank 3 Pubs.		
Treated	0.150 [0.093]	1.594** [0.621]	0.216** [0.102]	0.460 [0.285]	0.918* [0.536]	0.038 [0.033]	0.062 [0.039]
Constant	-0.379 [0.283]	2.496 [1.885]	0.548* [0.310]	0.202 [0.866]	1.745 [1.627]	-0.074 [0.099]	-0.321*** [0.117]
R-squared	0.048	0.097	0.042	0.067	0.064	0.227	0.209
Mean Dep.Var.	0.274	7.348	0.321	2.356	4.671	0.0877	0.126

Notes: All Table 3 notes apply. In addition, the last two columns include controls for the number of pretenure NSF and NIH grants, and the total number of pretenure publications. * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.

Appendix 1: Data Collection Methods

We collected data from several sources in order to create the analysis data on women in the CEMENT treatment and control groups. We conducted web searches for women in the CEMENT treatment and control groups in order to find their current employment status. University websites and LinkedIn allowed us to locate most in the sample. For those that we could not locate, we reached out to colleagues at their last known institution to find their current whereabouts. Whenever possible, we downloaded the most recent CVs and recorded employment history, publications and grants in an Access Database. Some individuals did not have a recent CV, and we used sources such as LinkedIn to fill in employment records.

Given that some CVs were out-of-date or missing, we used public sources to find publications and grants. Publications, journals, and publication dates come from *Web of Science*. We searched for each woman by name using Python code to query the *Web of Science* interface and downloaded all publications associated with the name. We used publications listed on CVs, affiliations listed on publications, and the field of the journal to identify publications associated with the women in our sample. Grants include all National Science Foundation (NSF) and National Institutes of Health (NIH) grants where the person is listed as the principal investigator (or co-PI). Grant awards were downloaded from NSF and NIH award websites and matched by name, affiliation, and field of study to those in the CEMENT sample. We used the *matchit* routine in STATA to create fuzzy name matches, and then reviewed and verified low-quality matches. The use of these public sources enabled us to obtain consistent information on publications and grants for virtually the full sample. We note that we do not have information on articles that were forthcoming at the time tenure decisions were made nor on grants from sources other than NSF and NIH.

In order to verify tenure status, we searched online curriculum vitae and university web sites with faculty listings. In some cases women reported the date of receiving tenure on their CVs. In other cases, we used data from the CSWEP survey of economics departments to impute tenure status for many universities. If an institution reported no untenured associate professors, we assumed that anyone reporting an associate professor rank at that institution was tenured. If a person reported that they were a full professor, we assumed that they were tenured. In cases where tenure status could not be determined in this way, we contacted individuals to ask if they had tenure and when they received it. The tenure variable can be considered current as of September 2018.

The data in the original version of this working paper contained two minor errors. First, an older version of the treatment variable and instrument was incorrectly merged onto publications and grants data. This coding mistake affects the results in columns 1-5 of Table 4. In the process of correcting that error, additional coding errors that originated when the data were hand-entered from the CVs into the database were discovered. Three people who applied twice to CEMENT were coded incorrectly. As a result, these three observations appear in both the control group and the treatment group of the sample in the previous version of the paper when they should have only appeared in the control group. These two mistakes changed the point estimates but did not affect the qualitative findings in the paper.

Appendix 2: Robustness Estimates for First Five Cohorts

We re-estimated the results in Tables 3 and 4 in the paper, limiting the sample to the first five cohorts. We did so because approximately half of the sixth CEMENT cohort would not have sufficient time to achieve tenure. This reduced the sample size by 28 individuals. The results appear in Table A1 and A2 below. In Table A1, the magnitude and significance of the intent to treat coefficients are very similar to those found in Table 3. However, the estimated effect of having a non-academic job is no longer statistically significant.

In Table A2, the coefficient estimates are also very similar in magnitude and significance to those found in Table 4.

Table A1: IV Estimates of Intention to Treat Effects on Outcomes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Tenure stream	Top 100 Tenure Stream	Any Tenure	Tenured Top 30	Tenured Top 50	Tenured Top 100	Tenured Top 200	Tenured 201+	Last Job Non- Academic
Treated	0.105* [0.058]	0.173*** [0.058]	-0.070 [0.061]	0.076** [0.036]	0.102** [0.042]	0.069 [0.051]	0.039 [0.058]	-0.138*** [0.050]	-0.082 [0.056]
Constant	0.675*** [0.179]	0.273 [0.180]	-0.093 [0.188]	-0.051 [0.113]	-0.314** [0.132]	-0.164 [0.158]	-0.022 [0.181]	-0.063 [0.156]	0.236 [0.173]
R-squared	0.038	0.040	0.150	0.071	0.100	0.067	0.061	0.050	0.039
Mean Dep.Var.	0.730	0.273	0.567	0.0890	0.131	0.196	0.288	0.184	0.243

There are 337 observations. Standard errors in brackets. All regressions include dummy variables for each cohort and for years 8 to 16+ since PhD. R-squared for the first stage is 0.759. F-statistic for the first stage regressors is 72.35. * p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01.

Table A2: IV Estimates Possible Mechanisms for Effects on Tenure. Cohorts 1-5

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
						Tenure Top 30 Place Given #Pubs. and #Grants	Tenure Top 50 Place Given #Pubs. and #Grants
	#Pre- Tenure Grants	#Pre- Tenure Pubs.	#Pre- Tenure Rank 1 Pubs.	#Pre- Tenure Rank 2 Pubs.	#Pre- Tenure Rank 3 Pubs.		
Treated	0.152 [0.095]	1.486** [0.623]	0.208* [0.109]	0.556* [0.297]	0.721 [0.529]	0.044 [0.034]	0.071* [0.040]
Constant	-0.301 [0.294]	2.522 [1.935]	0.559* [0.338]	0.040 [0.923]	1.923 [1.643]	-0.103 [0.104]	-0.363*** [0.125]
R-squared	0.053	0.095	0.037	0.069	0.063	0.232	0.212
Mean Dep.Var.	0.279	7.318	0.338	2.377	4.602	0.089	0.131

Notes: All Table A1 notes apply. In addition, the last two columns include controls for the number of pretenure NSF and NIH grants, and the total number of pre-tenure publications. * p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01.



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Dean Spade

Assistant Professor of Law

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DEAN SPADE**

“After all, the subversive intellectual came under false pretenses, with bad documents, out of love. Her labor is as necessary as it is unwelcome. The university needs what she bears but cannot bear what she brings.”¹

Dear Adrienne and Bob,

There is something so intimate about letters, isn’t there? Perhaps especially for those of us who have been groomed into academic writing styles that gesture toward the very standards of neutrality and objectivity that our work critiques, the letter provides an escape from styles of argumentation that prevent certain things from ever being said. So I am responding to you in that form, in large part because the space that your letters created, the risky opening your exchange provides, is an invitation that feels so dangerous to accept that I am not sure whether I could do so in a more formalized form.

Why are your letters so relieving to read from my location? Let me clarify that location. I am at the beginning of my second year in a tenure-track law teaching job, and I am a white trans person who grew up poor and who was some kind of relatively radical activist (anti-capitalist, prison abolitionist—these things seem quite radical in legal academia) before entering law or teaching. I am perhaps the first transgender person to get a tenure-track law professor job, or at least no one seems to know of any others, though our perpetual erasure makes me hesitant to claim this label. I started reading your piece during the first months of my first year in this new role after I had spent a year “on the market” being socialized into the role of law professor. Your piece challenges that socialization, especially three particular messages from that socialization. One, people with marginalized identities should point out marginalization only to the extent that it does not implicate the people to whom we are talking. Two, we should be sure to flatter them that they are enlightened and inoffensive and unoppressive in order to encourage them to tolerate and include us and to avoid the dangerous power they wield when defensive. Three, we should avoid making them uncomfortable or drawing too much attention to our difference. Reading

* This title is stolen from a zine of comics made by Mimi Martin in 1998 depicting experiences of job assignments obtained through a temp agency. Mimi Martin, *Be Professional!* (1998) (on file with author).

** Dean Spade is an assistant professor at Seattle University School of Law. He is grateful to Bob Chang, Travis Sands, Chandan Reddy, and Craig Willse for their feedback on this writing.

¹ Fred Moten & Stefano Harney, *The University and the Undercommons: Seven Theses*, 22 Soc. Text 101, 101–02 (2004).

your piece brings up all the stories I have suppressed through that grooming, all the successful moments in which I obeyed these mandates in order to emerge victoriously hired into this role. The frank conversation about these taboo topics in your letters provides a relieving space in which I can reflect on the conditions that led me to this new location, this drastically different income and professional status, and this experience of being the “only one” of something—an experience that so many others have known and still know.

Your letters also provide a different kind of space for thinking about the invitation to be institutionally recognized and included. What does it mean to be invited in? To be included, to be the first (or to appear to be the first)? What are the terms of that inclusion, its costs, its motives?

Three stories immediately come into my mind, all of which feel like things I should not share.² As part of 1L orientation last year, the first years were asked to read an autobiography that had a poverty theme. As the new Poverty Law professor on campus and someone whose work focuses on racial and economic justice, I was asked to share remarks that might help students see how the themes from the book would reflect in their coursework in law school. It was my first appearance in my new role before these 300 students and the many faculty, staff, and administrators in attendance. My co-panelist referred to me exclusively as “she” during the panel. I could see the moderator experience discomfort at the mistake, but she did not correct it or use my correct “he” pronoun afterward to help undo it. For trans people like me, this kind of mistake is embarrassing and extremely inconvenient. An entire community in which I was a new member, most of whom can be assumed to have little or no experience with trans people, and who likely have a mix of reactions to me based on visual cues as to whether to call me “he” or “she” had just mis-learned my pronoun. Such an incident breeds endless moments in which I must decide whether to correct each individual who “she’s” me from then on, knowing that the moment of being corrected is embarrassing and awkward for all parties, especially since it almost always occurs in front of at least one person since generally “he/she” pronouns are not used in direct address.

² The fear of sharing them in part comes from my awareness that the common mistakes that make so many settings uncomfortable or inaccessible for trans people are, for the most part, entirely unintentional. The ways that binary gender norms structure subjecthood and material reality make well-meaning people into gender police and agents of transphobia, and it is both tiring and risky to point out these conditions given the fear of labels of intolerance or offensiveness in a culture that has constructed things like racism, homophobia, and transphobia as exceptional, unusual, the realm of evil perpetrators. Resistance movements understand these systems of meaning and distribution as ongoing, self-reproducing, beyond the realm of intention, and requiring ongoing critical reflective practice. However, pointing out such moments still invokes a dangerous dynamic of name calling, stigmatization, and defense. My intention here is to avoid that dynamic and instead to offer stories that demonstrate manifestations of systemic transphobia so that fellow legal academics and other readers might come to learn such reflective practice since it remains sadly uncommon knowledge.

The second story occurs a year later, at the first faculty meeting of my second year in this new role. The prior year I had met with the Dean, the University's attorney, and some particularly sympathetic faculty to talk broadly about trans issues on campus. The law school had an out trans student at the time, and the undergraduate population also included trans students who had formed a Trans and Allies club for which I was asked to become the faculty sponsor. I had developed a list of key issues to address regarding trans awareness on campus, including things ranging from the discriminatory exclusions of trans healthcare in both employee and student health insurance plans³ to issues related to accessing recreational facilities on campus. I also prepared a document about trans awareness in the classroom that the Dean disseminated at a faculty meeting and explained to the law faculty. It described easy ways for faculty to allow students to identify their own names and pronouns in the classroom on rosters or seating charts, including first names that might be different from the roster, before ever calling those names in class or referring to students as "Mr." or "Ms." or by gendered pronouns. It explained why students might be discouraged from participating if they could not count on faculty to get their name and pronoun right and anticipated the humiliation or group mis-education that happens when faculty get it wrong. I had already heard from a transgender student about struggles with professors getting his pronoun right and how that encouraged his classmates to continue getting it wrong as well. When the new school year rolled around, I wanted to address these issues again in the first faculty meeting, both to refresh the faculty and inform new members. The first year class had new trans students, and I had learned from the admissions office that many transgender students had applied and/or been admitted this year, no doubt in part because my presence at the school offers something unique for those interested in trans law issues. I had already heard from one of the new trans students in the 1L class about a terrible experience he had on the first day of classes. His professor had made name placards for students based on the roster, and called each student to the front of the room to pick up their placard. He consistently made jokes to male students as they approached, pretending to give them placards with female names. The trans student goes by a shortened version of his given name that can be masculine or feminine, but the professor called the longer feminine name that is on the roster. When he went up to get the placard, the professor did not believe he was the same person since he appears male and the name

³ For more information on issues related to exclusion of trans health care from both public and private health insurance, see Pooja S. Gehi & Gabriel Arkles, *Unraveling Injustice: Race and Class Impact of Medicaid Exclusions of Transition-Related Health Care for Transgender People*, 4 SEXUALITY RES. & SOC. POL'Y: J. NSRC 7, 11 (2007); R. Nick Gorton, *Transgender Health Benefits: Collateral Damage in the Resolution of the National Health Care Financing Dilemma*, 4 SEXUALITY RES. & SOC. POL'Y: J. NSRC 81, 85-89 (2007).

was female. The incident was exceptionally embarrassing for the student, especially in the context of gender-joking that the professor had created.

At the first faculty meeting, I was given a bit of time to go over the handout again and remind the faculty about how these basic suggestions could prevent embarrassing mistakes that burden trans students. Three responses to this struck me. First, in the meeting, a professor raised his hand to share that a trans student had come to him before classes started to tell him about his pronoun and name preference. He suggested that was the best way to do it, and he would like me to tell all the trans students to do so. I tried to respond as diplomatically as I could that I do not meet with all the trans students before they start classes (am I expected to know them all or assumed to have some kind of location where we all meet?) and that the goal of the recommendations I had shared was to prevent students from having the burden of reaching out to each professor before classes started, a burden which may be difficult for students who are more shy or concerned about how professors might respond to such a request. However, after the meeting another professor stopped by my office to second the recommendation of his colleague that the students should reach out to the professors individually before classes start. I was surprised that this seemed a reasonable thing to expect of nervous and overwhelmed 1L's, especially trans people who know they are entering a likely hostile environment and may be terrified to have this be their first contact with a new professor. Later that day, I rode the elevator with a third senior colleague who wanted to talk about what I had presented. He wanted to share his surprise that so many "people like that" existed, letting me know that he thought "it was a very rare thing, though of course we have you right in front of us." His perception of the numerical insignificance of the transgender population may be an underlying factor in all three responses.⁴ The idea that transgender experience is a rarity, and perhaps even that it is a strange and bizarre rare medical condition, is a common misperception. It is part of the construction of the sensationalist invisibility/hypervisibility that contributes to trans subjection. These professors were operating from a framework rooted in this rarity belief. It is what allowed them to justify expecting trans people to request special accommodation rather than to understand the ways that their classroom practices as-

⁴ He also asked me a question I hear all the time, "How many transgender people are there?" Of course, there is no reliable data about to answer this question since trans people are an administrative impossibility in the government and commercial systems that count people for various purposes. Further, the perceived need for such data, the desire to count trans people, is one that I think should be examined critically for at least two reasons. One is that the process of creating an administrable category of transness would no doubt do the same violence that other forms of identity categorization do, establishing criteria that inevitably fail in their universality as all such criteria do. Secondly, the desire to "be counted" should be examined in light of the relationship between identity surveillance and the distribution of security and insecurity. For more on this, see Dean Spade, *Documenting Gender: Incoherence and Rulemaking*, 59 HASTINGS L.J. 731 (2008), awarded the 2008 Dukeminier Award and reprinted in UCLA J. SEXUAL ORIENTATION & GENDER IDENTITY L. (forthcoming 2010).

sume and reproduce gender norms in ways that exclude participation by trans people. It is the same thinking that allows people to be careless about pronouns or to feel inconvenienced by having to learn new ways of perceiving and communicating gender that depart from traditional expectations in which trans people should not, cannot, do not exist. The logic goes, "we shouldn't have to change how we do things, those rare people for whom our ways don't work can just individually approach us and tell us how to accommodate them."

The third story is from the 2008 LatCrit conference.⁵ The conference was, in general, a wonderful experience for me. The culture of the conference seems to have developed to specifically resist the limitations of academic culture, replacing individualism with community, insecurity with generosity, and suspicion with support in the context of a feminist/racial justice/pro-queer environment. I attended the session on work/life balance at which several professors presented compelling talks that reflect some of the themes from your letters. They discussed experiences of getting paid less than white colleagues, race and gender-based negative evaluations from students, and the specific pressures placed on women professors balancing parenting and academia. I felt my guard come down, my defenses soften in a room where such honesty was being brought to an open discussion of various vectors of subjection shaping academic career experiences. And then the room reached a cathartic moment in which I could not participate. In a conversation about the stresses and pressures facing participants, and the ways in which those pressures manifest as internalized rigid standards, someone brought up how they "clean before the cleaning lady comes." It was the moment the room came together and erupted—people audibly agreeing and laughing, sharing this common experience of self-policing and experiencing relief at naming this example of the pressure they are under from within and without. My response was different. I started cleaning other people's houses around age nine and cleaned offices and houses throughout my childhood with my mom and sister. I got my first cleaning job without my mom when I was eleven and worked cleaning and painting vacant low-quality rental apartments during the summer between sixth and seventh grade. I cannot fully account for the moment of disjuncture that I experienced in that room where I had been feeling a certain kind of connec-

⁵ Emerging from the legal academy of the United States following a 1995 colloquium in Puerto Rico on Latina/o communities and critical race theory, "LatCrit theory" is a relatively recent genre of critical "outsider jurisprudence," a category of contemporary scholarship including critical legal studies, feminist legal theory, critical race theory, critical race feminism, Asian American legal scholarship, and queer theory. That cumulative record has served as LatCrit's point of departure, and our basic twin goals since 1995 have been: (1) to develop a critical, activist, and inter-disciplinary discourse on law and policy towards Latinas/os, and (2) to foster both the development of coalitional theory and practice as well as the accessibility of this knowledge to agents of social and legal transformation. See Latina and Latino Critical Legal Theory, Inc., <http://www.latcrit.org/> (last visited Nov. 18, 2009).

tion and trust that I longed for after the alienation of the job market socialization process—what it meant to be reminded of class difference in these ways, to realize that my colleagues have servants. Immediately it was clear that I should expect they do, but the difference of my own experience causes me to forget.

I could share a hundred more stories like these. What are these stories? They are the moments of identity management and discord that are the specific burden of those with tenuous relationships to the purportedly neutral, meritocratic, multicultural, inclusive terrain of white, straight, hetero, cisgender,⁶ bourgeois male legal academic culture. My experiences of being trans and my experiences of having a welfare class background emerge sometimes in different moments, sometimes simultaneously,⁷ but always require this management. The teaching market socialization was the first place I began to fully grasp this. Wonderful, generous queer mentors with their own critical analysis of legal academia socialized me through well-meaning but brutal advice. I took all of it smiling, remembering that I was supposed to network at all costs, to thank people for the abuse. Don't seem like an activist. Don't make people uncomfortable. Don't wear a tie.⁸ When you give your job market talk (which focused on the hundreds of conflicting rules about when trans people can change their gender in various administrative systems, many of which require various types of medical intervention), don't talk about genitals. Don't appear to be advocating for a community.

⁶ Cisgender is a word commonly used in trans and allied communities and in trans scholarship for people who are not transgender. For more information on the origins of the term, see Julia Serano, *Whipping Girl FAQ on cissexual, cisgender, and cis privilege*, <http://juliaserano.livejournal.com/14700.html> (May 14, 2009, 05:46 EST).

⁷ Certainly, your discussion of clothing comes to mind here. Robert S. Chang & Adrienne D. Davis, *Making Up Is Hard to Do: Race/Gender/Sexual Orientation in the Law School Classroom*, 33 HARV. J.L. & GENDER 1, 2–11 (2010). Anti-consumerism and personal wealth redistribution is an important part of my political practice, yet I feel the pressures you discuss to create a professional appearance. See Dean Spade, *The Dirty Details of My New Salary*, ENOUGH, Apr. 26, 2009, <http://www.enoughenough.org/?p=218> (discussing personal modes of wealth distribution and outstanding questions about how to approach salary and redistribution). Doing so is further complicated by my class-based feelings of alienation regarding both professional attire and shopping and by my negotiation of other people's perception of my gender. I experience the cultural pressure on trans people to make our appearances gender-typical for the gender we live in, i.e. to be especially traditionally masculine or traditionally feminine. See Dean Spade, *Mutilating Gender*, in THE TRANSGENDER STUDIES READER 315 (Susan Stryker & Stephen Whittle eds., 2006). The pressure to assert a very one-dimensional, traditionally masculine exterior does not fit with my self-understanding as a radical queer person nor match my internal understandings of the kinds of masculinity that I wish to emulate. The queer fashion sense I wear outside of work in the context of communities that I feel can comprehend my gender clashes with the pressure to bring a particular kind of legibility to my body and gender in the professional world.

⁸ I think that what was being suggested in this advice was that I should somehow try to pass as a non-trans woman, since certainly every male candidate wears a full suit and tie in a context as formal as these interviews. The suggestion seemed to be that I could or should change my gender (even though the Faculty Appointments Register form already said "male" on it) or reduce the masculinization of my appearance to be more palatable.

Talk about the issues as if you are not impacted. There were also comments that seemed to suggest transphobia would have no impact on my job market prospects. One senior professor, after telling me that she did not believe people could change sex, told me that I would be seen on the market as “a nice girl” and had nothing to worry about. Several remarked that I would get “diversity points” even though, to my knowledge, no law schools track their transgender hires, no affirmative action programs include transgender people as a category, nor do most people see transgender identity as a vector of systemic oppression since, as I mentioned before, it is usually framed as a rare/fascinating medical condition.

Some of this conditioning came from well-meaning people with other marginalized identities who, in their anticipation of the policing and discrimination I might receive, policed me, and some came from those who dismissed the notion that I would face any difficulty at all, assuming, I suppose, that the absence of trans people in legal academia is a coincidence. Beyond these elements of conditioning, there was the general grooming toward the competitive, individualistic, politically neutralizing culture of legal academia. As someone coming from a grassroots activism perspective where collaboration, co-authorship, and redistribution of power and expertise are principles that ground my work, the demands of framing my work to meet legal academic standards were and remain perplexing. I have received ample advice that writing a book or publishing in interdisciplinary peer-reviewed journals is “risky”—that my work should be framed to fit the footnote-counting, law review-only standards of tenure committees. I write from within and about social movements and my writing is based in a passionate desire for change, so my priority is to write in places where my work can be most available to people with cross-disciplinary investments in transformative change. Managing the fear-based advice against my own sense of purpose about my work is a struggle. It is ironic that the more privileged and secure I get in terms of class and profession, the more I am encouraged not to take risks and to tread the most conservative path possible. From my perspective, as someone whose survival felt unguaranteed at many points, whose employment was always less luxurious and less secure than it is now, who is keenly aware of my extreme security compared with the rest of the world, choosing to keep my head down and follow rules at this particular moment seems absurd. If I, someone who is paid to write and read and think, someone who is in line for a lifetime appointment, am supposed to be afraid to do my work in the ways that I desire, who isn’t?

So many elements of your letters were relieving to read—the extra work of being an “only one,” of struggling to make myself and my area of inquiry legible enough, the zillions of articles and student papers from around the country that I feel pressured to review in order to do damage control as increasing numbers of students and professors get “fascinated” by the topic of trans people and our legal problems. The ways that “passing

lunch”⁹ requires me to do Trans 101 workshops that, prior to this job change, I would have refused to do for an audience of less than fifty because of how especially and cumulatively exhausting that kind of educative performance is. The ways that even when colleagues do grasp some idea of my identity, it is always a narrow and usually inaccurate one that I must decide whether to contest or not, and it rarely comprehends my intersecting identities and investments.¹⁰ The labors of this identity management are many.

At the same time, however, I am acutely aware that getting to be the “only one” is really a testament to my privilege. What can make people tolerate something that has, until now, been intolerable? If legal academia has not been able to see another openly trans person as a law professor before, why me? What about me makes that leap possible? Your letters attest the answers. Whiteness, “unaccented” English, being able-bodied. Perhaps even to the extent that others can see me as fitting certain norms of attractiveness, which you suggest come with privilege in this setting,¹¹ I benefit from that. Of course, I am mindful that in our culture trans people are archetypically unattractive, monstrous, considered un-dateable to the point of being murdered by those who unknowingly partner with us.¹² However,

⁹ See Chang & Davis, *supra* note 7, at 35.

¹⁰ The most common example of this is the assumption of my colleagues that same-sex marriage must be an issue I am invested in, care about, and follow closely. The association of this single legal struggle with “LGBT” politics (which rarely actually includes any comprehension of “T”) leads people to assume both that I am pro-same sex marriage and that I am an expert in it. In reality, I am part of a large queer and trans feminist left that opposes all marriage, and critiques the investment of resources into the narrow and conservative same-sex marriage agenda instead of the many more pressing issues confronting low-income queer and trans people and queer and trans people of color. For more on this debate, see generally Dean Spade & Craig Willse, *I Still Think Marriage Is the Wrong Goal*, MAKE, www.makezine.enoughenough.org/prop8.html (last visited Nov. 11, 2009). See generally BEYOND SAME-SEX MARRIAGE: A NEW STRATEGIC VISION FOR ALL OUR FAMILIES & RELATIONSHIPS (2006), <http://www.beyondmarriage.org/BeyondMarriage.pdf>; Katherine M. Franke, *The Politics of Same-Sex Marriage Politics*, 15 COLUM. J. GENDER & L. 236 (2006); Angela P. Harris, *From Stonewall to the Suburbs?: Toward a Political Economy of Sexuality*, 14 WM. & MARY BILL RTS. J. 1539 (2006); Craig Willse & Dean Spade, *Freedom in a Regulatory State?: Lawrence, Marriage and Biopolitics*, 11 WIDENER L. REV. 309 (2005).

¹¹ Chang & Davis, *supra* note 7, at 30 (discussing “a recent study about the relationship between the physical attractiveness of instructors, student evaluations, and implicit labor market outcomes (salaries, promotions, and awards)”).

¹² Murders of trans people are a common occurrence in the United States. Estimates of the trans murder rate vary, but one figure is that the murder of trans people is seventeen times higher than the murder rate of non-trans people. Transsexual Road Map, Los Angeles Transsexual Day of Remembrance, <http://www.tsroadmap.com/los-angeles/day-of-remembrance.html> (last visited Nov. 18, 2009). Another study suggests that transgender people have a one in twelve chance of being murdered while non-transgender people have a one in eighteen thousand chance. *How Do Transgender People Suffer from Discrimination?*, HUM. RTS. CAMPAIGN, <http://www.hrc.org/issues/1508.htm> (last visited Nov. 18, 2009). Although these figures clearly do not account for race, age, class, immigration, disability, and other factors that increase certain trans people’s vulnerability significantly, they do provide some sense of the level of violence facing trans people. Stories of trans people’s murders filter through trans and allied communities with great regularity, and the scenario that is most often described is that of the trans person who is

maybe that professor was right and I can be seen as some kind of "nice girl," enough to capitalize on any symmetrical features I have. But it is particularly race privilege that is most glaring to me when I look at my experience so far in legal academia and, more broadly, in law. I can count the trans lawyers of color in the US on one hand, and those who are paid to do trans work are the minority among them. Like other areas of the legal profession, trans legal advocacy is dominated by white people—that is who gets the paid roles despite the extensive critique of those conditions.¹³ I am well aware that what has made me palatable when I have managed to be so, what has made it possible for people to fund my work, to vote me onto a faculty, is the same thing that made my elementary school principal personally visit the administrators of my middle school to say that I should not be tracked to the bottom like other kids from my (poor, black¹⁴) elementary school: whiteness. My ability to command any authority, to make trans politics and law into questions that can be understood as academic, to get people past my fascinating identity and allow them to imagine me in the desired role all depend deeply on my race privilege.

murdered by a date or trick upon disclosing his or her trans identity. This cultural panic around trans people's gender is reflected in law as well. The most obvious example in U.S. law is certainly the "trans panic" defense; California recently passed a law to bar defendants from using this defense. See Assemb. B. 1160, 2005-2006 Leg., Reg. Sess. (Cal. 2006), available at http://www.leginfo.ca.gov/pub/05-06/bill/asm/ab_1151-1200/ab_1160_bill_20060928_chaptered.pdf; see also Victoria L. Steinberg, *A Heat of Passion Offense: Emotions and Bias in "Trans Panic" Mitigation Claims*, 25 B.C. THIRD WORLD L.J. 499 (2005); *Human Rights Campaign Statement on "Trans-Panic" Defense in Murder of Angie Zapata*, HUM. RTS. CAMPAIGN, Aug. 4, 2008, <http://www.hrc.org/10945.htm> (explaining that "Angie's alleged killer is using her gender identity in an attempt to justify" her murder). Professor Andrew Sharpe's work examines how this logic entered U.K. law in the form of an annulment provision in the U.K.'s Gender Recognition Act ("GRA"). Sharpe explains how even though the GRA appears to offer trans people, regardless of surgical status, full recognition in their current gender, certain elements of the legislation expose ongoing anxieties about trans identities and undermine the promise of the law. Andrew N. Sharpe, *Endless Sex: The Gender Recognition Act 2004 and the Persistence of a Legal Category*, 15 FEMINIST LEGAL STUD. 57, 80-82 (2007). Specifically, he notes, a new element was added to the law of annulment in the U.K. when the GRA was passed, allowing persons to seek annulment if they find out that their partner is a transgender person who had previously registered their new gender with the state and married without their partner's knowledge of their transgender history. *Id.* at 76. While people who find out that their spouse hid infertility, prior marriages, prior children, financial problems, or several other potentially important characteristic are required to divorce and cannot seek annulment, annulment is granted for a hidden transgender history. *Id.* at 78.

¹³ For a discussion of the dynamics of non-profitization that have led social movements to be increasingly professionalized and decreasingly led by people who are not those mostly affected by the issues the movements address, see generally *THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE FUNDED: BEYOND THE NON-PROFIT INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX* (INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence ed., 2008); Rickke Mananzala & Dean Spade, *The Nonprofit Industrial Complex and Trans Resistance*, 5 SEXUALITY RES. & SOC. POL'Y 53 (2008).

¹⁴ I grew up in rural Virginia where, even in the 1980s, people referred to my elementary school as "the black school" even though we were well past formal integration, and where my school bus was still segregated ("to prevent fighting") with black students sitting in the back and white in the front.

This question of how race privilege buys my ticket into the ever-increasing "inclusion" tent of the neoliberal university (and more broadly the neoliberal economy) gets to the heart of what is so complex about the position of outsiders inside, marginalized people brought in tenuously, perhaps sometimes wanted for our disruption but still punished for it. Our experiences are an account of how the university transforms to preserve the status quo, how its increasing diversity rhetoric has not eliminated the race/gender tenure divide. As critical legal scholars, we are familiar with the window dressing of anti-discrimination, familiar with the mask of "equal opportunity" that legitimates the violence of markets. The special cleverness of neoliberal co-optation, of its call to diversity, multiculturalism, inclusion, and recognition, has been that the liberal progress narratives it invokes, especially that of legal equality, only thinly and sporadically paper over the growing racial wealth divide, the militarization of criminal and immigration enforcement, and the duality of abandonment and detention that are its hallmarks. This game, this bait and switch, creates a subpopulation of those who have been included, those of us who have squeaked into the buffer zone.¹⁵ Our very existence affirms the fairness of the system of distribution, the openness of the university, the progress that has been made since those "bad old days."¹⁶ Our bodies are screens for the myth of meritocracy to project itself upon. Meanwhile, the internal disciplining of the university tames and neutralizes us sufficiently to make sure we are less trouble than we are worth.¹⁷

¹⁵ In his article, *Social Service or Social Change? Who Benefits from Your Work*, Paul Kivel describes how, in the face of a massive wealth divide in which a tiny minority owns most of everything and most people suffer poverty and indignity, a "buffer zone" must be created to legitimize the status quo. Paul Kivel, *Social Service or Social Change? Who Benefits from Your Work*, in *THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE FUNDED: BEYOND THE NON-PROFIT INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX*, *supra* note 13, at 129. One way it does this is by "keeping hope alive by distributing opportunities for a few people to become better off financially." *Id.* at 135.

¹⁶ See Roderick Ferguson, *Administering Sexuality; or The Will to Institutionality*, 100 *RADICAL HIST. R.* 158, 160–62 (2008). Ferguson asks, "[m]ight the university intersect with corporate capital not only through self-congratulatory categories such as 'excellence' but also through the attempt to incorporate and thereby neutralize difference?" *Id.* at 160.

¹⁷ See Moten & Harney, *supra* note 1, at 104–05 (2004). Moten and Harney write, "Introducing this labor upon labor, and providing the space for its development, creates risks. Like the colonial police force recruited unwittingly from guerrilla neighborhoods, university labor may harbor refugees, fugitives, renegades, and castaways. But there are good reasons for the university to be confident that such elements will be exposed or forced underground. Precautions have been taken, book lists have been drawn up, teaching observations conducted, invitations to contribute made. Yet against these precautions stands the immanence of transcendence, the necessary deregulation and the possibilities of criminality and fugitivity that labor upon labor requires. Maroon communities of composition teachers, mentorless graduate students, adjunct Marxist historians, out or queer management professors, state college ethnic studies departments, closed-down film programs, visa-expired Yemeni student newspaper editors, historically black college sociologists, and feminist engineers. And what will the university say of them? It

We watch neoliberalism unfold on the university even as the university has been a key infrastructural component of the development of neoliberalism.¹⁸ The informalization of university labor, the privatization and the abandonment of public education systems, the end of affirmative action, the increased reliance on standardized testing, and the viewing of students as consumers are shifts that can be observed both from the university as a place of employment and the university as a site of a distribution of security that shifts and changes in the twilight of the Keynesian welfare state.¹⁹ At the same time, the university as a site of knowledge production has, and continues to, generate the rationalizations, justifications, plots, and plans of neoliberal shift. The very ways of knowing the subjects and objects of neoliberalism—efficiency, flexibility, choice, freedom—are produced through the often colonial relationship of researcher to object (population) of study. What is an ethical relationship to the positions of marginal or critical academics, given these conditions and our roles as sites of legitimization and discipline?

On the one hand, we are called into reform projects. We can join more committees, provide more support, expose more contradictions. We have insight into the false neutrality existing at every level—admissions, hiring, tenure, evaluation, planning, community relations, professional development. We are aware that our students are frozen with fear over their debt, that they work so many hours outside school to get by that their school

will say they are unprofessional. This is not an arbitrary charge. It is the charge against the more than professional. How do those who exceed the profession, who exceed and by exceeding escape, how do those maroons problematize themselves, problematize the university, force the university to consider them a problem, a danger? The Undercommons is not, in short, the kind of fanciful communities of whimsy invoked by Bill Readings at the end of his book. The Undercommons, its maroons, are always at war, always in hiding.

Id.

¹⁸ See Ferguson, *supra* note 16, at 160–62. Ferguson calls the modern university the “sometimes sycophant of globalization.” *Id.* at 161.

¹⁹ Scholars have argued that the neoliberal turn has changed the method of stabilizing the economy. Although a racialized provision of certain benefits attendant to full-time work (e.g., pensions, health care, vacation) combined with a racialized provision of safety programs once operated to maintain capital, under neoliberalism, the erosion of these features, the deindustrialization of the economy, and the stagnation of wages requires new forms of governance to maintain stability. See generally FRANCES FOX PIVEN & RICHARD CLOWARD, *REGULATING THE POOR: THE FUNCTIONS OF PUBLIC WELFARE* (2d ed. 1993) (describing the racialized provision of welfare benefits); UNITED FOR A FAIR ECONOMY, *CLOSING THE RACIAL WEALTH DIVIDE TRAINING MANUAL* (2006) (describing the production and maintenance of the racial wealth divide through the racialized provision of benefits such as the GI Bill, housing and business loans, and Social Security and the taxation of work rather than wealth). Ruth Wilson Gilmore’s work is particularly helpful for thinking about how the changes in economic arrangements in the last forty years, including reduced bargaining power for workers, the dismantling of welfare programs, and the informalization of work, relate to the rise of criminalization as a method of utilization and control of surplus people, finance capital, and land produced by these shifts. See Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Globalisation and US Prison Growth: From Military Keynesianism to Post-Keynesianism Militarism*, 40 *RACE & CLASS* 171 (1999).

participation is harmed,²⁰ that many live in fear of their own or a family member's deportation, that the standards by which we evaluate them (just like those by which we ourselves are evaluated) reproduce race, gender, and class hierarchies. There is so much to do to intervene on all this. I feel this call, I join this call. I want to see specific changes even while I see the pacifying and co-optive project that terms such as "public interest" and "social justice" play in the context of legal education.²¹ I also recognize the expanse of this project, the possibility that all of one's time could be poured into reforming the university to the exclusion of all other political engagements.²²

²⁰ Vijay Prashad, *Teaching by Candlelight*, 25 SOC. TEXT 105, 106–08 (2007) (noting "[t]he increased level of student indebtedness and the pressure to work during college years structure students' experiences" and "the problem of debt in the context of jobless growth inhibits all but the most intellectually driven students, and this debt consciousness contributes to the nihilism felt by many toward our social institutions . . .").

²¹ Moten and Harney argue that the university plays a particular role in denying the "Conquest," to use Foucault's term. See Moten & Harney, *supra* note 1, at 113–14. This is visible in legal education where critical analysis is allowed only in small, marginal moments while the charge of teaching students to "think like a lawyer" is primarily one of establishing the neutrality of American Law in ways that obscure not only, most plainly, the basis of the American nation state in slavery and genocide/land theft, but also the centrality of private property and extraction to that system. To the extent that "public interest" and "social justice" come to mean any work that is not overtly in the private sector working for business, such that the category includes criminal prosecution and defense on equal terms, or deportation and deportation defense on equal terms, it affirms legality alone as justice, erases the political relations (which Foucault would call "war") that structure the distribution of life chances. MICHEL FOUCAULT, *SOCIETY MUST BE DEFENDED: LECTURES AT THE COLLEGE DE FRANCE 1975–76*, at 15 (Mauro Bertani et al. eds. & David Macey trans., Picador 2003) (1997). To the extent that we are considered "radical" and disciplined if we teach anything that suggest that current legal systems are not just, the scope of discussion in law schools is extremely contained.

²² Vijay Prashad also raises the idea that being the bearer of oppositional politics on campus allows its own co-optive moment, "the idea of the 'campus radical,' the domesticated rabble-rouser who provides the academy with its illusion of ideological diversity concerned me. As long as the radical is in a minority, as long as the radical is unable to drive campus culture, nothing is threatened." Prashad, *supra* note 20, at 105. Prashad argues that many of the reform projects focused on the university are so narrow that they affirm the underlying arrangements that produce the educational disparities that are being contested. For example, Prashad writes,

The debate over affirmative action . . . is impoverished because all sides accept the neoclassical assumption that educational access is a matter of scarcity and resource allocation. Since there are not enough seats, the colleges have to make some choices of whom to accept. But what if there were enough seats nationwide for all those who wanted to go to college, and what if no one had to compete with anyone else for grants? Colleges would still have to choose their own student body based on a variety of contested factors, but at the very least the applicants would not be barred from entry into campus because of a lack of spaces. In other words, racism and antiracism is not solved by the displacement of neoclassical constraints, but the debate over prejudice will be healthier if it does not occlude the structural problems of scarcity driven by profit-centered and social Darwinist capitalism.

Fred Moten and Stefano Harney offer a different relationship to the university, one not based in reform efforts, stating instead that “the only possible relationship to the university today is a criminal one”:

[T]his much is true in the United States: it cannot be denied that the university is a place of refuge, and it cannot be accepted that the university is a place of enlightenment. In the face of these conditions one can only sneak into the university and steal what one can. To abuse its hospitality, to spite its mission, to join its refugee colony, its gypsy encampment, to be in but not of—this is the path of the subversive intellectual in the modern university.²³

Harney and Moten suggest a more overtly antagonistic relationship between “subversive intellectuals” and the university while noting how critical engagement itself is already co-opted by the university to reproduce and hide the social and political conditions they call “conquest” and “war.”²⁴ Their critique is likely beyond the comfort zone of most (even critical) legal academics, but the shock value of their statements suggests something of what is hard to speak about the severity of the “outsider inside” experiences your letters address.²⁵ The pressures of being illegible, unspeakable, constantly misread, and constantly managing projected interpretations wears thin. The demand of this experience is to produce some form of legibility, to translate that illegible politics or identity into the readable language, and/or to disappear. The conditions of this choice are conditions of coercion masquerading as (academic) freedom. For those of us who see that disciplines discipline, who see that formal recognition and classification bring new efficiencies to violence, and who are critical of the role of knowledge production in producing terms of citizenship that necessarily mark some bodies for life and others for death,²⁶ this position is perplexing.

This is the location in which I find myself, ambivalent and insecure in my new position, trying to resist and survive various disciplining forces and to support and to make space for others to do the same. When my first big bar-tested course was over, Bob read all of my course evaluations for me,

²³ Moten & Harney, *supra* note 1, at 102.

²⁴ *Id.* at 113.

²⁵ See Chang & Davis, *supra* note 7, at 5–6, 20–22.

²⁶ See 1 MICHEL FOUCAULT, *THE HISTORY OF SEXUALITY: AN INTRODUCTION* 138–40 (Robert Hurly trans., Vintage Books 1990) (1976) (discussing the shift from the sovereign's right to take life to the biopower's capacity to foster life or "disallow it to the point of death"); FOUCAULT, *supra* note 21, at 256; *see also* MITCHELL DEAN, *GOVERNMENTALITY: POWER AND RULE IN MODERN SOCIETY* 98–112 (1999) (describing Foucault's theory of biopolitics and discussing state racism taken up in "defence of the life and welfare of the population against internal and external enemies"); Mariana Valverde, *Genealogies of European States: Foucauldian Reflections*, 36 *ECON. & SOC'Y* 159, 175–77 (2007) (describing biopolitics); Mariana Valverde, *Review Essay: Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the College de France 1976–77*, 1 *L., CULTURE & HUMAN.* 119, 123 (2005) (describing the importance of racism to the exercise of biopolitics as it marks those internal or external enemies who need to be killed to foster the life of the population).

carefully marked the nice comments I should read and the things I should never read, helped me think through the important takeaways and prevent the hurtful blows. That act of solidarity, the seriousness and rigor of that attention to vulnerability, is the best guidance I have gotten so far about what to do from this location. Perhaps, as we outsiders inside navigate the daily decisions about what to keep and what to let go of in the wind tunnel of professionalization, we can offer one another moments of respite and shared experience. Your letters are a version of that, a space in which to observe the unobserved, to speak the secret experiences that we are taught to manage into hiding. I am grateful for them.

Respectfully,

Dean

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SEX AND SCIENCE:
HOW PROFESSOR GENDER PERPETUATES THE GENDER GAP

Scott E. Carrell
Marianne E. Page
James E. West

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Sex and Science: How Professor Gender Perpetuates the Gender Gap
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ABSTRACT

Why aren't there more women in science? Female college students are currently 37 percent less likely than males to obtain a bachelor's degree in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM), and comprise only 25 percent of the STEM workforce. This paper begins to shed light on this issue by exploiting a unique dataset of college students who have been randomly assigned to professors over a wide variety of mandatory standardized courses. We focus on the role of professor gender. Our results suggest that while professor gender has little impact on male students, it has a powerful effect on female students' performance in math and science classes, their likelihood of taking future math and science courses, and their likelihood of graduating with a STEM degree. The estimates are largest for female students with very strong math skills, who are arguably the students who are most suited to careers in science. Indeed, the gender gap in course grades and STEM majors is eradicated when high performing female students' introductory math and science classes are taught by female professors. In contrast, the gender of humanities professors has only minimal impact on student outcomes. We believe that these results are indicative of important environmental influences at work.

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“The inferior sex has got a new exterior. We got doctors, lawyers, politicians too...”

(Annie Lennox, *Sisters are doing it for Themselves*)

1 Introduction

Why aren’t there more women in science? During the past forty years, women have infiltrated many prestigious careers that were formerly dominated by men, and today the number of graduate degrees in medicine, business and law are almost equally divided across the sexes. In contrast, female college students are currently 37 percent less likely than males to obtain science and engineering BA’s,¹ and comprise only 25 percent of the science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) workforce.² What is the source of this discrepancy and why does it continue to exist when women have successfully infiltrated so many other corners of the labor market? This question has spurred hundreds of academic studies, widely publicized conferences, and government reports, but the answers are still not well understood. As summarized in Xie and Shauman (2003), *Women in Science*

“Scholars have examined a variety of questions about women’s participation in, exclusion from, and contributions to the fields of science and engineering. Despite the significant breadth and depth of this research, much of it suffers from conceptual and methodological limitations that restrict the significance and usefulness of its findings. As a consequence, we have only limited knowledge of the processes that produce the gender differences in science participation and attainment.”

The exact manner in which cognitive and behavioral differences intertwine with social forces to produce differences in career outcomes is a subject of spirited debate. What we do know is that through 12th grade, the gender gap in math and science achievement tests is very small, and that it has been declining over the past 20 years.³ The small differences that do exist are not predictive of men’s higher likelihood of choosing a STEM career or major in college (Xie and Shauman 2003). *Conditional on ability*, the gender gap in the probability of completing a STEM degree is between 50 and 70 percent (Weinberger 1998, Weinberger 2001). Nor are the nearly non-existent differences

¹National Bureau of Economic Research (2006)

²National Science Foundation (2006)

³Feingold (1988) Friedman (1989) Goldin, Katz, and Kuziemko (2006) Hyde (1981) Hyde, Fennema, and Lamon (1990) Leahey and Guo (2001) Linn and Hyde (1989) National Science Foundation (1904) Nowell and Hedges (1998) and Xie and Shauman (2003).

in college preparatory math and science courses predictive of gender differences in college major (Xie and Shauman 2003). Since aptitude and preparedness of the two sexes seem roughly equal upon entering college, an important key to understanding the broader question of why men and women’s representation in STEM careers is so different is understanding what happens to them during college.

This paper begins to shed light on this issue by exploiting a unique dataset of college students who have been randomly assigned to professors over a wide variety of mandatory standardized courses. We focus on the role of professor gender. Why might professor gender affect female students’ propensity to persist in STEM? Role model effects are frequently cited as potentially important factors affecting educational outcomes (Stake and Granger 1978, Kahle and Matyas 1987, Jacobs 1996, DiPrete and Buchmann 2006). Other factors might include gender differences in the academic expectations of teachers, differences in teaching styles, or differences in the extent to which teachers provide advice and encouragement.

Randomized student placement, together with mandatory math and science courses at the particular school we study, allow us to investigate how professor gender influences student outcomes free of self-selection problems that plague existing research. At most universities students have a large degree of freedom in choosing both their courses and their professors, even in their first year, making it difficult to identify professors’ causal impact. Students at our institution are required to take specific math and science courses in both their first year and in subsequent years, so it is possible for us to examine the long-term effects of professor gender on female students’ success in STEM without worrying about attrition bias. To our knowledge, we are the only study that is able to address either the self-selection or attrition problems inherent in existing research.

It is important to point out that if professor gender impacts female students, then these influences occur at a critical juncture in the life-cycle. Decisions about choosing a STEM major are likely to have a substantial effect on future labor market opportunities. Furthermore, Xie and Shauman (2003) show that most women with a STEM bachelor’s degree had initially planned on majoring in a non-STEM field. This suggests that the path towards a career in science is not primarily determined by the influence of social forces prior to college entry.

Our results suggest that while professor gender has only limited impact on male students, it has a powerful effect on female students’ performance in math and science classes, their likelihood of taking future math and science courses, and their likelihood of graduating with a STEM degree. The estimates are robust to the inclusion of controls for students’ initial ability, and they are substantively largest for students with high SAT math scores. Indeed, among these students, the

gender gap in course grades and college major is eradicated when female students are assigned to introductory math and science professors who are female. The fact that professor gender effects are largest among women with strong math skills and a predisposition towards math and science is important because this group of women is, arguably, most suited to science and engineering careers. If we want to reduce the gender gap, these are precisely the women whom policies should target.

We also attempt to distinguish the role of professor gender itself from the role of other (unobservable) professor characteristics that are correlated with gender. We do this by estimating each professor’s average “value-added” separately for male and female students and then looking at the value-added distributions. We find that some male professors are very effective at teaching female students — even more effective than they are at teaching male students. We also find the reverse—that some female professors are more effective at teaching male students. This suggests that the gender differences we observe are more likely to be driven by the manner in which the course is taught, than by the presence of female role models. Among the highest ability female students, however, the gender of introductory math and science professors continues to exert a positive influence on the choice of a STEM major, even after controlling for professors’ value-added.

The remainder of the paper unfolds as follows: Section 2 briefly describes the literature on this important topic. Section 3 describes our dataset, and Section 4 discusses the statistical methods we will employ. In Sections 5 and 6 we present our main results and estimates based on alternative specifications. Section 7 discusses mechanisms. Section 8 concludes.

2 Background

There are many reasons that social scientists should care about understanding womens’ underrepresentation in STEM careers. First, gender differences in entry into STEM careers explain a substantial portion of the gender pay differential among college graduates (Eide 1994, Brown and Corcoran 1997, Weinberger 1998, Weinberger 1999, Weinberger 2001, Weinberger 2006). Sociologists also argue that STEM is one of the most prestigious segments of the labor force (Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi 1964) and that compared to men, women’s relatively low rates of participation in STEM careers contributes to their relatively lower social status (Jacobs 1996, Reskin 1984, Reskin, Hartmann, National Research Council Committee on Womens Employment and Related Social Issues, on Behavioral, Sciences, and Education 1986). Another concern is that the low representation of women in STEM careers leads to lower aggregate productivity than could be achieved if many of the women who choose non-STEM careers would have been qualified scientists and engineers

(Xie and Shauman 2003, Weinberger 1998). Finally, Margolis and Fisher (2002) maintain that the direction of future technology development will depend on the interests and life experiences of STEM professionals. Taken together, these arguments suggest that the gender composition of the STEM workforce may affect both the level and types of production that takes place in the United States.

Most social scientists agree that gender differences in the labor market are likely attributable to a myriad of individual, familial, and social factors. Economists typically focus on the potential effects of discrimination and on differences in preferences (Black and Strahan 2001, Blau and Kahn 2000, Goldin and Rouse 2000, Altonji and Blank 1999, Blakemore and Low 1984, Polachek 1978) but a rich psychological literature suggests that equally skilled men and women may exhibit important differences that affect their labor market decisions. Beyer (1997) and Beyer and Bowden (1997), for example, find that there are gender differences in individuals' self perceptions of ability. Further research suggests that these perceptions are linked to individuals' expectations, aspirations, and preferences for taking on difficult tasks.⁴ Women tend to have lower expectations about their future performance than men (Beyer 1997, Elliot and Harackiewicz 1994), and they are more risk averse (e.g. Eckel and Grossman (2008)). If STEM classes or careers are considered to be particularly challenging then these gender differences may lead men and women to perform differently or make different choices about which college majors and/or careers to pursue even when they have comparable skills. Recent surveys of college students suggest that, indeed, women differentially avoid these fields because they either lack interest, believe that they will be unwelcome, or have concerns about the difficulty associated with relevant coursework (Weinberger 2006).

At the same time, evidence suggests that the gender gap in outcomes that arises from these psychological differences is mutable. For example, a growing body of experimental work shows that the phenomenon of "stereotype threat," can have substantive effects on individuals' test performance (Steele 1997, Spencer, Steele, and Quinn 1999), and that simply telling women that a math test does not show gender differences leads to improved test scores. Stereotype threat effects are observed even among women with high levels of proficiency and confidence (Weinberger 1998, Steele and Aronson 1995, Steele 1997, Spencer, Steele, and Quinn 1999, Aronson, Lustina, Good, Keough, Steele, and Brown 1999). Similarly, experimental research by Niederle and Yestrumskas (2008) finds that men take on challenging tasks 50 percent more often than comparably performing women, but that changes in institutional design that provide more flexible choices eliminates the gender gap among high performers. Numerous researchers have suggested that relatively few college women

⁴See Boggiano, Main, and Katz (1988), Cutrona, Cole, Colangelo, Assouline, and Russell (1994), Elliott and Dweck (1988) and Harackiewicz and Elliot (1993).

choose STEM majors because they face social pressures to conform to gender norms.⁵ If these claims are true, then they provide further evidence that women’s career choices are mutable.

There are numerous ways in which students’ experiences in the classroom might lead to gender differences in orientation towards science and math. Teachers may have different academic expectations of boys and girls; they may employ different teaching styles, or provide different levels of attention, advice, and encouragement. The presence of female role models teaching STEM could also be influential. Thus, there is ample reason to believe that female college students’ interest and ability in pursuing the initial steps towards a STEM career (e.g. doing well in math and science courses, choosing a STEM major) might be influenced by their learning environment.

Many studies have investigated the effects of teacher gender at the elementary and secondary school level⁶ but only a handful have considered the post-secondary level (Canes and Rosen 1995, Neumark and Gardecki 1998, Rothstein 1995, Bettinger and Long 2005, Hoffmann and Oreopoulos 2007). Most of these studies do not focus on STEM per se, and all of them face self-selection problems because the traditional university path enables students to choose their schools, courses, and/or professors. This has made it impossible for previous researchers to cleanly identify the estimated relationship between professor gender and student outcomes.

The data used in this paper are unique because the institution under study has a mandatory course of study in the first year, and employs class random assignment. Thus, neither the set of courses, nor the professor’s gender is under the student’s control. A further advantage of our dataset is that course grades are not determined by an individual student’s professor. Instead, all faculty members teaching the same course use an identical syllabus and give the same exams during a common testing period.⁷ As a result, we can circumvent the selection and attrition problems inherent in previous studies, and provide the cleanest evidence to-date.

⁵See Arnold (1995), Badgett and Folbre (2003), Betz (1997), Betz and Hackett (1981), Betz and Hackett (1983), Eccles (1987), Hyde (1997), Hall and Sandler (1982), Hanson (1996), Lapan, Shaughnessy, and Boggs (1996), Leslie, McClure, and Oaxaca (1998), Lunneborg (1982), Seymour and Hewitt (2000), Tobias (1993), Tobias and Lin (1991) and Ware and Lee (1988).

⁶See Nixon and Robinson (1999), Ehrenberg, Goldhaber, and Brewer (1995), Dee (2005), Dee (2007), Holmlund and Sund (2007), Carrington, Tymms, and Merrell (2005), Carrington, Tymms, and Merrell (2008), Lahelma (2000) and Lavy and Schlosser (2007)

⁷While the students in Hoffman and Oreopoulos’s dataset are not randomly assigned and do not take mandatory STEM courses, their dataset has one similarity to ours, which is that course grades are determined by a general exam that is given to all students enrolled in the course, regardless of which professor they have taken the course from.

3 Data

Our data come from the United States Air Force Academy (USAFA). The Air Force Academy is a fully accredited undergraduate institution of higher education with an approximate annual enrollment of 4,500 students. All students attending the USAFA receive 100 percent scholarship to cover their tuition, room, and board. Additionally, each student receives a monthly stipend of \$845 to cover books, uniforms, computer, and other living expenses. All students are required to graduate within four years⁸ and typically serve a minimum five-year commitment as a commissioned officer in the United States Air Force following graduation.

Despite the military setting, in many ways the USAFA is comparable to other selective post-secondary institutions in the United States. Similar to most selective universities and liberal arts colleges, USAFA faculty have earned their graduate degrees from a broad sample of high quality programs in their respective fields. Approximately 40 percent of classroom instructors have terminal degrees, as one might find at a university where introductory coursework is taught by graduate student teaching assistants. On the other hand, the number of students per section in any given course rarely exceeds 25, and student interaction with faculty members in and outside of the classroom is encouraged. In this respect, students' learning experiences at USAFA more closely resemble those of students who attend small liberal arts colleges. There are approximately 32 academic majors offered at USAFA across the humanities, social sciences, basic sciences, and engineering.

Students at USAFA are high achievers, with average math and verbal SAT scores at the 88th and 85th percentiles of the nationwide SAT distribution.⁹ Students are drawn from each Congressional district in the US by a highly competitive process, insuring geographic diversity. Fourteen-percent of applicants were admitted to USAFA in 2007.¹⁰ Approximately 17 percent of the students are female, five percent are black, seven percent are Hispanic and six percent are Asian. Seven percent of students at USAFA have a parent who graduated from a service academy and 17 percent have a parent who previously served in the military.

Table 1 presents statistics for USAFA and a set of comparison schools. We show the 25th and 75th percentiles of each school's verbal and SAT math scores, undergraduate enrollment, acceptance

⁸Special exceptions are given for religious missions, medical "set-backs", and other instances beyond the control of the individual.

⁹See http://professionals.collegeboard.com/profdownload/sat_percentile_ranks_2008.pdf for a SAT score distributions.

¹⁰See the National Center for Education Statistics: <http://nces.ed.gov/globallocator/>

rates, and percent female for selected universities. SAT scores at USAFA are comparable to the SAT scores of students at top ranked public universities such as UCLA and UNC Chapel Hill, but, unlike these schools, only nineteen percent of USAFA students are female. This characteristic makes USAFA most comparable to selective universities that have strong traditions in science and technology, such as the Georgia Institute of Technology, or Rensselaer Polytechnical Institute. Our results are thus most salient for women who enter college with strong math skills, are already interested in science, and who are comfortable in a predominantly male environment. This group is not representative of all female college students, but it is a group that is highly salient. One could argue that students with strong math skills and an interest in science are precisely the types of students whom efforts to reduce the gender gap in STEM careers should target. Put differently, we think that our estimates speak most directly to the issue of women’s persistence in STEM, rather than the question of what causes women to enter STEM majors.

3.1 The Dataset

Our dataset includes 9,481 students who comprise the USAFA graduating classes of 2000 through 2008. Data for each student’s high school (pre-treatment) characteristics and their achievement while at the USAFA were provided by USAFA Institutional Research and Assessment and were stripped of individual identifiers by the USAFA Institutional Review Board. Student-level pre-treatment data includes whether students were recruited as athletes, whether they attended a military preparatory school, and measures of their academic, athletic and leadership aptitude. Academic aptitude is measured through SAT verbal and SAT math scores and an academic composite computed by the USAFA admissions office, which is a weighted average of an individual’s high school GPA, class rank, and the quality of the high school attended. The measure of pre-treatment athletic aptitude is a score on a fitness test required by all applicants prior to entrance.¹¹ The measure of pre-treatment leadership aptitude is a leadership composite computed by the USAFA admissions office, which is a weighted average of high school and community activities (e.g., student council offices, Eagle Scout, captain of sports team).

Table 2 provides summary statistics and Figure 1 plots the distribution of pre-treatment academic variables by gender. As in nationally representative samples, the upper tail of the math score distribution is somewhat thicker for male than it is for female students. Since our estimation strat-

¹¹Barron, Ewing, and Waddell (2000) found a positive correlation between athletic participation and educational attainment and Carrell, Fullerton, and West (2008) found a positive correlation between fitness scores and academic achievement.

egy is based on random assignment and includes pre-treatment characteristics as controls, small differences in the distribution will not contaminate the analysis.

Our academic performance measures consist of final grades in core courses for each individual student by course and section-semester-year. Students at USAFA are required to take a core set of approximately 30 courses in mathematics, basic sciences, social sciences, humanities, and engineering, but we focus only on mandatory introductory and follow-on courses in mathematics, physics, chemistry, engineering, history, and English.¹² A distinct advantage of our dataset is that all students are required to take a follow-on related curriculum. Grades are determined on an A, A-, B+, B $\cdots$ C-, D, F scale where an A is worth 4 grade points, an A- is 3.7 grade points, a B+ is 3.3 grade points, etc. The sample grade point average in core science courses is 2.72 among females and 2.85 among males. The grade point average in core humanities courses is 2.81 among females and 2.73 among males. We standardize these course grades to have a mean of zero and a variance of one.

We also examine students' decisions to enroll in optional follow-on math and science classes, whether they graduate with a bachelor's degree, and their choice of academic major. In our sample, female students are less likely than males to take higher level elective math courses (34 percent of females vs. 50 percent of males) and less likely to major in STEM (24 vs. 40 percent¹³), but are more likely to graduate (84 vs. 81 percent).

Individual professor-level data were obtained from USAFA historical archives and the USAFA Center for Education Excellence and were matched to the student achievement data for each course taught, by section-semester-year.¹⁴ We have information on each professor's academic rank, gender, education level (M.A. or Ph.D.), and years of teaching experience at USAFA. During the period we study, there were 251 different faculty members who taught introductory mathematics, chemistry, or physics courses. Nineteen-percent (47 of 251) of these faculty were female and taught 23-percent (289 of 1,244) of the introductory math and science course-sections. 112 different faculty members taught humanities courses, of which 21-percent (24) were female.

¹²Course descriptions for Math 130, 141, 142; Physics 110, 221; Chemistry 141, 142; History 101, 202; English 111, 211; and the required engineering courses (aeronautical, astronautical, electrical, mechanical, civil, and thermo dynamics) can be found at: <http://www.usafa.edu/df/dfr/curriculum/CHB.pdf>

¹³Figures exclude the biological sciences, which require less mathematics and have historically higher rates of female participation. When including biological sciences the gender difference is smaller (40 vs. 45 percent).

¹⁴Due to the sensitivity of the data we were only able to obtain the professor observable data for the mathematics, chemistry, physics, English, and history departments. Due to the large number of faculty in these departments, a set of demographic characteristics (e.g., female assistant professor, PhD with 3 years of experience) does not uniquely identify an individual faculty member.

3.2 Student Assignment to Courses and Professors

Prior to the beginning of the freshman year, students take placement exams in mathematics, chemistry, and select foreign languages, and the scores on these exams are used to place students into the appropriate beginning core courses (i.e., remedial math, Calculus I, Calculus II, etc.). Conditional on course placement, the USAFA Registrar randomly assigns students to core course sections.¹⁵ Thus, throughout their four years of study, students have no ability to choose their required core course professors. Since faculty members teaching the same course use an identical syllabus and give the same exams during a common testing period, grades in core courses are a consistent measure of relative achievement across all students.¹⁶ These institutional characteristics assure there is no self-selection of students into (or out of) courses or towards certain professors.

Table 2 indicates that the types of students assigned to female faculty are nearly indistinguishable from those assigned to male faculty. In math and science courses, the average class size for female faculty is 19.2 compared to 18.9 for males. In addition, male and female professors have a similar numbers of female students per section, and similar average scores on SAT verbal, SAT math, academic composite, and algebra/trigonometry tests.

To formally test whether course assignment is random with respect to student and faculty gender, we have regressed student gender on faculty gender, by course type. The results of this analysis are shown in specifications 1 and 2 of Table 3, where we see that the correlation between student and faculty gender is always small and statistically insignificant. In Specifications 3 through 5 we examine whether there are any differences in the types of female students who are assigned to female professors by regressing student attributes on an indicator variable for whether the student was assigned a female professor. Our estimates indicate that there is no sizeable or systematic correlation between professor gender and students' SAT and academic composite scores. For example, female students who are assigned to female math and science professors have slightly lower SAT math and verbal scores but slightly higher academic composite scores. The differences are of trivial magnitude, and most are not significantly different from zero. Specification 7, which combines the SAT and academic composite into one measure also produces an estimate of the relationship that is small, positive, and statistically insignificant. Carrell and West (2008) also show that student assignment to core courses at USAFA is random with respect to peer characteristics and faculty academic rank, experience, and terminal degree status.

¹⁵The one exception is introductory chemistry, where the 92 lowest ability freshman students each year are ability grouped into four separate sections and are taught by the most experienced professors.

¹⁶The one exception is that in some core courses at USAFA, 5 to 10-percent of the overall course grade is earned by professor/section specific quizzes and/or class participation.

4 Statistical Methods

We begin by estimating the following linear regression model:

$$Y_{icjst} = \phi_1 + \beta_1 Female_i + \beta_2 Female_j + \beta_3 Female_i Female_j + \phi_2 X_{icst} + \phi_3 P_j + \gamma_{ct} + \epsilon_{icjst} \quad (1)$$

where Y_{icjst} is the outcome measure for student i in course c with professor j in section s in semester-year t . For academic performance outcomes, we normalize grades within each course and semester to have a mean of zero and variance of one. $Female_i$ is an indicator for whether student i is female and $Female_j$ is an indicator for whether professor j is female. The β coefficients are the primary coefficients of interest in our study. β_1 represents the difference in mean performance between female and male students. β_2 is the value added from having a female professor, and, β_3 indicates the extent to which having a female professor differentially affects female vs. male students. Because students are randomly assigned, estimates of the β coefficients will be unbiased.

The vector X_{icst} includes the following student characteristics: SAT math and SAT verbal test scores, academic and leadership composites, algebra/trigonometry placement test score, fitness score, race, whether the student was recruited as an athlete, and whether he/she attended a military preparatory school. P_j is the academic rank of professor j . γ_{ct} are course by semester-year fixed effects, which control for unobserved mean differences in academic achievement or grading standards across courses and time. The inclusion of these fixed effects ensures that the model identifies professor quality using only the within course by semester-year variation in student achievement. ϵ_{icjst} is the error term. Standard error estimates are clustered by professor.

We implement a slightly modified version of (1) to estimate the effect of professor gender in initial courses on performance in follow-on related courses:

$$Y_{ic'js't'} = \phi_1 + \beta_1 Female_i + \beta_2 \frac{\sum_j Female_{jt}}{n_{it}} + \beta_3 Female_i \frac{\sum_j Female_{jt}}{n_{it}} + \phi_2 X_{icst} + \gamma_{c's't'} + \epsilon_{ic'js't'} \quad (2)$$

where $Y_{ic'js't'}$ is performance in the follow-on course, c' in section s' and semester-year t' , having taken professor j in the initial coursework. $\frac{\sum_j Female_{jt}}{n_{it}}$ is the proportion of introductory course faculty j who were female for student i at time t' . To adjust for any possible professor, section, or year effects in the follow-on course, we include a section by course by semester-year fixed effect, $\gamma_{c's't'}$. As in (1), we are primarily interested in the β 's, which measure the average differences across male and female students, the effect of having more female professors in the introductory STEM courses, and the differential effect across male and female students of being assigned more female professors in introductory courses.

To estimate the effect of professor gender on longer term outcomes, such as choosing to take higher level math or graduating with a technical degree, we estimate a variation of (2):

$$D_{it'} = \phi_1 + \beta_1 Female_i + \beta_2 \frac{\sum_j Female_{jt}}{n_{it}} + \beta_3 Female_i \frac{\sum_j Female_{jt}}{n_{it}} + \phi_2 X_{it} + \epsilon_{ijt'} \quad (3)$$

Where $D_{it'}$ is a dummy variable that indicates whether student i at time t' chose to take a higher level math course or chose a STEM major. As before, the β coefficients are the coefficients of interest.

5 Estimated Effects of Introductory Course Professor Gender in Science and Math Classes

5.1 Estimated Effects on Course Performance in the Professor's Own Course

Figure 4 provides unconditional mean estimates by student and professor gender. The pattern of estimates shown in the figure are quantitatively and qualitatively similar to those produced by equation (1), which include all of the covariates discussed in the previous section and are shown in Table 4. The first two columns of Table 4 show the estimated effects for all students, while the remaining columns focus on students with increasingly strong math skills. We include detailed student-level control variables in Column 1; Column 2 replaces the control variables with individual-student fixed effects.

For the full sample, our estimates on the female faculty dummy variable indicate that when male students are taught by female professors they end up with somewhat lower course grades than when they are taught by males.¹⁷ The coefficient on the female professor dummy is between -0.04 (Column 2) and -0.05 (Column 1), which suggests that female professors lower male students' course grades by about 4 to 5 percent of a standard deviation. The magnitude of the teacher gender effects is swamped, however, by the estimated coefficient on the female student dummy (Column 1, Row 2), which indicates that women, on average, score 16 percent of a standard deviation lower than men *whose math skills were comparable upon entry into the USAFA*. Given that we are controlling for initial skills, this is a dramatic discrepancy, which can only be documented because of the unique, randomized, nature of our study. In most university settings, the possibility of differential selection into courses would make it impossible to detect this phenomenon.

¹⁷The estimated effect is not statistically significant across all of the subsamples indicated in Columns 3-6 or across all of the robustness checks in Table 5

The third row of Table 4 displays the estimated coefficient on the female student $\times$ female professor interaction. Focusing first on Column 1, we see that the estimate is of substantive magnitude (10 percent of a standard deviation) and positive, indicating that female students' performance in math and science courses improves substantially when the course is taught by a female professor. In fact, taken together with the estimates in rows 1 and 2, the estimated coefficient on the interaction term suggests that having a female professor reduces the gender gap in course grades by approximately two thirds. This finding reflects both the fact that male students do worse when they have a female professor, and that female students do significantly better. The absolute gain to women from having a female professor is 5 percent of a standard deviation ($-0.049 + 0.100$).

The estimates shown in Column 1 are based on regressions that control for ability by including observables, and they provide information about the relative gains to men and women from having a male vs. female professor in first year math and science classes. The next column replaces the student control variables with an individual fixed effect. In this regression, the coefficient on the interaction term indicates how much better female students do when they have female professors, compared to their own performance in other mandatory first year math and science courses. When the estimated coefficients on the female professor dummy and interaction term are added together ($-.041 + 0.139$) the resulting estimate indicates that, conditional on own ability, female students' performance improves by 10 percent of a standard deviation.

Columns 3 - 6 focus on women who entered college with very high math skills. Columns 3 and 4 show the regression estimates for students whose SAT math score was above 660 and Columns 5 and 6 show the same results for students who scored above 700 on the SAT math. These scores correspond to the median and 75th percentile of the distribution at USAFA, and to the 90th and 95th percentiles of the national SAT Math distribution. Although not statistically different from one another, the pattern of the estimated coefficients provides suggestive evidence that the gender gap in course grades grows with math ability. Since we control for initial SAT math scores and math placement test scores in our regressions, this is unlikely to reflect men's higher likelihood of scoring at the very top of the distribution prior to college, rather, it suggests that either 1) there are gender differences in math/science ability that are not captured by the initial controls, or 2) something about the college experience has a particularly detrimental effect on the math and science performance of highly skilled women.

The most striking pattern in Table 4 is that *as female students' initial math skills increase, the relative importance of professor gender also increases*. In fact, at the top of the distribution (Column 5), having a female professor completely closes the gender gap ($-0.169 + 0.177$). Notably, at higher skill levels, the evidence that professor gender matters to male students also weakens.

We speculate that something about the classroom environment created by female math and science professors has a powerful effect on the performance of women with very strong math skills — with virtually no expense incurred by their comparable male peers. This is a particularly important result as men and women with strong math skills are arguably those whom we would most like to see entering STEM careers .

5.2 Longer-term Effects of Professor Gender

Our main finding is that female students perform substantively better in their math and science courses when they are taught by a woman. Since we are interested in understanding why the prevalence of women in science careers is lower than that of men, our next task is to examine whether these effects extend into longer-term outcomes; course performance itself is only interesting to the extent that it affects pathways into STEM careers. Table 5 provides the results from estimating the effect of professor gender (as measured by the proportion of introductory courses taught by female faculty) on longer-term outcomes. We look at four outcomes: whether the student withdraws from the USAFA,¹⁸ the student’s performance in all required follow-on STEM coursework,¹⁹ whether the student chooses to take higher level math courses beyond those that are required for graduation with a non-STEM degree, and whether she graduates with a STEM degree. All four of these outcomes are correlated with future career choices. Columns 1-5 show that, conditional on entering math skills, women and men are equally likely to withdraw from the USAFA. However, female students perform significantly worse in follow-on STEM coursework, are less likely to take higher level math courses, and are less likely to graduate with a STEM degree compared to male students. It is also clear that gender differences in college major are much larger when we exclude biological sciences (Columns 4 vs. 3), which typically require less math, and have higher rates of female participation.²⁰

The estimated effect of professor gender on these long-term outcomes varies across the subsamples, with the biggest effects, by far, accruing to women with high entering math ability. Across the full sample, there is no statistically significant evidence that having a higher proportion of female professors affects a woman’s likelihood of withdrawing, her performance in follow-on coursework, her probability of taking higher level math courses, or her probability of graduating

¹⁸The results we present in Table 5 show attrition after the second year; however, results are qualitatively similar for 1-year and 4-year attrition.

¹⁹See footnote 12 for a list of these courses

²⁰We find qualitatively similar results when we also exclude environmental engineering, a field with a relatively higher rate of female participation.

with a STEM major. However, as the sample narrows to include increasingly high skilled women (as approximated by their SAT math score), the estimated effects of professor gender become much larger and statistically significant. Among the top quartile of female students, and for each long-term outcome, higher proportions of female professors in introductory math and science courses are associated with reductions in the gender gap. In fact, the estimates suggest that increasing the fraction of female professors from 0 to 100 percent would completely eliminate the gender gap in math and science majors. For example, Column 5 of Panel C indicates that among the highest ability women, those whose introductory math and science professors are exclusively female are 26 percentage points more likely to major in STEM than those who are exclusively assigned to male faculty. For this high ability group, the male/female gap in the probability of completing a STEM major is 27-percent. At the same time, there is no evidence that having a female professor affects a female student’s likelihood of dropping out, regardless of her ability level. This suggests that whatever it is about female professors that affects women in their first year math and science courses, it is not something that changes retention rates, but rather something that changes their preferences for math and science. This interpretation is consistent with Zafar (2009) who finds evidence at Northwestern University that the gender gap in academic majors is “due to differences in beliefs about enjoying coursework and differences in preferences.”

6 Robustness Checks

6.1 Alternative Specifications

In Table 6, we examine our estimates’ robustness to changes in model specification that either 1) exclude individual controls, or 2) increase flexibility. Differences between our main estimates and the results from the first exercise might indicate that our estimates are somehow driven by an unobserved correlation between student ability and professor assignment. The second exercise addresses the possibility that the relationship between entry level characteristics and student outcomes might vary with student gender. The estimates that are produced by these specifications are very similar to the estimates produced by (1).

We have also explored the possibility that our estimates are driven by a few female professors whose approach to teaching differs substantially from the rest of the faculty. In order to address this concern, we have run regressions that replace the female professor dummy in (1) with professor-level fixed effects, and looked at the distribution of the estimated fixed effects. We find that over 2/3 of the female professor fixed effects are positive and statistically significant, which suggests that our

estimated professor gender effects are pervasive, rather than driven by a handful of teachers.

6.2 Estimated Effects of Professor Gender in English and History Classes

Next, we consider the role of professor gender in humanities courses. Table 7 shows the estimated effects of professor gender when we estimate equation (1) for introductory English and history courses instead of math and science. The estimates are strikingly different. There is no observable gender gap in course performance, and there is no evidence that female students' course grades are improved when they have a female professor. As in Tables 4 and 5, we find weak evidence that both men and women have lower humanities grades when the course is taught by a female professor, but most of the coefficient estimates on the female professor dummy are barely significant at the 10 percent level.²¹ Specifications 3-6 carry forward our analyses for longer-term outcomes. We look at the effect of professor gender in initial humanities courses on later course selection and choice of major. All of the estimated female professor coefficients are small, and none are statistically significant. This indicates that the gender of professors in initial humanities courses has no effect on male students' longer-term choices. Similarly, most of the estimated coefficients on the interaction term are small, and only one is statistically different from zero, suggesting that female students' long run choices are also unrelated to the sex of the professor who teaches their humanities courses.

These results stand in direct contrast to our estimated professor effects in math and science, where it appears that female students with strong math skills are very strongly affected by the gender of their introductory course professors. The differences in results across science and the humanities also suggests that our math/science estimates are not likely driven by the general (military) culture of the institution we study.

²¹We have also estimated a fixed effects model analogous to the specification that is employed in Columns 2,4, and 6 of Table 4. The results from this specification suggest that when male students are taught by women, their grades are about 20 percent of a standard deviation lower than their grades in similar classes not taught by women. Among female students, however, course performance seems to be unrelated to professor gender. Results are available upon request from the authors.

7 Mechanisms

7.1 Is it All About Professor Gender?

Table 4 suggests that female students’ initial math and science grades are substantively higher when they are taught by female professors. The estimated effects are particularly large among female students in the upper quartile of the SAT math distribution. In this section, we investigate whether gender differences in student performance are driven by professor gender per se, or whether they might be driven by some other professor characteristic that is correlated with professor gender. For example, male and female students may respond differently to different teaching styles and teaching styles may be correlated with, but not exclusive to, professor gender. In order to investigate this possibility, we implement a two-step process: first, we estimate a student-gender-specific random effect for each professor.²² This provides us with estimates of each professor’s “value added” for both female and male students. Specifically, we estimate the following equation:

$$Y_{icjst} = \phi_1 + \beta_1 Female_i + \phi_2 X_{icst} + (1 - Female_i)\xi_{mj} + Female_i\xi_{fj} + \gamma_{ct} + \epsilon_{icjst} \quad (4)$$

where ξ_{mj} is the random effect measuring the value added of professor j for male students and ξ_{fj} is the random effect measuring the value added of professor j for female students. All other terms are defined as in equation (1).

Figure 5 shows the distribution of the gender-specific estimated random effects, $\hat{\xi}$. As expected, the distribution of the female-student-female-teacher effects (middle column) is to the right of the distribution of female-student-male-teacher effects. These results reconfirm our previous finding that, on average, female students perform better when their math and science courses are taught by female faculty, but also make clear that many male professors are very effective at teaching female students. In other words, student performance is correlated with professor gender, but not exclusively. This pattern suggests that the mechanism through which professor gender operates is more likely to be something like teaching style rather than “role modeling”.

Our next step is to re-estimate the long-term outcome regressions, (equations (2) and (3)) while

²²For recent work estimating teacher value-added models see Rivkin, Hanushek, and Kain (2005), Kane, Rockoff, and Staiger (2008), Kane and Staiger (2008), Hoffmann and Oreopoulos (2009), and Carrell and West (2008).

including the average of the estimated random effects, $\hat{\xi}$, as explanatory variables.

$$\begin{aligned}
Y_{ic'js't'} = & \phi_1 + \beta_1 Female_i + \beta_2 Female_i \frac{\sum_j \hat{\xi}_{fj}}{n_{it}} + \beta_3 Female_i \frac{\sum_j \hat{\xi}_{mj}}{n_{it}} + \beta_4 Female_i \frac{\sum_j Female_{jt}}{n_{it}} \\
& + \beta_5 (1 - Female_i) \frac{\sum_j \hat{\xi}_{fj}}{n_{it}} + \beta_6 (1 - Female_i) \frac{\sum_j \hat{\xi}_{mj}}{n_{it}} + \beta_7 (1 - Female_i) \frac{\sum_j Female_{jt}}{n_{it}} \\
& + \phi_2 X_{icst} + \gamma_{c's't'} + \epsilon_{ic'js't'}
\end{aligned} \tag{5}$$

This equation allows us to investigate whether students' long term outcomes are affected by professors who have high "male or female value-added," conditional on professor gender. In other words, we can separately estimate the impact of professor "quality" from the impact of professor gender itself. We present results for this analysis in Table 8. Column 1 shows that the male and female "value-added" variables are strong predictors of student performance in mandatory follow-on STEM courses even though we control for professor gender. Furthermore, the sign of the value-added estimates depend on the gender of the student. Among female students, the estimates suggest that a 1-standard deviation increase in initial course female-student professor value-added results in a 0.110 ($0.110 = 2.554 * 0.043$) standard deviation increase in follow-on course grades. Conversely, female students appear to respond negatively to professors with high male-student professor value-added. A 1-standard deviation increase in the initial course male-student professor value-added effect results in a 0.030 ($-0.030 = -0.492 * 0.060$) standard deviation decrease in follow-on course grades.

What these results tell us is that, on average, male and female students respond differently to introductory math and science instruction, regardless of the professor's gender. The estimates in Columns 4 and 7 indicate that the relationship between initial course value-added and follow-on course performance is just as strong among high ability students. In addition, when the value-added estimates are included, the magnitude of the estimated coefficient on the proportion female faculty variable is much smaller (for female students) than the estimated coefficients shown in Table 5. Thus, it appears that the influence of female professors on their female students' future math and science performance operates largely through environmental factors (rather than role models) that affect students' initial class performance. These factors are correlated with, but are not exclusive to, professor gender.

The remaining columns in Table 8 show how teacher value-added affects students' future decisions. Our main finding is that these measures strongly predict high ability students' (both male and female) probability of graduating with a STEM degree. Column 9, for example, indicates

that a 1-standard deviation increase in female-student value-added increases the probability that a female student graduates with a STEM degree by 6.3 percentage points ($0.063 = 1.704 * 0.037$). At the same time, including the teacher value-added variables reduces, but does not eliminate, the estimated importance of professor gender. Thus the gender of the introductory course professor continues to have a marginally significant effect on high ability female students' longer-run STEM trajectories.

7.2 The Influence of Professor Gender in Follow-on Courses

We have seen evidence that female students' paths into math and science careers are influenced by the sex of the professors who teach their initial math and science courses. Table 4 shows that at least part of the mechanism through which the influence of professor gender operates is through its effect on female students' initial course performance. Table 9, however, shows that it is only the gender of professors in introductory courses that matter. When we estimate the effect of professor gender in mandatory follow-on math and science courses on own course grades, whether the student takes higher level math, and whether the student graduates with a degree in STEM, we find that none of the estimated interaction terms are statistically different from zero, most are small in magnitude, and a few are in the opposite direction from our earlier estimates. This suggests that classroom environment has its strongest influence early in the college career.

8 Conclusion

Why aren't there more women in science careers? If we want to know the answer to this question then we need to understand what happens to women in college. College is a critical juncture in the life-cycle, and in spite of the fact that men and women enter college with similar levels of math preparation, women have substantially lower probabilities of majoring in science or engineering than their male counterparts. This, in turn, closes the door to many careers in science and technology.

The goal of this paper has been to shed light on how women's paths towards science are affected by the college environment, focusing on the role of professor gender. Unlike previous research on this topic, we are blessed with experimental conditions that ensure our estimates are uncontaminated by self-selection and attrition problems. This is possible because the campus that we study randomly assigns students to professors over a wide variety of mandatory standardized courses. A further advantage of our data is that course grades are not determined by an individual student's professor.

The unique nature of our data allows us to document a number of interesting patterns. First, we find that *compared to men with the same entering math ability*, female students perform substantially less well in their introductory math and science courses. This is a new fact that is only knowable because of the mandatory nature of introductory math and science courses at the USAFA. We document a gender gap in most other dimensions of STEM success, as well. Second, we find that the gender gap is mitigated considerably when female students have female professors. Conversely, professor gender seems to be irrelevant in the humanities. Third, we find that the effect of female professors on female students is largest among students with high math ability. In particular, we find that among students in the upper quartile of the SAT math distribution, being assigned to a female professor eliminates the gender gap in introductory course grades and science majors. This is an important finding because these are precisely the women whom we would like to keep in science. We also find that professor gender has minimal effects on male students' outcomes.

This research raises a number of interesting questions about why professor gender is important, particularly at the top of the ability distribution. Do female professors serve as role models? Do they teach in ways that female students find more accessible? Are they more encouraging of their female students? We have begun to investigate these questions by looking at the distribution of each professor's gender-specific, average value-added. We find that professor value-added is correlated with professor gender, but is not exclusive to it. This suggests that role model effects are unlikely to be the primary reason that professor gender matters. In future research, we hope to investigate whether there are observable characteristics of male and female teachers that can help explain this phenomenon. While this is not possible with our current data, it would provide invaluable information to policymakers who seek to improve women's representation in science.

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Figure 1: Distribution of Academic Pre-treatment Measures by Gender

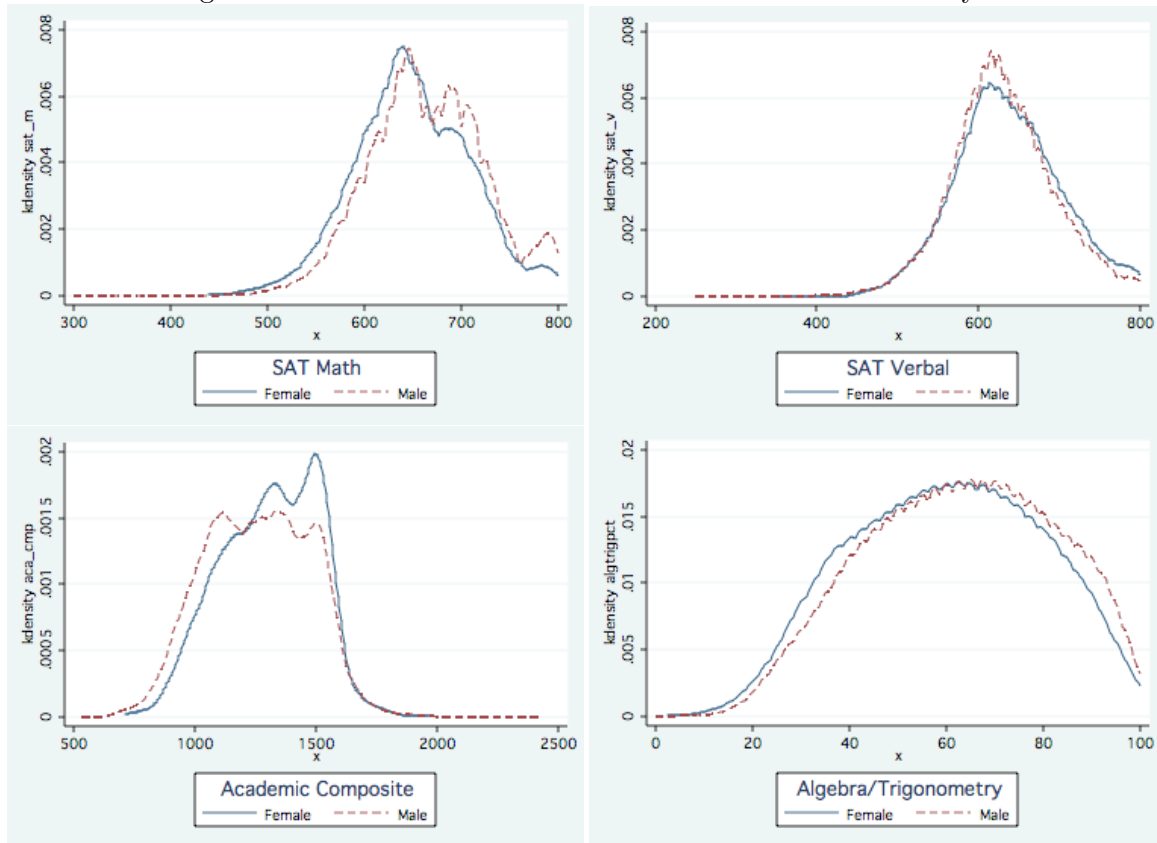


Figure 2: Math and Science Courses: Distribution of Female Student Pre-treatment Characteristics by Professor Gender

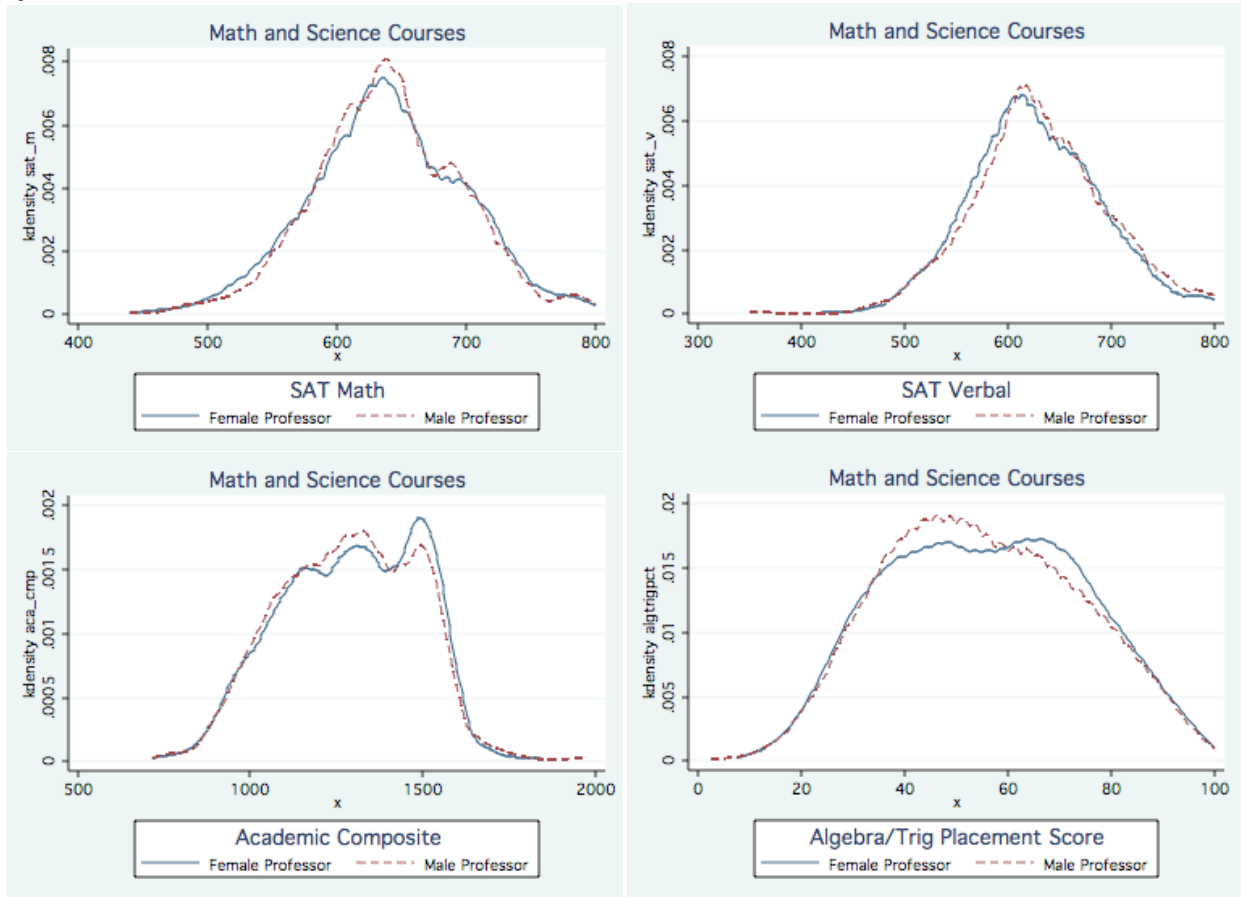


Figure 3: Humanities Courses: Distribution of Female Student Pre-treatment Characteristics by Professor Gender

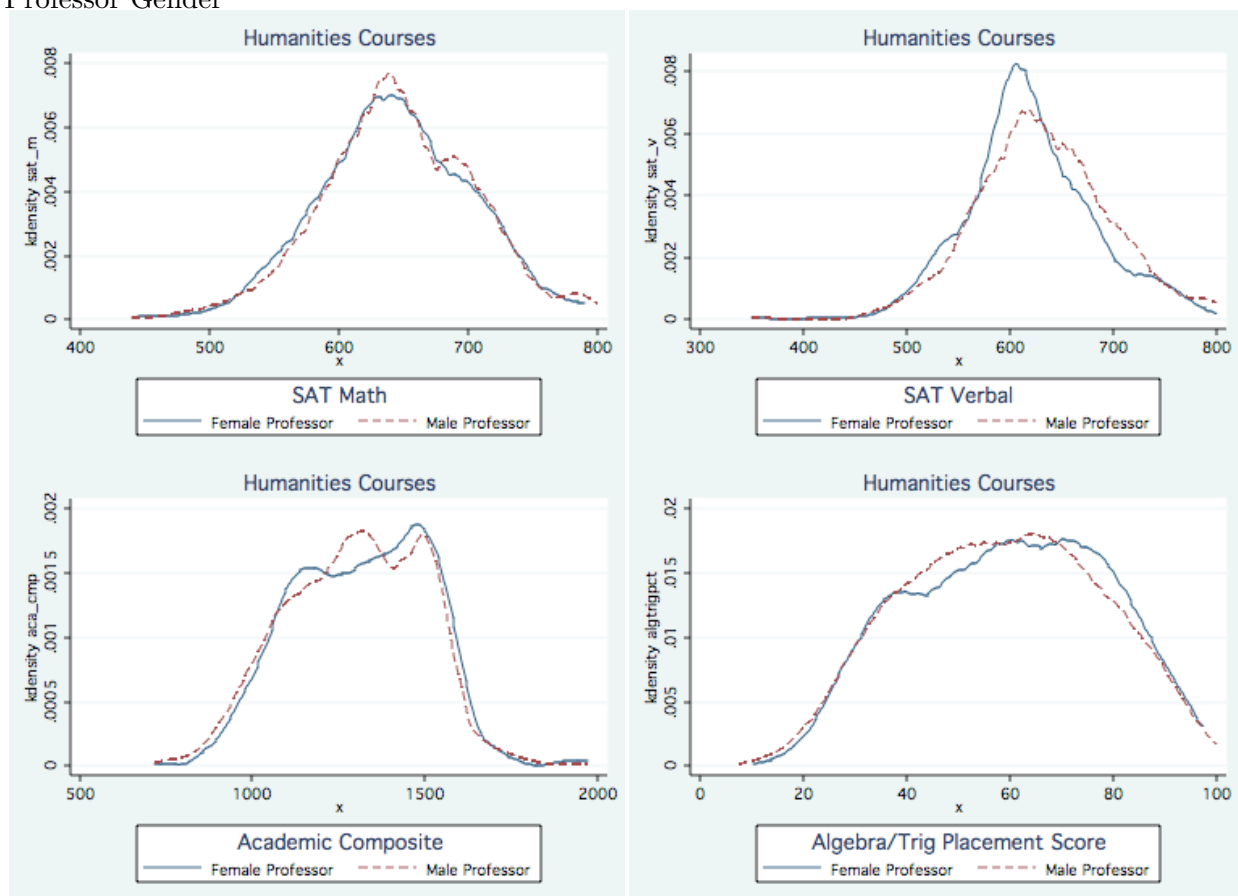


Figure 4: Unconditional Mean Performance by Student and Professor Gender

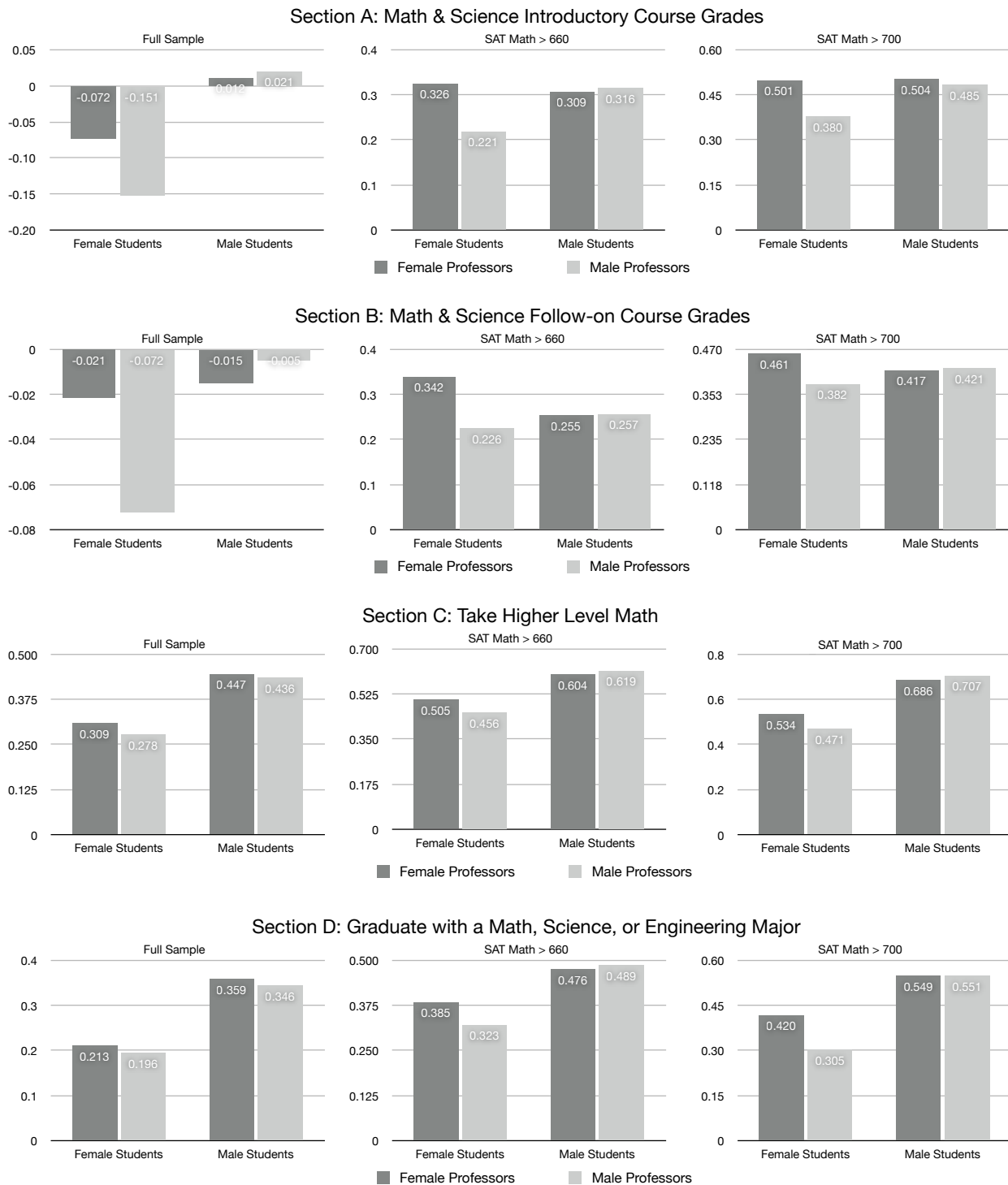


Figure 5: Distribution of Professor Value-Added by Student and Professor Gender

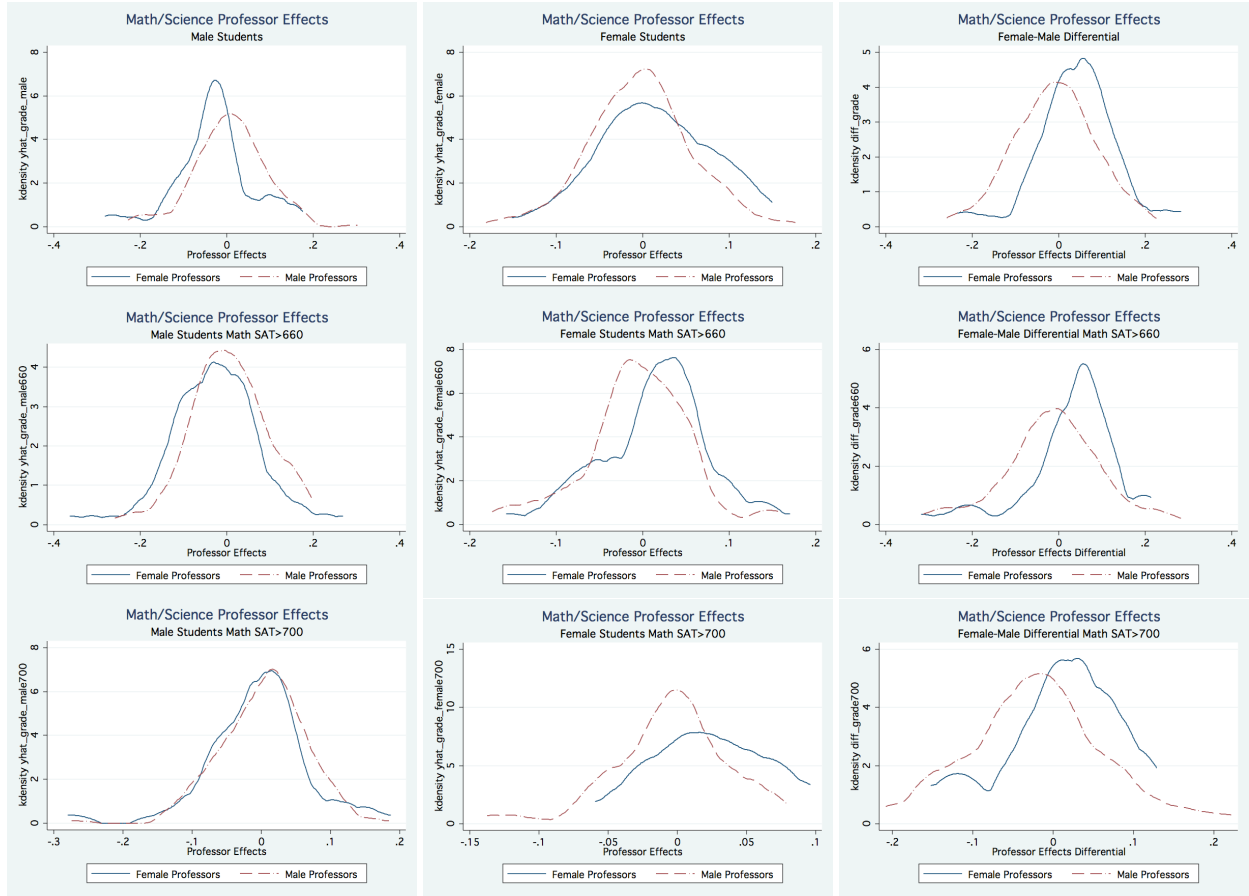


Table 1: Comparison Schools

	Percent	SAT Verbal		SAT Math		2007	Percent
	Female	25th	75th	25th	75th	Undergraduate Enrollment	Admitted
Kettering University	14.9	510	630	600	690	2,178	23.0
Air Force Academy	18.6	590	670	620	700	4,461	14.0
Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology	20.6	560	680	630	710	1,936	69.7
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	26.6	600	690	650	730	5,146	49.4
Georgia Tech	28.6	590	690	650	730	17,936	28.0
California Institute of Technology	30.6	700	780	770	800	913	16.9
Virginia Tech	41.6	530	630	570	670	23,041	67.1
Case-Western Reserve University	42.3	580	690	620	720	4,207	74.7
UCLA	44.7	570	680	610	720	25,928	25.8
University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign	46.9	550	670	640	740	31,472	71.0
University of Michigan	50.3	590	690	630	730	25,555	50.3
UC San Diego	52.6	540	660	600	700	22,048	45.6
University of Virginia	55.8	590	700	610	720	15,078	35.2
UNC Chapel Hill	58.7	590	690	610	700	17,628	34.1

Notes: Data originally from National Center for Education Statistics (2007 - 2008)

Table 2: Summary Statistics

Student-Level Variables	Female Students			Male Students		
	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.
Total Course Hours	1,595	25.00	6.45	7,886	24.96	6.59
Math and Science Core Course Grades (normalized course by semester)	7,825	-0.10	0.99	37,949	0.02	1.00
English and History Core Course Grades (normalized by course by semester)	5,680	0.08	0.99	28,882	-0.02	1.00
Withdraw in First Year	1,595	0.05	0.23	7,886	0.06	0.24
Withdraw in First or Second Year	1,595	0.13	0.34	7,886	0.15	0.36
Take Higher Level Math Elective	1,595	0.34	0.47	7,886	0.50	0.50
Take Higher Level Humanities Elective	1,595	0.26	0.44	7,886	0.23	0.42
Graduate	1,595	0.84	0.36	7,886	0.81	0.39
Graduate with a Math, Science or Engineering Degree	1,595	0.40	0.49	7,886	0.45	0.50
Graduate with a Math, Science or Engineering Degree (excludes biological sciences)	1,595	0.24	0.43	7,886	0.40	0.49
Graduate with a Humanities Degree	1,595	0.10	0.30	7,886	0.07	0.26
Proportion Female Professors (Introductory Math & Science)	1,576	0.23	0.28	7,757	0.23	0.28
Proportion Female Professors (Introductory Humanities)	1,502	0.16	0.28	7,514	0.15	0.27
SAT Verbal	1,595	636.51	66.67	7,886	629.22	64.39
SAT Math	1,595	648.45	59.71	7,886	664.90	61.14
Academic Composite	1,595	1306.96	196.97	7,885	1258.61	216.70
Algebra/Trigonometry Placement Score	1,586	59.34	19.24	7,832	62.36	19.39
Leadership Composite	1,594	17.67	1.92	7,878	17.25	1.83
Fitness Score	1,593	4.70	0.92	7,884	4.88	0.95
Black	1,595	0.07	0.26	7,886	0.05	0.22
Hispanic	1,595	0.08	0.27	7,886	0.07	0.25
Asian	1,595	0.07	0.26	7,886	0.04	0.20
Recruited Athlete	1,595	0.32	0.47	7,886	0.26	0.44
Attended Preparatory School	1,595	0.16	0.37	7,886	0.21	0.41

Math, Physics, and Chemistry Courses	Female Professors			Male Professors		
	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.
Professor-Level Variables						
Number of Sections Per Instructor	47	6.15	4.51	204	4.68	3.37
Instructor is a Lecturer	47	0.57	0.50	202	0.42	0.49
Instructor is an Assistant Professor	47	0.30	0.46	202	0.37	0.48
Instructor is an Associate Professor	47	0.09	0.28	202	0.09	0.29
Instructor is a Full Professor	47	0.04	0.20	202	0.12	0.33
Instructor has a Terminal Degree	47	0.28	0.45	202	0.42	0.50
Instructor's Teaching Experience	47	3.17	3.16	202	4.77	6.03
Class-Level Variables						
Class Size	289	19.17	3.10	955	18.94	3.92
Average Number of Female Students	289	3.32	1.83	955	3.26	1.98
Average Class SAT Verbal	289	625.03	22.48	955	625.38	26.86
Average Class SAT Math	289	653.07	28.71	955	650.62	32.38
Average Class Academic Composite	289	12.47	0.88	955	12.38	1.02
Average Class Algebra/Trig Score	289	57.90	11.96	955	56.42	12.09

English and History Courses	Female Professors			Male Professors		
	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.
Professor-Level Variables						
Number of Sections Per Instructor	24	6.96	5.74	88	8.95	7.43
Instructor is a Lecturer	24	0.54	0.51	88	0.52	0.50
Instructor is an Assistant Professor	24	0.42	0.50	88	0.33	0.47
Instructor is an Associate Professor	24	0.00	0.00	88	0.07	0.25
Instructor is a Full Professor	24	0.04	0.20	88	0.08	0.27
Instructor has a Terminal Degree	24	0.17	0.38	88	0.32	0.47
Instructor's Teaching Experience	24	3.35	3.31	88	4.42	5.04
Class-Level Variables						
Class Size	167	15.17	4.83	788	16.15	3.87
Average Number of Female Students	167	2.58	1.82	788	2.59	1.73
Average Class SAT Verbal	167	622.88	28.28	788	627.68	27.91
Average Class SAT Math	167	658.89	28.39	788	662.11	27.20
Average Class Academic Composite	167	12.75	0.94	788	12.64	0.96
Average Class Algebra/Trig Score	167	61.67	8.54	788	61.90	8.03

Table 3: Randomness Check Regressions of Faculty Gender on Student Characteristics

Sample	All Students		Female Students				
Dependent Variable	Female Student	Female Student	SAT Math	SAT Verbal	Academic Composite	Total = SAT + AC	Algebra/Trig Placement
Specification	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Math and Science Courses	0.006 (0.006)	0.005 (0.006)	-1.462 (2.393)	-4.688* (2.784)	9.682 (8.281)	3.532 (10.61)	0.405 (0.679)
Observations	23,630	23,455	4,076	4,076	4,076	4,076	4,056
Humanities Courses	0.015 (0.009)	0.012 (0.009)	-0.679 (3.484)	-8.626** (3.601)	24.250** (11.432)	14.944 (14.355)	1.273 (1.136)
Observations	15,261	15,132	2,471	2,471	2,471	2,471	2,458
Mean and Std Dev of	0.168		642.3	630.5	1,292.9	2,565.6	56.6 (18.9)
Dependent Variable	(0.374)		(58.4)	(65.4)	(197.2)	(243.6)	
Individual Control Variables	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No

Notes: Each cell represents results for separate regression where the independent variable is an indicator variable for female faculty and the dependent variable is listed above. All specifications include a course by semester by year fixed effect. Individual control variables in Specification 2 include SAT verbal, SAT math, academic composite, algebra/trig placement score, leadership composite, fitness score, and indicator variables for black, Hispanic, Asian, recruited athlete, and attended a preparatory school. Standard errors are clustered at the course by semester by section level. * Significant at the 0.10 level, ** Significant at the 0.05 level, *** Significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 4: Math and Science Introductory Course Professor Gender Effects on Initial Course Performance

Sample	All Students		SAT Math > 660 (median)		SAT Math > 700 (75th pctl)	
Specification	1	2	3	4	5	6
Female Professor	-0.049* (0.028)	-0.041** (0.021)	-0.049 (0.035)	-0.015 (0.026)	-0.021 (0.037)	0.032 (0.034)
Female Student	-0.156*** (0.021)	NA	-0.160*** (0.032)	NA	-0.169*** (0.043)	NA
Female Student * Female Professor	0.100** (0.045)	0.139** (0.034)	0.125* (0.071)	0.079 (0.058)	0.177** (0.079)	0.169** (0.069)
Observations	23,383	23,557	9,255	9,317	4,070	4,105
R ²	0.2756	0.7586	0.2497	0.7685	0.2484	0.7746
Individual Fixed Effect	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Individual Controls	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Course by Semester Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Graduation Class Fixed Effects	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Time of Day Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: * Significant at the 0.10 level, ** Significant at the 0.05 level, *** Significant at the 0.01 level. Robust standard errors in parentheses are clustered by instructor. All specifications control for the academic rank of the professor. Individual-level controls include: SAT verbal, SAT math, academic composite, leadership composite, fitness score, algebra/trig placement score and indicator variables for students who are black, Hispanic, Asian, female, recruited athlete, and attended a preparatory school.

Table 5: Math and Science Introductory Course Professor Gender Effects on Longer Term Outcomes

Panel A. All Students					
Specification	1	2	3	4	5
Outcome	Withdraw in First 2-Years	Follow-on STEM Course Performance	Take Higher Level Math	Graduate with STEM Degree ⁺	
Proportion of Professors Female (Introductory Courses)	0.013 (0.014)	-0.046* (0.027)	-0.006 (0.018)	0.011 (0.019)	0.003 (0.018)
Female Student	0.001 (0.013)	-0.058*** (0.023)	-0.136*** (0.016)	-0.034*** (0.017)	-0.129*** (0.016)
Female Student * Proportion of Professors Female	-0.054 (0.035)	0.055 (0.061)	0.064 (0.043)	0.041 (0.045)	0.020 (0.043)
Observations	9,258	61,125	9,258	9,258	9,258
R ²	0.0394	0.3179	0.2420	0.1716	0.1825
Panel B. SAT Math > 660 (median)					
Specification	1	2	3	4	5
Proportion of Professors Female (Introductory Courses)	0.003 (0.018)	-0.070** (0.033)	-0.038 (0.025)	-0.004 (0.026)	-0.035 (0.026)
Female Student	0.006 (0.019)	-0.075** (0.033)	-0.166*** (0.026)	-0.059*** (0.027)	-0.174*** (0.027)
Female Student * Proportion of Professors Female	-0.077 (0.048)	0.185** (0.078)	0.127** (0.065)	0.161** (0.069)	0.143** (0.070)
Observations	4,255	27,826	4,255	4,255	4,255
R ²	0.0251	0.3415	0.1458	0.1066	0.1141
Panel C. SAT Math > 700 (75th pctl)					
Specification	1	2	3	4	5
Proportion of Professors Female (Introductory Courses)	-0.011 (0.025)	-0.096** (0.046)	-0.034 (0.033)	0.026 (0.036)	0.009 (0.036)
Female Student	0.030 (0.028)	-0.112** (0.051)	-0.239*** (0.037)	-0.079*** (0.041)	-0.269*** (0.041)
Female Student * Proportion of Professors Female	-0.095 (0.068)	0.236** (0.116)	0.204** (0.090)	0.122 (0.098)	0.264*** (0.100)
Observations	2,069	13,250	2,069	2,069	2,069
R ²	0.0123	0.4251	0.1226	0.0896	0.1033
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Graduation Class Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: * Significant at the 0.10 level, ** Significant at the 0.05 level, *** Significant at the 0.01 level. Individual-level controls include: SAT verbal, SAT math, academic composite, leadership composite, fitness score, algebra/trig placement score and indicator variables for students who are black, Hispanic, Asian, female, recruited athlete, and attended a preparatory school. For Specification 2 standard errors are clustered by student and include contemporaneous course section fixed effects.

⁺ Specification 5 excludes biological sciences.

Table 6: Robustness Checks: Math and Science Introductory Course Professor Gender Effects

Panel A. All Students			
Specification/Dependent Variable	1	2	3
Initial Course Performance	0.100** (0.045)	0.089** (0.045)	0.092** (0.042)
Follow-on STEM Course Performance	0.055 (0.061)	0.076 (0.073)	0.060 (0.061)
Take Higher Level Math	0.064 (0.043)	0.044 (0.049)	0.070 (0.044)
Graduate with STEM Degree ⁺	0.020 (0.043)	0.004 (0.047)	0.027 (0.044)
Panel B. SAT Math > 660 (median)			
Specification/Dependent Variable	1	2	3
Initial Course Performance	0.125* (0.071)	0.135* (0.081)	0.135** (0.067)
Follow-on STEM Course Performance	0.185** (0.078)	0.187* (0.096)	0.221*** (0.084)
Take Higher Level Math	0.127** (0.065)	0.124* (0.070)	0.038* (0.073)
Graduate with STEM Degree ⁺	0.143** (0.070)	0.139** (0.066)	0.150** (0.070)
Panel C. SAT Math > 700 (75th pctl)			
Specification/Dependent Variable	1	2	3
Initial Course Performance	0.177** (0.079)	0.115 (0.092)	0.191** (0.081)
Follow-on STEM Course Performance	0.236** (0.116)	0.101 (0.132)	0.271** (0.122)
Take Higher Level Math	0.204** (0.090)	0.156* (0.094)	0.206** (0.093)
Graduate with STEM Degree ⁺	0.264*** (0.100)	0.196* (0.104)	0.268*** (0.104)
Individual Fixed Effect	No	No	No
Individual Controls	Yes	No	Yes
Individual Controls * Female Student	No	No	Yes

Notes: Each cell represent the coefficient for the Female Student * Female Professor interaction variables as shown in Table 3-5. * Significant at the 0.10 level, ** Significant at the 0.05 level, *** Significant at the 0.01 level. Robust standard errors in parentheses are clustered by instructor for course performance outcomes.

⁺ Excludes biological sciences.

Table 7: English and History Introductory Course Professor Gender Effects

Outcome	Initial Course Performance	Follow-on Course Performance	Take Higher Level Humanities	Graduate with Humanities Degree	Take Higher Level Math	Graduate with STEM Degree ⁺
Panel A. All Students	1	2	3	4	5	6
Proportion of Professors Female (Introductory Courses)	-0.128* (0.071)	-0.038 (0.029)	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.008 (0.026)	0.015 (0.044)	-0.008 (0.019)
Female Student	-0.018 (0.037)	0.020 (0.047)	0.019 (0.013)	0.019** (0.009)	-0.109*** (0.014)	-0.123*** (0.015)
Female Student * Proportion of Professors Female	0.029 (0.073)	0.013 (0.112)	0.025 (0.041)	0.002 (0.017)	-0.086* (0.044)	-0.035 (0.044)
Observations	15,132	13,745	8,943	8,943	8,943	8,943
R ²	0.1741	0.2874	0.0621	0.0276	0.2436	0.1849
Panel B. SAT Math > 660 (Median)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Proportion of Professors Female (Introductory Courses)	-0.127* (0.071)	-0.031 (0.036)	0.001 (0.022)	-0.009 (0.015)	-0.013 (0.027)	0.026 (0.029)
Female Student	0.053 (0.046)	0.043 (0.054)	0.008 (0.019)	0.018 (0.012)	-0.133*** (0.023)	-0.146*** (0.024)
Female Student * Proportion of Professors Female	0.079 (0.083)	0.085 (0.121)	0.046 (0.057)	-0.022 (0.037)	-0.040 (0.069)	0.009 (0.073)
Observations	6,998	6,441	4,252	4,252	4,252	4,252
R ²	0.1948	0.3458	0.0351	0.0225	0.1439	0.1158
Panel C. SAT Math > 700 (75th pctl)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Proportion of Professors Female (Introductory Courses)	-0.106 (0.102)	0.007 (0.053)	-0.002 (0.029)	-0.006 (0.018)	-0.010 (0.036)	-0.027 (0.040)
Female Student	0.028 (0.053)	0.049 (0.075)	0.003 (0.026)	-0.001 (0.016)	-0.174*** (0.032)	-0.205*** (0.036)
Female Student * Proportion of Professors Female	0.075 (0.103)	0.185 (0.152)	0.104 (0.077)	0.045 (0.046)	-0.021 (0.094)	0.060 (0.106)
Observations	3,407	3,165	2,106	2,106	2,106	2,106
R ²	0.2226	0.4661	0.0343	0.0171	0.1154	0.0992
Individual Fixed Effects	No	No	No	No	No	No
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: * Significant at the 0.10 level, ** Significant at the 0.05 level, *** Significant at the 0.01 level. For Specifications in column 1 & 2 the proportion female professor variable is an indicator for whether the professor is in the course is female. Columns 1 & 2 control for the academic rank of the professor. Individual-level controls include: SAT verbal, SAT math, academic composite, leadership composite, fitness score, algebra/trig placement score and indicator variables for students who are black, Hispanic, Asian, female, recruited athlete, and attended a preparatory school.

⁺ Excludes biological sciences.

Table 8: Math and Science Introductory Course Professor Value-Added Effects by Student Gender

Sample Outcome	All Students			SAT Math > 660 (median)			SAT Math > 700 (75th pctile)		
	Follow-on STEM Course Performance	Take Higher Level Math	Graduate with STEM Degree	Follow-on STEM Course Performance	Take Higher Level Math	Graduate with STEM Degree	Follow-on STEM Course Performance	Take Higher Level Math	Graduate with STEM Degree
Specification	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<u>Female Student Coefficients</u>									
Female Student	-0.056** (0.022)	-0.133*** (0.016)	-0.128*** (0.016)	-0.065** (0.033)	-0.171*** (0.027)	-0.179*** (0.028)	-0.082* (0.049)	-0.266*** (0.043)	-0.293*** (0.048)
Initial Course Professor Value-Added for Male Students	-0.492** (0.244)	0.069 (0.186)	0.167 (0.186)	-0.465 (0.311)	-0.281 (0.266)	0.078 (0.282)	-0.448 (0.543)	0.524 (0.517)	0.892 (0.573)
Initial Course Professor Value-Added for Female Students	2.554*** (0.359)	-0.135 (0.271)	0.272 (0.272)	2.355*** (0.423)	0.561 (0.376)	0.965** (0.398)	2.844*** (0.999)	0.852 (0.818)	1.704*** (0.907)
Proportion of Professors Female	0.009 (0.055)	0.060 (0.040)	0.026 (0.040)	0.125* (0.073)	0.103* (0.063)	0.129* (0.067)	0.190* (0.114)	0.110 (0.101)	0.321*** (0.112)
<u>Male Student Coefficients</u>									
Initial Course Professor Value-Added for Male Students	0.451*** (0.127)	0.291*** (0.088)	0.276*** (0.088)	0.897*** (0.138)	0.393*** (0.108)	0.378*** (0.114)	1.490*** (0.239)	0.607*** (0.194)	0.371* (0.216)
Initial Course Professor Value-Added for Female Students	-0.148 (0.182)	-0.066 (0.126)	-0.252** (0.126)	-0.325 (0.198)	-0.014 (0.150)	-0.213 (0.159)	-0.625 (0.424)	0.128 (0.342)	-0.195 (0.379)
Proportion of Professors Female	-0.038 (0.026)	-0.001 (0.018)	0.009 (0.018)	-0.064* (0.034)	-0.039 (0.026)	-0.026 (0.027)	-0.085* (0.051)	-0.082** (0.041)	-0.019 (0.045)
Observations	60,863	9,207	9,207	26,049	3,940	3,940	9,472	1,451	1,451
R ²	0.3190	0.2414	0.1822	0.3473	0.1484	0.1172	0.4787	0.1457	0.1232

Notes: * Significant at the 0.10 level, ** Significant at the 0.05 level, *** Significant at the 0.01 level. Individual-level controls include: SAT verbal, SAT math, academic composite, leadership composite, fitness score, algebra/trig placement score and indicator variables for students who are black, Hispanic, Asian, female, recruited athlete, and attended a preparatory school. For Specification 1, 4, and 7 standard errors are clustered by student and include contemporaneous course section fixed effects.

Table 9: Math and Science Follow-on Course Professor Gender Effects on Subsequent Course Taking and Choice of Major

Panel A. All Students			
Specification	1	2	3
Outcome	Grade in Course	Take Higher Level Math	Graduate with STEM Degree [*]
Female Professor	0.020 (0.030)	0.015 (0.007)	0.006 (0.009)
Female Student	-0.057*** (0.022)	-0.128*** (0.011)	-0.130*** (0.009)
Female Student * Female Professor	0.011 (0.041)	-0.004 (0.019)	-0.010 (0.018)
Observations	20,952	20,952	20,952
R ²	0.2528	0.2316	0.1860

Panel B. SAT Math > 660 (median)			
Specification	1	2	3
Outcome	Grade in Course	Take Higher Level Math	Graduate with STEM Degree [*]
Female Professor	0.024 (0.032)	0.009 (0.011)	-0.0001 (0.014)
Female Student	-0.088** (0.034)	-0.134*** (0.019)	-0.146*** (0.016)
Female Student * Female Professor	0.077 (0.064)	-0.011 (0.044)	-0.022 (0.041)
Observations	8,759	8,759	8,759
R ²	0.2334	0.1589	0.1372

Panel C. SAT Math > 700 (75th pctl)			
Specification	1	2	3
Outcome	Grade in Course	Take Higher Level Math	Graduate with STEM Degree [*]
Female Professor	0.016 (0.037)	-0.002 (0.015)	-0.013 (0.018)
Female Student	-0.095** (0.048)	-0.198*** (0.029)	-0.208*** (0.028)
Female Student * Female Professor	-0.001 (0.077)	-0.017 (0.044)	-0.062 (0.046)
Observations	3,951	3,951	3,951
R ²	0.2349	0.1539	0.1436
Individual Fixed Effect	No	No	No
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Course by Semester Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Graduation Class Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time of Day Dummies	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: * Significant at the 0.10 level, ** Significant at the 0.05 level, *** Significant at the 0.01 level. Robust standard errors in parentheses are clustered by instructor. All specifications control for the academic rank of the professor. Individual-level controls include: SAT verbal, SAT math, academic composite, leadership composite, fitness score, algebra/trig placement score and indicator variables for students who are black, Hispanic, Asian, female, recruited athlete, and attended a preparatory school.

^{*} Excludes biological sciences.

Issues of Diversity in Academia: Through the Eyes of 'Third-Country' Faculty

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Abstract

Third-country faculty are faced with significant challenges interacting with university students who come from different socio-cultural backgrounds and have different expectations regarding faculty's role, behavior, and leadership style. This paper compares diversity practices and action options that can facilitate or hinder the integration of third-country faculty across five universities established in an equal number of countries. The proportion of third-country faculty in American universities abroad is also used to provide a measure of diversity. Notwithstanding recent trends pointing to the internationalization of higher education universities have yet to develop an appropriate institutional mentality along with supporting diversity policies that would help them gain global efficiencies by hiring qualified international faculty. This may have serious implications for organizational effectiveness with respect to resource acquisition and even the long-term survival of the organization.