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**“What If . . . Parenthood wasn’t a Professional Peril on the Tenure Track?  
Must Academics Parent and Perish?”**

Charmaine Yoest and Steven E. Rhoads  
Woodrow Wilson Department of Politics  
University of Virginia  
Cabell Hall  
Charlottesville, VA 22904  
[ccy2c@virginia.edu](mailto:ccy2c@virginia.edu); [ser6f@virginia.edu](mailto:ser6f@virginia.edu)  
<http://faculty.virginia.edu/familyandtenure>

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## ABSTRACT

What if parenting was not a professional liability? Advancement for academic professionals is publish or perish. However, for many academics, the time demands of parenting create a hidden dilemma: “parent and perish.” Can academics incorporate parenting into an intensive research agenda? This is a particular challenge for many women. Recognizing this problem, many universities have made attempts to “level the playing field” for women by instituting family-friendly policies, like parental leave and stopped tenure clock, so that female professors who give birth will have a fairer chance to get tenure without neglecting their child-care responsibilities.

Indeed these policies have been in place for nearly a decade or more at many major universities. Yet the existing literature reveals almost nothing about how the policies are working or the possibility that they may have different effects on men and women. Do those who pursue time off for parenting encounter overt, or subtle, disapproval? Or support? Is there a subtext to publish or perish that whispers “parent and perish?”

Paid family leave remains among the most commonly discussed public policy proposals for alleviating the work-family stresses experienced by the increasing numbers of dual-career parents. This paper reports our findings from a survey administered to a nationwide sample of assistant professors with children under two--examining the usage of family leave and stopped clock policies, their attitudes toward the policies, and their assessment of their assistance in achieving tenure.

We find that while the majority of female faculty with children do take leave, a substantial proportion still do not. Our survey data reveal significant gender differences in utilization of paid leave where available. We also find persistent gender differences in approaches to, and interest in, parenting. At the same time, we find persistent commonality in commitment to achieving tenure. Nevertheless, we found that female faculty members had substantially more home and care responsibilities, less time for research, and fully half had thought about dropping off the tenure track because of work/family pressures.

## I. Introduction

Paid family leave is among the most commonly discussed public policy proposals for alleviating the work-family stresses experienced by the increasing numbers of dual-career parents. Nearly alone among western industrialized nations, the United States does not provide, or mandate, paid maternity, parental or family leave (Kamerman 2000).<sup>1</sup> The academic literature related to parental leave is nearly unanimous in support of expanding current American policy to mandate paid parental leave. (Zigler and Frank 1988; Hyde and Essex 1991; Kamerman 2000; Waldfogel 2001; Dorman 2001; Wisensale 2001) With the recent passage in California of the Paid Family Leave Act, which provides for up to six weeks of paid leave for the birth or adoption of a child,<sup>2</sup> this public policy is gaining more momentum in the American context.

Although the federal Family and Medical Leave Act, passed in 1993, mandate provision of only unpaid leave for up to 12 weeks for eligible employees, there are some workplaces that do provide paid leave in addition to this minimum benefit. This provides the opportunity for social scientists to research the effectiveness of these paid leave policies as they are already being implemented.

This project examines paid leave policies as they currently operate in the United States in academia. Indeed, these policies have been in place for nearly a decade or more at many major universities. This paper reports our findings from a survey administered to a nationwide sample of assistant professors with children under two--examining the usage of family leave and stopped clock policies, their attitudes toward the policies, and their assessment of their assistance in achieving tenure.

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<sup>1</sup> South Korea also has no leave mandates, paid or unpaid; Australia has mandated unpaid leave. All other OECD countries have some provision for mandated paid maternity or parental leave. A brief word about terms: maternity leave, whether paid or unpaid, is the policy crafted to provide for a woman's leave needs related to childbirth. Those policies have been expanded in recent years to include paternity leaves for men in an effort to promote gender-neutrality and decrease the stigma attached to utilizing the benefit. We will call these policies that include both men and women, "parental leave." In their latest evolution, these policies have been further expanded to include leave needs for care of older children, spouses, or other dependents, including elderly parents. These are referred to as "family leave."

<sup>2</sup> The bill also provides for leave in the case of other family care needs, like personal, spousal or parental care, and so it is "family" leave instead of "parental" leave. In this paper, we will be focused on parental leave and the needs that arise out of caring for a newborn or small children.

What if parenting was not a professional liability? The survey data provides a lens through which to view the broader potential of parental leave. “Parent and perish” extends beyond academe; the dilemma confronts most modern professionals struggling to conform to the “ideal worker” norm. (Williams 2000) The academic setting presents a natural laboratory for studying paid family leave policies. Motivation to recruit and retain female faculty is high. University communities are typically characterized by a commitment to justice concerns. And female faculty members are, by definition, well educated and have high levels of professional commitment. These women may also be more likely to be married to men less invested in traditional gender roles. In short, if paid leave has the potential to work effectively and advantageously anywhere, it should do so in academia.

While junior faculty members in academia, who face the highly structured, time-constrained career ladder of the seven-year tenure process, do contend with a unique set of career pressures, we argue that the intense academic career track exhibits pressures similar to those faced in other professional occupations. Men and women who enter the legal profession face the challenge of making Partner in their law firm in their late 20’s and early 30’s, which notoriously conflicts with childbearing; the medical profession, with its residency system is similarly hostile to parenting issues; and the corporate world (birthplace of the “mommy track”), while lacking a specified industry-wide “system” for advancement, does place a high premium on an “overtime culture” that makes high achievement and childbearing difficult to reconcile (Fried 1998). For these reasons, we argue that data developed on academic professionals is representative of professionals in other areas.

## **II. Background**

The academic arena is a gender-segregated workplace. According to the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), 57 percent of instructors, lecturers and people holding unranked positions, are women. At the other end of the professional spectrum, women hold only 19 percent of the full professorships at doctoral institutions. In acknowledgment of the problem this imbalance poses for the academy, the AAUP issued a Statement of Principles on Family Responsibilities and Academic Work in May, 2001. The statement identified the disparate family obligations of men and women as one of the primary causes of this gender

differential in academic achievement and called for a “renewed attention” to the “healthy integration of work responsibilities with family life in academe.”

Many academic institutions have been giving greater attention to work and family issues. In 1999, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology issued a faculty study that identified work/family issues as a critical factor in their goal of increasing the number of their female faculty. Included in the recommendations of the faculty committee writing the report was the promotion of a maternity leave, which they argued was crucial to addressing the “childbearing issue.” A study done by UCLA researchers of the work/family nexus concluded that benefits of pro-family policy include increased workforce attachment: “Workers benefit from paid family leave largely by the decreased burden and stress felt by caregivers that must juggle work and family needs.” (Evans, et.al. 2001) At the University of Michigan, a work/family study discovered large numbers of female faculty members delaying childbearing under the stress of the tenure track (Blackburn and Hollenshead 1999). And a Task Force at the University of Southern California was asked to rethink the rationale behind gender-neutrality of leave policies. They found significant concern among male faculty about stigma associated with utilizing parental leave. However, they concluded that parental leave was valuable as a pro-family policy geared toward faculty recruitment and retention (2000).

Outside researchers have identified similar issues. A study that surveyed 22 female social work faculty members who were mothers found that the tenure process is qualitatively different for mothers. While these women acknowledged that the standards applied were equivalent, making the process quantitatively similar, the overall “experience” of the tenure review was different because of the high, and unequal, time demands associated with mothering. They identified the timing of the tenure process, which coincides with the acute parenting demands of childbearing for women, as a particular concern. They advocated pursuing a flexible tenure frame in addition to paid leave (Young and Wright 2001).

Other research has identified a significant gender gap in utilization of parental leave policies even where they are available to both men and women. And although women do use leave more than men do, research is revealing hesitancy to use the policies among women well. One study of 189 female tenure-track assistant professors at a major public research university with a paid, 90-day leave policy, found only 30% of faculty members took the leave available to them, with 70% reporting that they felt that taking leave would hurt them professionally (Finkel,

Olswang and She 1994). They also found female professors choosing to be childless or postponing childbearing and concluded that women have assimilated the male career pattern. They issued a call for future research to explore the perceived career impediments for men associated with leave utilization (Finkel and Olswang 1996).

### **Institutional Support**

The issue of the lack of utilization of a proffered benefit, one that should be perceived as valuable, surfaces often in studies of pro-family employee benefits, particularly paid leave policies. One year-long intensive case study of a large corporation found that the official policies were undermined by the workplace atmosphere. The generous family benefits offered frequently were not used because the workplace “overtime culture” with its “pressure to produce” discouraged “taking time” for family duties (Fried 1998).

In fact, the question of workplace culture has been found to be so essential that one study of 324 pregnant women found that working conditions were more important than family background in determining a woman’s attachment to a particular job postpartum (Glass and Riley 1998). Another study found that gender is an important factor in shaping this “social context” in the workplace: women with male supervisors are more likely to use family-friendly policies (Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002). Young and Wright concluded that formal policies are not perceived as true benefits because of the stigma associated, and speculated that the university culture was determinative. Corporate culture, therefore, has been identified as a critical area for further research (Scwartz 1994, Raab 1997, Dorman 2001).

### **Gender-neutrality**

The question of stigma particularly applies to male usage, or more precisely: male non-usage. The transformation of maternity leave into parental leave, the extension to men of a leave to care for a baby, is a relatively new phenomenon. Underlying this shift is the normative ideal of gender equality. This expansion of leave policy to men has two purposes: First, as a practical issue, increased participation in childrearing by men, some argue, will alleviate the time pressures associated with mothering for women. The thesis is that if parenting becomes a more equal endeavor, lessened time pressures will help women pursue an upward career trajectory.

Secondly, on a more normative level, some argue that a gender-neutral leave policy can help pursue the broader goal of promoting gender-neutral parenting and eliminating the association of parenting with mothering exclusively.

Marianne Ferber, for example, argues that providing a leave policy for women-only reinforces “stereotypical notions” about female child-rearing – and even if men don’t take leave in the end it is “harmless” to offer them the opportunity (*Commentary* 1997). Sociologist Linda Haas, pursuing this argument, is a strong proponent of the equality model that undergirds Swedish leave policies; she asserts that there is no biological foundation for any difference in parenting, even to the extent of arguing that modern infant formula has negated the biological imperative rooted in breastfeeding (1992).

Nevertheless, promoting male leave taking has proved difficult. Fried found that the *de jure* gender-neutral policy did not produce male leave-takers; the *de facto* corporate culture still framed their parental leave policy as a benefit for women-only. Raabe’s research, which found that pro-family policies are rare and not widely utilized when available, underscored the fact that fathers face a “precarious situation” in using parental leave. “The question remains,” she wrote, “whether taking advantage of such programs is damaging to a faculty member’s career or is compatible with career success” (1997). Then, finally, a nationwide study of 2253 people, using data from the Congressional Commission on the Family and Medical Leave Act found that while parental leave may be gender-neutral in design, women are the ones who use it. (Gerstel and McGonagle 1999).

Our study pursues these issues identified in previous research. How much does institutional support affect the utilization of leave-taking? Does parental leave provide some measure of relief from the time pressures associated with parenting responsibilities? Does parental leave help women fit childbearing into the tenure track crucible? What effect does parental leave have on prospects for tenure and career aspirations? Is stigma associated with leave taking? And, lastly, can parental leave be truly gender-neutral? This paper is a preliminary overview of our findings which provide new data points that bear on each of these questions.

### III. Methodology

#### Sample

Our research objective was to find and interview individual faculty members at universities and colleges nationwide that had a paid parental leave policy. In order to do this, we first identified schools with paid leave policies using an institutional survey. Our sample of universities was chosen to be representative of faculty nationwide within strata, not institutions.

For the institutional survey, we selected 84 schools based on a systematic, random sampling of all universities contained in *Peterson's Guide to Colleges*. The universe of four-year colleges and universities was first stratified into five categories according to competitiveness of admission (as determined by *Peterson's*). Within strata, schools were sampled with probabilities proportionate to the size of their full-time faculty, to ensure that smaller schools would not have a disproportionate chance of selection. The result was a representative sample of faculty at universities nationwide, "Sample One," which contained 14 elite institutions, 14 very competitive ones, 28 moderately competitive ones, 20 minimally competitive ones, and 8 noncompetitive ones.

During the summer of 2001, a researcher called and interviewed administrators at each of the 84 colleges and universities.<sup>3</sup> Some administrators requested additional information and a hard copy of the survey. These requests were accommodated and the survey then retrieved by fax or mail. This data was compared with and augmented by public information on university policies gathered from university web sites.

The next phase of the project was a survey of Assistant Professors with children under two years of age who are in tenure-track positions at institutions with paid leave policies. We defined "paid leave" for purposes of inclusion in the individual-level survey as at least 6 weeks of full relief of the faculty member's teaching duties with full pay, or half relief of teaching at full pay for one full semester or quarter, or full relief with half pay. We also included schools

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<sup>3</sup> At the completion of the institutional survey, 7 schools remained non-responsive. The valid cases used for the analysis presented here were 77. Of the unknown schools, 3 were private, moderately competitive schools; and one private and 3 public minimally competitive schools. This left 25 moderately competitive schools and 16 minimally competitive schools in the sample; 28 private and 49 public. Additionally, the unknown schools were not clustered in one particular region: 3 were from the East, 3 from the South and 1 from the Southwest, leaving 19 in the East, 20 in the South, and 3 in the Southwest, as well as 20 in the Midwest and 15 in the West.

that provided leave benefits of over 6 weeks for only women.<sup>4</sup> Using a “nested” sample approach and beginning with the universities that had been identified as paid leave schools from the institutional survey, we assembled a sample of eligible assistant professors. The initial contact with the sample of Assistant Professors was web-based, so the sample construction was focused on identifying Assistant Professors at the eligible universities and gathering their email addresses.

When the institutional interview was completed, a copy of the institution’s phonebook was requested. Using these phonebooks, we identified assistant professors and compiled their email addresses. Many universities were unwilling to comply with the initial phonebook request. Therefore, we contacted university Presidents to gain their assistance. All contacted this way eventually either provided the phonebooks or the data.

Simultaneously, we began exploring the possibility of acquiring the necessary information from online phonebooks. This strategy was partially successful. However, we found varying degrees of data availability: many online phonebooks do not list, or cannot be searched by, job title, making them useless for our purposes.

Later, in order to increase our sample size, using identical sampling methods, we drew a second sample, “Sample Two,” of 84 additional universities. This group of universities was not administered the extensive institutional survey, instead we called them to determine merely whether or not they met our criteria for being a paid leave school.

As we considered the task of acquiring a new set of phonebooks, we began searching for a more effective and time-efficient method and returned to a web-based approach. While using a web-based search of online phonebooks had not been feasible across-the-board, it was possible to locate the names and email addresses of assistant professors at most schools by searching online department by department very carefully and meticulously. Using this approach, the sample of assistant professors was completed.

The entire sample of 6534 assistant professors was then sent a web-based qualifying survey which verified that the respondent was a tenure-track assistant professor and asked whether or not they had children and if they had taken family leave or stopped the clock as a consequence of their youngest child’s birth. Our web-based survey resulted in responses from 2394 eligible

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<sup>4</sup> Schools that provided benefits only to women for under 6 weeks we classified as “maternity” leave as opposed to “parental leave.”

assistant professors that met our research parameters, 1422 male and 972 female. Of these, we were able to locate phone contact information for 1867 tenure track assistant professors. Most of these did not have children under two. Our research team completed interviews by phone with 184 (109 men and 75 women) respondents with children less than 24 months in age.<sup>5</sup> We then created a subset of the data that excluded men at schools where women-only were eligible, and four respondents whose institution did not in fact meet our definition of paid leave, for the analysis on questions specifically related to paid leave utilization.<sup>6</sup> The sample for these questions contained 80 men and 73 women for a total of 153 respondents.<sup>7</sup>

### **III. Parent and Perish?**

Becoming a parent is a powerful life event with enormous consequence both personally and professionally. This analysis begins descriptively, reporting our survey results related to these different elements of a professor's life, in order to explore and quantify some of the issues parental leave is designed to mediate. We then move into an analysis of what variables influence the leave-taking decision, and then what affects, if any, that decision itself produces in the interrelationship of the personal and professional aspects of our respondents' lives.

Our data clearly illustrate the pleasure and the tension inherent in parenthood that creates the work/family dilemma. Both male and female professors report that "being a parent is harder than I thought it would be" in equal percentages – 66% of men and 69% of women.

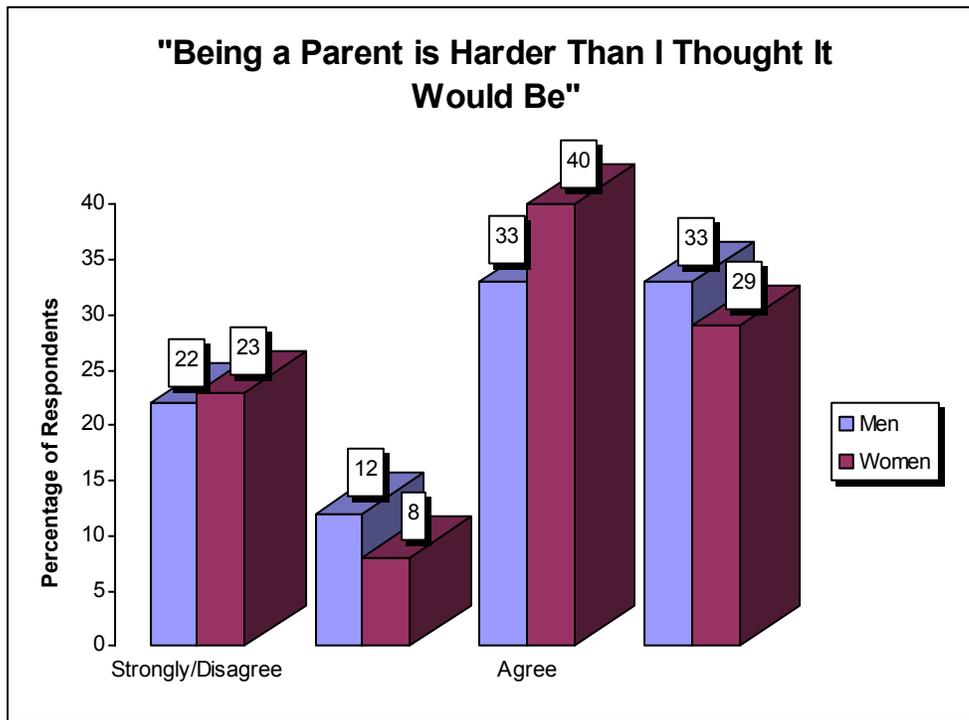
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<sup>5</sup> 21 of these respondents agreed to participate after we offered a \$50 incentive payment to 52 potential respondents who had initially refused to be interviewed.

<sup>6</sup> We included the men at "women-only" schools on attitudinal questions not related to the availability of leave *per se*.

<sup>7</sup> An additional 445 interviews were completed with respondents with older children or without children; those results will be reported in later analyses.

**Chart One**



N= 184; 109 men, 75 women

Fortunately, both also report overwhelmingly, exactly 88% each, that it is more satisfying than they expected. (N = 184: 109 men; 75 women) Nevertheless, as one might expect from the burgeoning literature that addresses the difficulties women in particular have in “balancing” work and family, we did find that the advent of parenthood has a disparate effect on men and women. One of our female respondents told us: “I think it’s nearly impossible for a woman who has children pre-tenure to achieve tenure.” She said: “I don’t know of any women in my field who have husbands that work outside of the home or academia who have made it.”

Our data revealed basic gender differences in both attitudes and behaviors related to parenting choices. As a counterpoint, however, there were also important areas that did not display any difference.

The differences we found, in terms of feelings, attitudes and behaviors related to children, begin even before this sample of professionals became parents: although the majority of both men and women reported being equally motivated, women were four times as likely to report

being the one in their marriage who was most motivated to have a child before the baby was conceived.

**Table One: Which parent was more motivated to have baby?**

Percentage of Respondents

	Respondent	Equally motivated	Other parent
Male	4	59	37
Female	15	71	14

N= 179: 107 men; 72 women

$\chi^2=16.3$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = .000$

Once they did become parents, the difference between men and women’s responses to the question of whether or not they feel they have time for themselves was quite dramatic. When asked if they agreed with the statement: “I put so much time into parenting, I don’t have time for myself,” the majority of women, 52%, agreed, and an additional 13% “strongly agreed.” Among men, however, only 40% either agreed or strongly agreed, while 46% either disagreed or strongly disagreed.

**Table Two: “I Put So Much Into Parenting, I Don't Have Time for Myself”**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Male	5	41	14	34	6
Female	1	24	9	52	13

N= 184: 109 men; 75 women

$\chi^2=11.85$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p = .018$  for gender difference

Additionally, women are nearly twice as likely to report feeling overwhelmed by their responsibilities as a parent -- only 20% of men, compared to 37% of women, agreed with this statement. We speculated that this finding would correlate with school ranking – working at an institution with higher professional expectations might result in greater feelings of stress, or alternatively, perhaps women who are simply more competent in balancing their work and

family responsibilities would be found at higher ranked institutions. This hypothesis was not born out by the data.

**Table Three: “I Feel Overwhelmed by my Responsibilities as a Parent.”**

Percentage of Respondents

	Strongly/Disagree	Neither	Strongly/Agree
Male	62	18	20
Female	51	12	37

N= 184: 109 men; 75 women

(male mean= 2.52, female mean = 2.84)  $t = -2.0$ ,  $df = 182$ ,  $p = .047$

We did find a correlation between women who reported feeling overwhelmed, and those women who responded that they felt the division of child care responsibilities with their spouse or partner was unfair to them. (N= 72 women,  $\chi^2=23.6$ ,  $df = 8$ ,  $p = .003$ ) This correlation did **not** hold for those who felt that the division of household labor, as distinct from child care, was unfair. (N=72,  $p=.003$ )

Indeed, we did find a highly significant gender difference in the amount of household work respondents reported that they performed. There were no men who did more than 30 hours a week in household labor, but 10% of the women did so.

**Table Four: How much time do you spend doing household and family work?**

Percentage of Respondents/Hours Worked Per Week

	0 to 5	5 to 10	11 to 20	21 to 30	Over 30
Male	39	48	12	2	0
Female	23	42	20	5	10

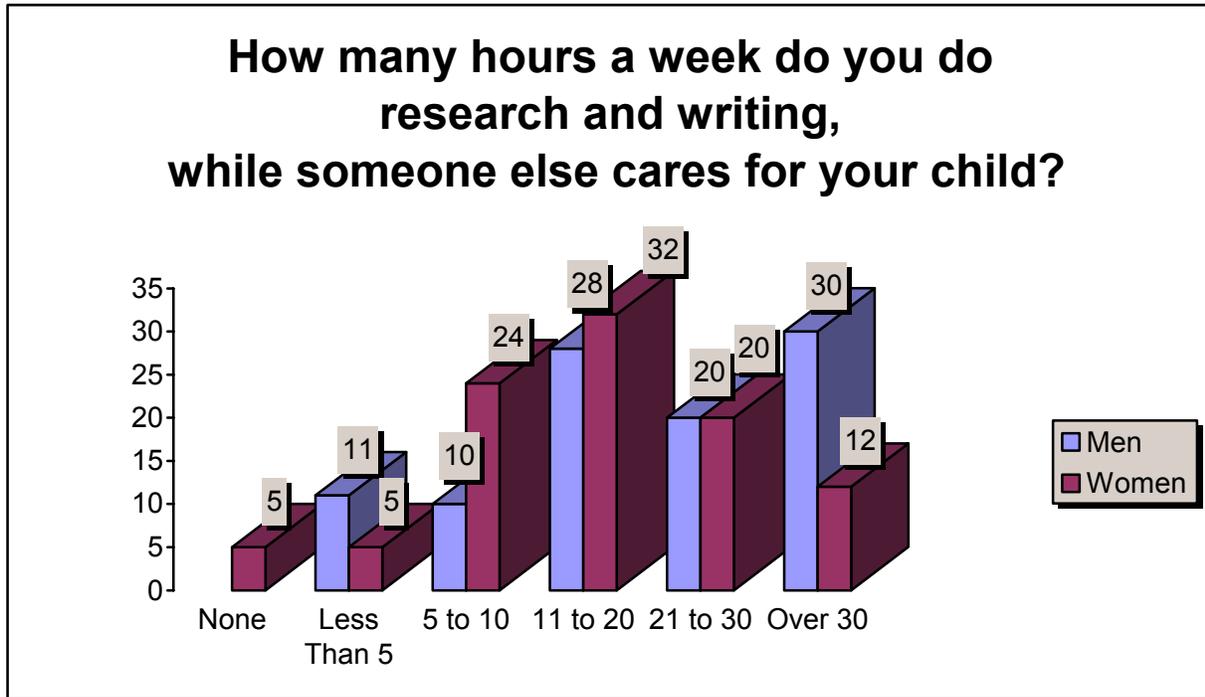
N= 183: 109 men; 74 women

$\chi^2=17.695$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p = .007$  for gender difference

We also found significant gender differences when we asked our respondents how much time they had available for research and writing while someone else was watching their child. A full 30% of men reported doing research and writing for over 30 hours of week – two and a half times as much as the women. Conversely, a quarter of the women reported doing between 5 to

10 hours, which was half the number of men who had so little time for work that is critical to their professional advancement.

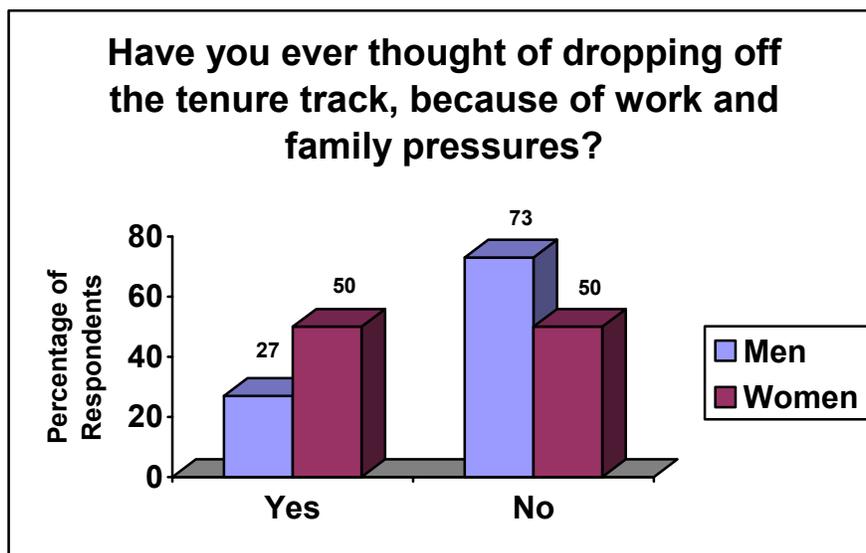
### Chart Two



$N=183, \chi^2=19.738, df = 7, p = .006$  for gender difference

We found that these gender differences in personal attitudes and responsibilities had a compelling effect on the professional life of female academics: Women are dramatically more likely to have thought about dropping off the tenure track or getting out of academics entirely because of work and family pressures. **Exactly half of all women professors in the survey, 37 out of 75, or 49%, responded that they had thought about dropping off, while among men, only one quarter, 26.6%, did so.**

### Chart Three



$N = 181$ ,  $\chi^2 = 9.9$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = .002$  for gender difference

In the context of the differences that we did not find, this gender differential is even more dramatic and noteworthy. Women were almost as confident of achieving tenure as men – a larger percentage of men were “nearly certain,” they would get tenure, but when those who are “pretty confident” are added and we measure those who are generally positive about their chances, the percentages are nearly equal -- 77% of men v. 74% of women – ( $N = 179$ , 106 men; 73 women). Even more significantly, our male and female respondents cared the same about making tenure: when asked how important it was to them personally to get tenure, men and women were identical in the percentage reporting that it was “very important” (70/71%). And, a nearly identical percentage – 6.5/6.9% -- also reported that it was “not important.”

Women assistant professors, then, are no less committed to their professional development than their male peers. Nor are they less professionally promising if we use self-assessment of career prospects as a rough proxy for occupational standing.<sup>8</sup> But as will be explained in more detail below, the disproportionate time demands of motherhood compared to fatherhood appear to be handicapping them substantially.

<sup>8</sup> Although this is admittedly a rough measure, we argue that in academia where the tenure stakes are so high, an individual has a vested interest in developing a fairly accurate self-assessment of tenure prospects. We plan to return to this sample in five years to test this self-assessment to get a better measure of the possible tenure effects of leave-taking.

#### IV. How Policies Are Working

It is precisely this imbalance that parental leave is designed to address. Can parental leave make a difference and “level the playing field”? One of the study’s more striking findings: a sizable percentage of women report being affected by their department’s leave policy in their decision to have a baby – nearly a quarter, 24%, said it was very or somewhat important. In contrast, 95% of the men said the policy was not important at all.

**Table Five: How Important Was Parental Leave to your Decision to Have a Baby?**

Percentage of Respondents

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important
Male	95	5	0
Female	77	14	10

N= 152: 79 men; 73 women

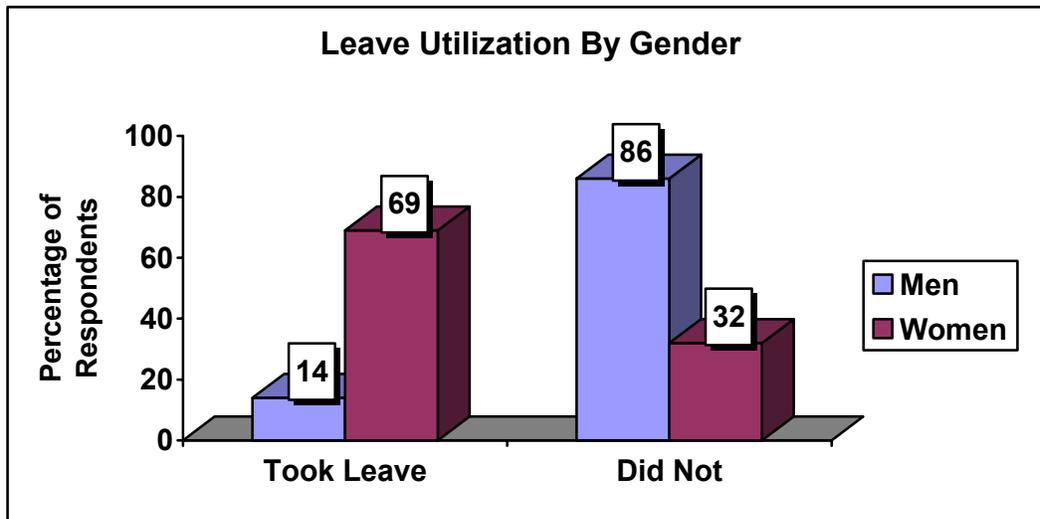
$\chi^2=12$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = .002$

If the policy has this much effect on the professors’ decision-making, is the policy delivering on that promise? We turn first to an examination of how leave-taking policies are working in the professional environment, and then examine the interaction with the personal realm.

#### **Leave utilization**

How many professors actually utilized leave when it was available? Among the 80 men for whom leave was available, only 11 men, 14%, took a parental leave. Among women, the majority did take leave: 50 out of 73 women, 69% were leave-takers.

**Chart Four**



N=153, 80 Men, 73 Women;  $\chi^2=47.714$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p = .001$ ;  $\eta = .558$

This dramatic gender difference is as striking as any found in our study: why is there such a lopsided take-up rate for this workplace benefit? Furthermore, the question extends even further. In this 2X2 matrix of the relationship of leave-taking and gender, while we have an inter-gender difference, there is also a significant and intriguing intra-gender difference for both men and women. Although the male difference is obviously more dramatic, the female difference is still substantial and worth exploring. Throughout the remainder of this paper, exploring the effects of these two factors, gender and leave-taking, will provide the basis for our inquiry.

What then are the institutional variables that might interact with gender to affect leave-taking? We identified and explored four: 1) school rank; 2) institutional support; 3) perception of stigma; and 4) percentage of female faculty.

### **School Rank**

When we tested the relationship between school rank and leave-taking, we found a statistically significant relationship. ( $p = .010$ ) We found that elite schools had a much higher percentage of their professors taking leave, almost double. However, when we control for gender, this relationship disappears. This is interesting because we know that elite schools do not generally have a higher percentage of female professors. This points toward an important caveat to the school rank relationship: this statistic is based on the subset of our data that does

not include male professors at institutions that had policies only available for women. 57% of those men at “women-only” schools in our sample were at elite schools.<sup>9</sup>

Women at elite schools have the highest utilization rate: 81% of women at elite schools take leave, compared to only 55% at very competitive schools and 73% at moderately competitive schools. (N= 73)

**Table Six: Women’s Leave Utilization By School Rank**

<b>Elite schools</b>	<b>81%</b>
<b>Very competitive</b>	<b>55%</b>
<b>Moderately competitive</b>	<b>73%</b>

N= 73

### **Institutional Atmosphere**

Finding school rank to be a statistically insignificant factor after controlling for gender, we turned to institutional atmosphere as a variable. Are professors subtly discouraged, or alternatively encouraged, to use parental leave? The survey found a fairly varied climate of institutional support at the departmental level for these pro-family<sup>10</sup> policies reported by the respondents. In order to operationalize this variable, we asked our respondents, “How supportive

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<sup>9</sup> Using the complete data set, that includes men who were ineligible for leave, does not show a significant relationship between school rank and leave-taking. What would the effect be *if those men had been eligible for leave?* We know from the data available that 3 out of the 9 men at elite schools with full male-eligible parental leave policies did take leave. There are 13 men in the dataset at elite schools who were not eligible for leave. If we project a possible 30% take-up rate among these men, *ceteris parabus*, and force 4 of these men into a leave-taking category, and do the same for the other categories, the results are very interesting: the relationship between leave-taking and school rank becomes significant, ( $p = .019$ ) and men at elite schools have the highest rate of leave utilization among men.

<sup>10</sup> A brief note on terminology: although this paper focuses on parental leave policies, the survey explored attitudes and utilization for both parental leave policies and stopped clock policies. When the survey asked about both policies, to avoid tedious repetition, in this paper we will refer to them together collectively as “pro-family policies” rather than listing them both. If the survey asked specifically about an individual policy then we will refer to it by name.

would you say your department is of the parental leave and stopped clock policies of the University?”

At first glance, the results for this variable look positive -- strong majorities reported support for the policies -- but a closer examination reveals a different story. No one reported that their department was “very unsupportive” of the policies.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, only 40% of the men and 46% of the women reported that their department was “very supportive” of these policies. (N= 122; 53 men, 69 women)

This finding is important because it is directly linked to the success of the policy.

**Critically, we found that, for women, there is a significant relationship between a professor’s perception of departmental support for these policies and their utilization.**<sup>12</sup>

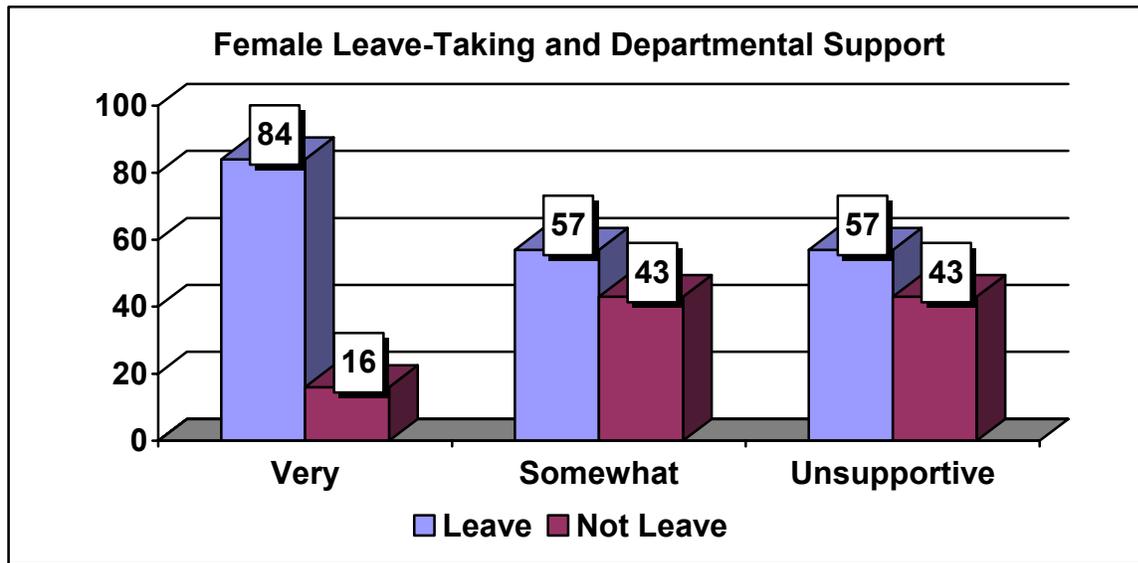
Among women who report that their department is “very supportive” of pro-family policies, 27 women took leave (84%) and only 5 did not. Conversely, when women report that their department is “somewhat unsupportive,” the utilization rate drops to 57%. Departmental support has no significant effect on male usage of pro-family policies. Although it might be important to note that there are no male leave-takers among the 10 men working in departments that are reported to be “somewhat unsupportive.”

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<sup>11</sup> With the exception of one man at a “woman-only” school!

<sup>12</sup> We suspect this is true for men as well, and, while we found some anecdotal evidence to support this case, it is not demonstrated in our statistical results and bears further study. However, given that this finding was not even close to statistical significance, an alternative interpretation could be that men are resistant to leave-taking regardless of outside influences.

**Chart Five**



N=67,  $\chi^2=5.920$  df = 2,  $p = .052$ ; eta = .558

What are the determinants of institutional/departmental support for pro-family policies? We thought that support might be correlated with school rank, but it is not. We turned then to look at an institution's gender distribution of faculty.

### **The Effect of Female Faculty**

From the institutional survey, reported elsewhere, we know that the actual existence of the policies is not correlated with increased percentages of female faculty.<sup>13</sup> But might higher percentages of female faculty affect instead the level of support for policies that do exist?

The interrelationship between the percentages of female faculty in a specific department, and support for pro-family policies, and leave utilization is interesting. An institution's percentage of female faculty does affect the atmosphere surrounding work/family issues, but with some important qualifications. We asked our respondents what percentage of their department's faculty was female and then ranked them low, medium and high.<sup>14</sup> We initially

<sup>13</sup> See Charmaine Yoest, "Parental Leave and Stopped Clock Policies in Academia: A Nationwide Survey," paper prepared for presentation at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 29 – September 1, 2002.

<sup>14</sup> Admittedly, this does not necessarily give us a completely accurate accounting of the percentage of female faculty at a particular institution. This should be taken into account when assessing these results. However, this measure does give us a rough approximation of the gender balance on a particular faculty, in the respondent's specific department, and it allows us an assessment of the respondents' perceptions of the gender balance, which has its own

found an insignificant relationship between higher percentages of female faculty with both a department’s support for pro-family policies, and their support for female faculty *per se*. ( $p = .28$  and  $p = .15$ )

A close examination of the cross-tabs reveals that the correlation of support for female faculty and pro-family policies is most closely related on the two ends of the spectrum – departments that are reported to be “very or somewhat unsupportive” tended to have lower levels of female faculty; conversely, departments that are reported to be “very supportive,” had higher levels of female faculty. Those departments that were “somewhat supportive” were evenly represented across the levels of female faculty.<sup>15</sup>

**Table Seven: Effect of Female Faculty Percentages on Departmental Support for Pro-Family Policies**

	Female Faculty Percentages		
	Low	Medium	High
Very Supportive	8	20	23
Somewhat Supportive	15	19	17
Somewhat Unsupportive	7	4	5

N=118,  $\chi^2=6.182$  df = 4,  $p = .186$

The respondents reported strong departmental support for female faculty members. Almost all, 90% of men and 93% of women, felt that their department was either somewhat or very supportive of female faculty members. Even so, this measure – support for female faculty as opposed to support for pro-family policies *per se* – did not correlate with leave-taking either for men or women.

There was, however, a correlation between support for female faculty and support for policies, indicating that there is an interrelated relationship between support for female faculty, support for pro-family policies and increased utilization of parental leave.

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independent value as a measure. For the institutional survey we used data from the American Association of University Professors to give us a more objective measure of actual numbers of entire female faculty at an institution. However, that would not give us a measurement of the gender makeup of a particular department, which may be more relevant to the question of how much support a faculty member feels related to leave-taking and their career in general.

<sup>15</sup> These results in fact may be skewed by the respondent’s inaccurate assessment of female faculty percentages. In this data we found no correlation between school rank and departmental percentages of female faculty when we know that that relationship is indeed statistically significant.

**Table Seven-B: Relationship Between Support for Female Faculty and Support for Pro-Family Policies**

Support for Pro-family policies	Departmental Support for Female Faculty		
	Very supportive	Somewhat supportive	Somewhat unsupportive
Very supportive	34%	9%	0%
Somewhat supportive	17%	21%	5%
Somewhat unsupportive	3%	8%	3%

N=137,  $\chi^2=41.595$  df = 9,  $p = .001$

**Stigma**

When we discuss pro-family policies as a method to achieve a level playing field, a persistent underlying subtext is the issue of stigma. When a “free” benefit like parental leave is available that gives a professional a chance to attend to a presumably pleasurable personal responsibility, a new baby, while keeping a research agenda on track more than would otherwise be the case, then why would almost no men and a substantial minority of women make no use of that benefit? In the face of such positive personal incentives to use parental leave, this decision-making behavior could be viewed as an irrational choice, except as *prima facie* evidence for the existence of countervailing negative weights associated with policy utilization. And, indeed, one of our male respondents told us: “The main thing is that there seems to be a little bit of stigma attached to taking advantage of these policies.” Another man told us that there is a “double standard.” His institution, he said, officially offers the policy “but privately discourages it.” Yet another man told us there was a big difference between the formal policy and the informal one: “It’s your legal right to take it, but the perception of the other members if you take time hinders you.”

We turned to test for the presence of “stigma,” to see if perhaps the parental leave benefit is, after all, not entirely “free.” In order to test the stigma thesis, we asked our respondents whether or not they believe that these policies result in “some candidates of marginal quality” achieving tenure. Men and women disagreed in fairly close percentages. Even so, the statistical analysis shows a significant difference between men and women. Therefore, despite the overall

agreement, a close inspection of the patterns of response shows some interesting differences at the fine grain. For example, a relatively large percentage of men compared to women “took the fifth” on this question: 9% of men reported that they “neither agreed nor disagreed” with the question, compared to only 3% of the women.<sup>16</sup> The biggest difference in gender responses on this question surfaces as a measurement of strength of feeling. A clear majority of women, 64%, reported that they “strongly disagreed” that marginal candidates succeeded as a result of pro-family policies, but only 49% of men did so.

Among the 26 men at “women-only” schools, there were only 2 men who agreed that leave-taking results in candidates of marginal quality achieving tenure.

**Table Eight: “Some candidates of marginal quality achieve tenure because of these policies. . .”**

Percentage of Respondents

	Male	Female
Strongly disagree	49	64
Disagree	38	30
Neither	9	3
Agree	4	3

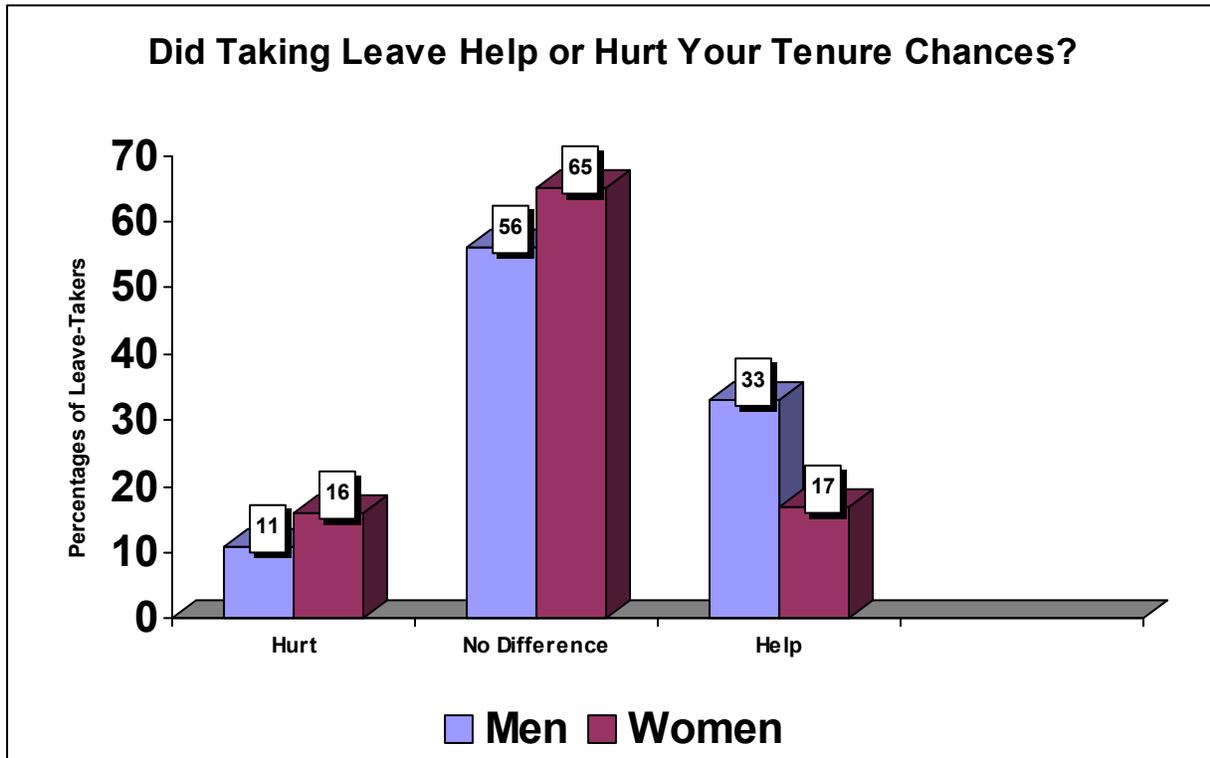
N=168: 72 men ; 70 women

(male mean= 1.68, female mean = 1.44)  $t = 2.019$ ,  $df = 166$ ,  $p = .045$

We also tested the stigma thesis by asking leave-taking professors to assess the effect that they thought their decision would have on their career prospects. One woman reported that it would “substantially increase” her chances. By a solid majority, 64.5% of women reported that utilizing parental leave made “no difference” in their chances to achieving tenure. And, while 16.1% of women thought utilizing leave would “marginally increase” their chances of achieving tenure, exactly the same percentage thought it would “marginally hurt” their chances. (N=40 leave-takers, 9 men and 31 women). One female leave-taker told us: “I wonder whether the stated policy is honest. Does it really impact me negatively? I don’t know. I can’t know.”

<sup>16</sup> This is an example of an unfiltered response that includes men not eligible for leave at “women-only” school. Their inclusion gives us a larger sample against which to test attitudes related to policy utilization.

**Chart Six**



N= 40 leave-takers; 9 men and 31 women

It is also important to note that, while gender differences in responses to this question were not statistically significant, the raw numbers may have a cautionary tale to tell even so. Even though there were several men who felt that leave-taking would help them, because there are so few men who take leave, the base for this question is relatively small, (N=9) so the issue of concern over stigma may bear further study: one leave-taker reported that his decision would “substantially hurt” his chances of achieving tenure.

We also had a non-leave taker report that he felt that taking leave would “marginally” hurt his chances. And, we have anecdotal evidence that stigma is an issue. We asked our non-leave taking respondents why they did not utilize the benefit and one man told us that he, “would have been penalized for making that decision.” Another man replied that taking leave would be “considered unfavorable in tenure track review.” And lastly, another male non-leave taker told us in an open-ended question that: “If I had been assured that I would not be penalized, I would have taken advantage of [parental leave/stopped clock.]”

An alternative, but related hypothesis is that confidence over achieving tenure is an intervening factor that moderates the stigma effect in determining whether or not a professor takes parental leave. One could argue that professors who take leave are more confident and thus able to assume the career risk in taking time off. Conversely, one could argue that leave-takers are those who are less confident and are thus somewhat resigned to the career penalty.

In fact, there is no statistically significant difference between leave-takers and non-leave takers, whether male or female, either in their confidence level or in how they rate the importance to them personally of achieving tenure. Although it might be worth noting that there were only 2 men who reported being “pretty pessimistic” about achieving tenure, and neither took leave. Among female leave-takers, a full 10% were “pretty pessimistic” about their tenure chances, but this is balanced by another 20% who were “almost certain.”

And, contrary to what we might expect, a full 10% of male non-leave takers (N= 69) report that achieving tenure at their current university is not important to them (which drops to 6% when the question is rephrased “at some university”), while there are no leave takers who are similarly indifferent about their academic career prospects. Among women, those who say tenure is not important are fairly evenly split between leave and non-leave takers.

## **V. Policy Effects**

Another argument made is that a critical function of parental leave policies is mediating the interaction of the personal and the professional – a professional with fewer personal demands and a less harried personal life has more energy and time to devote to ascending the pyramid. Similarly, there is an intrinsic societal good associated with individuals having the strength and personal resources available to meet their personal responsibilities, and especially their parenting obligations which are often described as public goods. Indeed, in the institutional survey, many administrators reported that their pro-family policies were formulated and provided with this family and societal good in mind.

As a result of this emphasis on corporate responsibility – a theme that has particular resonance in the academic community -- these policies often are meant to make for a less ragged and more seamless life. Giving the parent time following birth for bonding, finding the right day care after a few months, and other childcare tasks, is meant to ease the transition to parenthood

without ruining careers. But as we've noted, we find that the people who take leave don't think it will help them get tenure: the combined total of women who think it is either a neutral or negative factor was 82%. Do these professors at least feel that it helps them in other ways?

We've examined the institutional factors that interact with leave-taking, we now turn to an exploration of the effects of the choice to utilize parental leave. We used three variables to operationalize the effects of leave taking: 1) attitudes; 2) time use; and 3) career prospects.

### **Attitudinal Measures**

As we reported above, when we asked our respondents if they agreed or disagreed with the statement: "I put so much into parenting, I don't have time for myself," the answers were significantly gendered: 65% of women either agreed or strongly agreed, while only 40% of men did so. Did utilizing leave make any difference? Using a t-test for independent samples reveals a significant difference in means between leave takers and non-leave takers.<sup>17</sup> However, using crosstabs to control for gender on this question demonstrates that there is no significant within gender difference and this leave-taking difference probably reflects the underlying gender difference in leave taking.<sup>18</sup>

How does leave-taking interact with our finding that women are more likely to report being "overwhelmed" by their parenting? Some interesting differences emerge when we look at leave takers vs. non-leave takers on this question. If we look at only women, there is no difference between those who took leave and did not take leave. And, among leave-takers, there is no statistically significant difference between men and women on this question. But when we look at non-leave-takers, there is a difference between men and women that is significant. A total of 65% of non-leave taking men either strongly disagree or disagree that they feel overwhelmed by parenthood, but only 43.5% of women feel similarly. Conversely, only 19% of male non-leave takers do feel overwhelmed by their parenting responsibilities, while 43.5% of female non-leave takers do.<sup>19</sup>

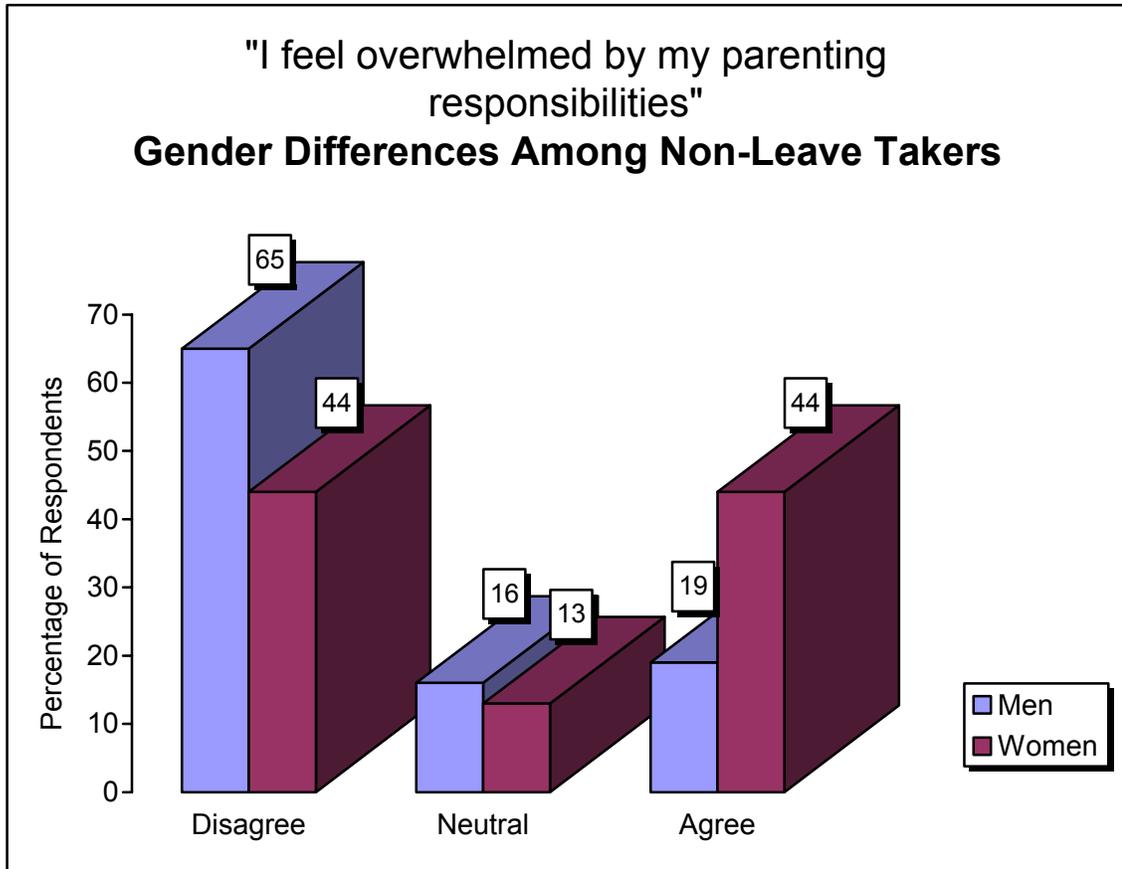
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<sup>17</sup> N= 153, 92 non-leave takers and 61 leave takers; non-leave mean= 3.04; leave mean = 3.49, t=-2.480, df=151,  $p=.014$

<sup>18</sup> N= 80 men,  $\chi^2=2.193$  df = 4,  $p = .70$ ; N=73 women,  $\chi^2=2.858$  df = 4,  $p = .582$

<sup>19</sup> Note that there are actually 2 men who say they "strongly agree" with the statement that they feel overwhelmed by their parenting responsibilities.

**Chart Seven**



N= 92 non-leave takers; 69 men and 23 women;  
male mean = 2.48, female mean = 3.0,  $t=-2.254$ ,  $df=90$ ,  $p=.03$

These feelings of being overwhelmed were not correlated with school rankings. They did, however have a highly significant relationship with thinking of dropping off the tenure track.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, feeling overwhelmed was negatively correlated with confidence over achieving tenure at the .10 level. These results underscore that concerns over parenting pressures and tension over professional achievement do cluster together.

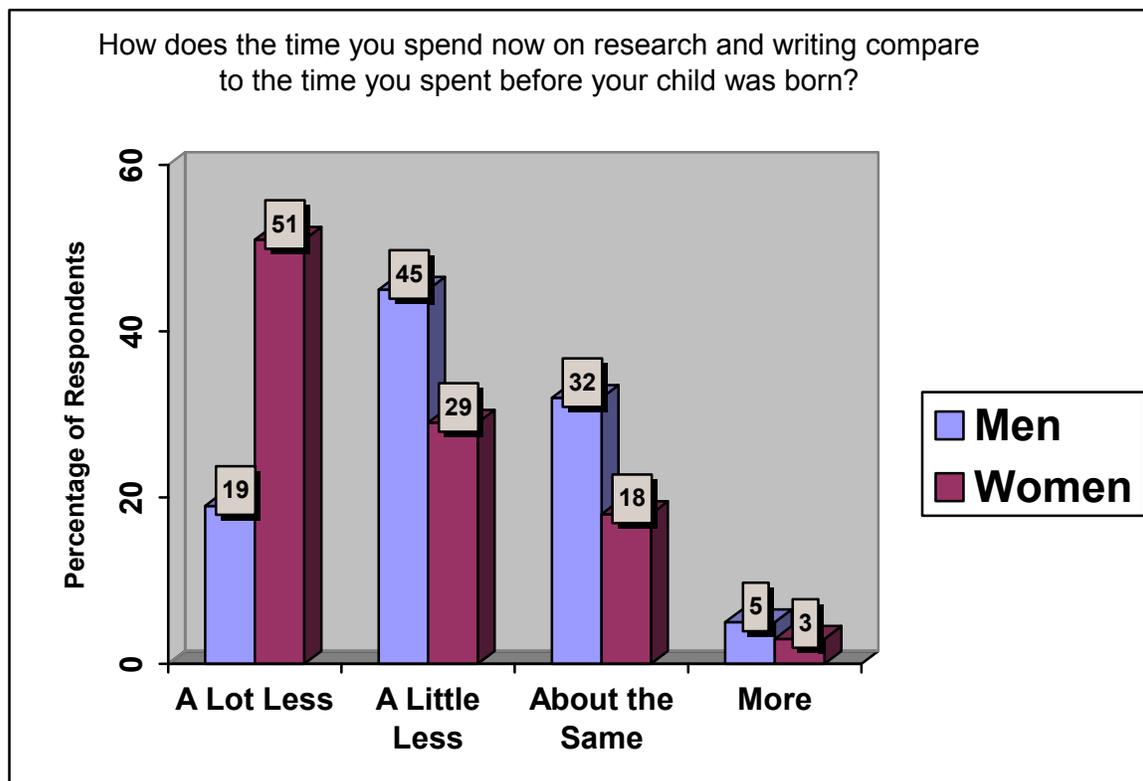
<sup>20</sup> N = 181;  $\chi^2=29.802$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta = .40$

## Time Use

Another factor we investigated at the individual level is time use data. Obviously, if childbearing didn't affect the time available to professionals, it would not be an issue in the workplace. But of course it does, and it is. How does leave-taking affect the time equation? The time use data we collected indicates that there is a significant difference both between how men and women use their time and also between how leave-takers and non-leave takers use their time.

First, when asked: "How does the time you spend now on research and writing compare to the time you spent before your child was born?" we found significant gender differences. A full 51% of women reported having "a lot less" time compared to only 19% of men.

**Chart Eight**

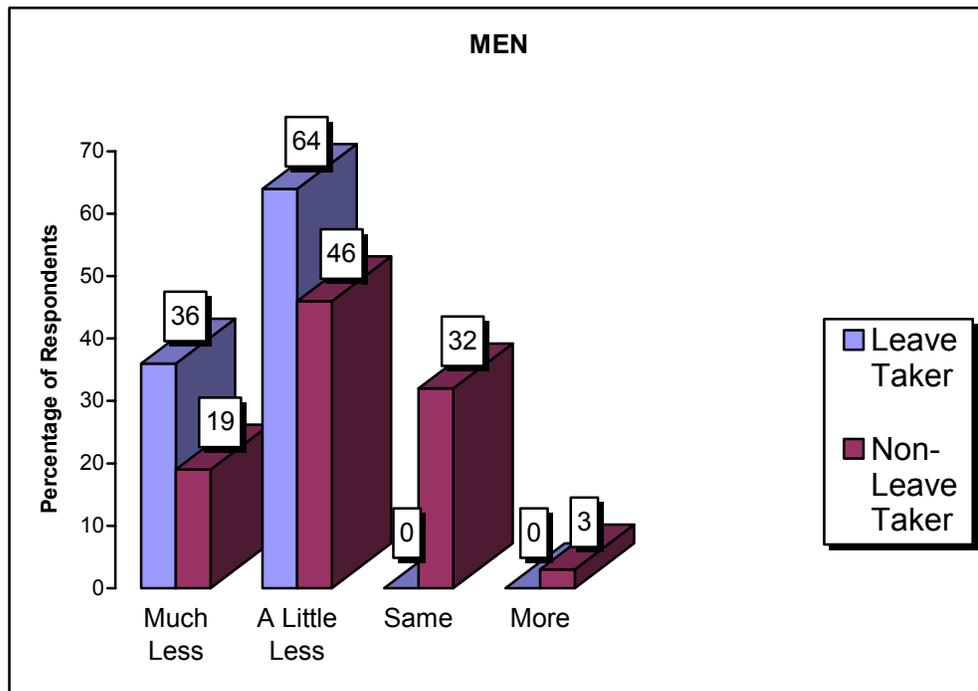


$N=180, \chi^2=20.617 \text{ df} = 3, p = .001$

Second, when we controlled these results by leave taking, the results contradicted the assumption, expressly stated to us as a goal by some university administrators in the institutional survey, that leave will lessen the time pressures on new parents. While this may be true for the discrete period of the actual leave itself – most of our respondents were not current, but recent leave-takers<sup>21</sup> – our data indicates that the alleviation of the time burden in the leave period does not have an enduring effect. In fact, on the contrary, leave-takers of both genders report greater loss of research and writing time than do non-leave takers.

**“How does the time you spend now on research and writing compare to the time you spent before your child was born?”**

**Chart Nine**



N=11 leave takers; 69 non-leave takers

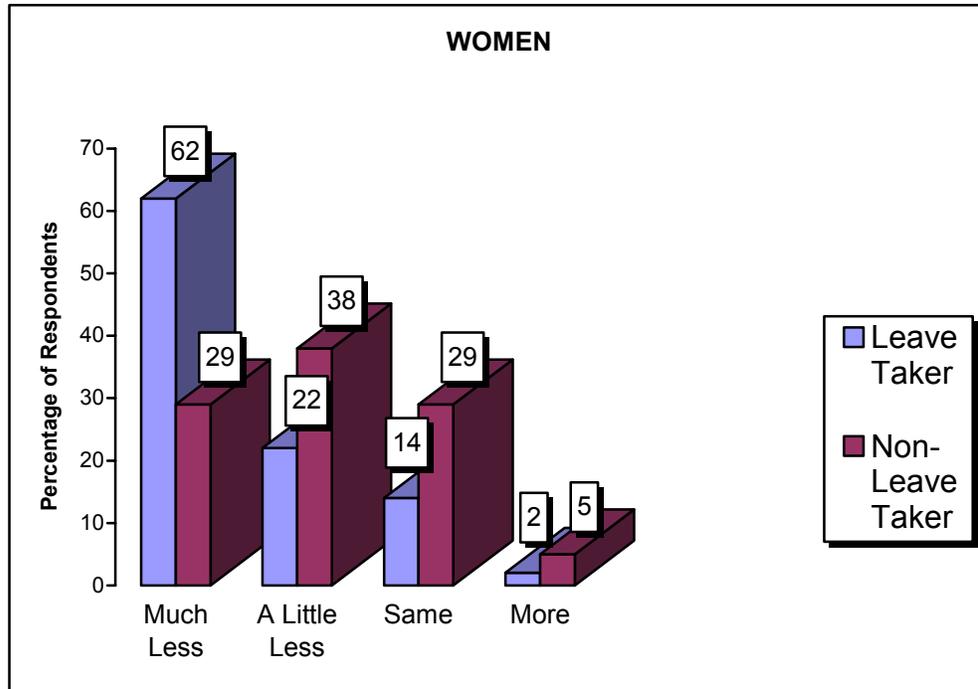
(leave takers mean = 1.64, non-leave takers mean = 2.19),  $t=2.288$ ,  $df=78$ ,  $p=.025$

A full 100% of male leave-takers report having either a little (64%) or a lot (36%) less time, compared to 65% of their non-leave taking male peers. There were even 2 male non-leave takers who reported having a little *more* time.

<sup>21</sup> Our data set includes 3 men and 10 women currently on leave at the time of the survey.

## Chart Ten

**“How does the time you spend now on research and writing compare to the time you spent before your child was born?”**



N=50 leave takers; 21 non-leave takers

(leave takers mean = 1.56, non-leave takers mean = 2.10),  $t=2.465$ ,  $df=69$ ,  $p=.016$

The differences among women were somewhat dramatic: 62% of leave-takers reported a lot less time, while only 29% of non-leave-takers did so. These numbers reverse somewhat among those with a little less time, 22% for leave-takers and 38% for non-leave takers, so that total negative reports for women as a whole end up closer together – 84% for leave-takers and 67% for non-leave takers.

Male leave-takers also report a decline in reading in their field significantly different from their non-leave taking male peers. 100% of leave-takers report a little or a lot less reading compared to only 67% of non-leave takers.<sup>22</sup> For women, there is no difference between leave-takers and non-leave takers; the vast majority of both leave statuses report a little or a lot less.

Male leave-takers, in particular, also report having less interaction with students – a full 64% report a little or a lot less compared to only 21% of their non-leave taking male peers. In fact,

16% of non-leave taking men report having a little or a lot *more* interaction with students. The difference is not quite so dramatic for women, however it is still statistically significant. A large majority of women, both leave takers and non (64%/62%), report interacting with students “about the same.” However 38% of leave-takers report doing a little or a lot less while only 23% of non-leave takers do, and fully 14% of non-leave taking women report doing more.<sup>23</sup>

Surprisingly, one area that displays little effect from childbearing is service work to the university – a majority of both men and women reported doing “about the same,” or more, and there was no significant leave difference.

### **Career Prospects**

In order to further clarify the career plans of our respondents, we asked the professors to assess their future prospects. If they were to leave their current position, we asked, where might they expect to go? The answers revealed another gender difference, underscoring the effect of motherhood on career prospects and decisions. 40% of the male professors in our study replied that they might move up to a higher ranked university; only 29% of the female professors believed their careers held that possibility. Additionally 26% of the men in the study reported that they might leave their current post for a full-time job outside academia compared to only 15% of women. Most significantly 5% of women reported that they might take a part-time job outside of academia and another 7% reported that they might drop out of the labor force entirely for a year or more. No men chose these latter two categories.

### **Table Nine: If you were to leave this university position, where would you go next?**

Percentages of respondents

	Lower-Ranked	Higher-Ranked	Full-time Outside	Part-time Outside	Drop out of labor force	Don't Know
Male	26	40	26	0	0	9
Female	25	29	15	5	7	19

N = 157, 82 men and 75 women:  $\chi^2=16.479$ ,  $df = 5$ ,  $p = .006$

<sup>22</sup> N=80; 69 non-leave takers and 11 leave takers, (non-leave mean = 2.23, leave mean = 1.45),  $t=3.680$ .  $df=78$ .  $p=.000$

<sup>23</sup> N=73 men,  $\chi^2=11.748$ ,  $df = 4$ ,  $p = .019$  and N=72 women,  $\chi^2=8.287$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = .040$

These results closely mapped onto the leave/no leave dichotomy with leave-takers fairly evenly split with a few more thinking they might move down in the ranks, and non-leave takers thinking they might move up.<sup>24</sup> Additionally, within non-leave takers, there was a statistically significant gender difference, while there was not among leave takers.<sup>25</sup> This was primarily because 34% of non-leave taking women reported that they “didn’t know” what they would do. Other categories were roughly approximate, though 44% of these non-leave taking men thought they might move up compared to only 26% of these women.

This highlights an important caveat: when we controlled for gender, there was not a statistically significant difference between male non-leave takers and leave takers and their assessment of their future prospects, but there was for women. In fact, while 30% of leave-taking women thought they might move to a lower-ranked university, 32% of leave-taking women thought they might move up. One intriguing, and unexpected, intra-gender difference is that almost twice as many non-leave taking women – 22% versus 12% of leave-takers – thought they might leave academia entirely.

**Table Ten: Women, Leave Taking and Future Career Prospects**

Percentages of respondents

	Lower-Ranked	Higher-Ranked	Full-time Outside	Part-time Outside	Drop out of labor force	Don’t Know
Leave Takers	30	32	12	6	8	12
Non-Leave Takers	13	26	22	0	4	35

N = 73 women; 50 leave takers and 23 non –leave takers, (leave mean = 2.66, no leave mean= 3.61), t=2.098, df=71, p=.039

<sup>24</sup> N= 153: chi-square=15.774, df=5, p=.008.

<sup>25</sup> N=92 non-leave takers, chi-square = 14.479, df=4, (p = .006)

## VII. Conclusion: What If?

What if parenting was not a professional peril? Arlie Hochschild, writing in 1975, argued that equity for women in the academy would fail unless pursued by changing the career structure (Boxer 1996). Our data indicate that Hochschild may have been prescient. We find that half of women professors have thought of dropping out of academia because of work and family pressures, and do significantly more household, family and child care than their male peers. Additionally, nearly twice as many women report that they feel overwhelmed by their parenting responsibilities. If anything, we believe these findings may underreport the problem. One of our female respondents told us: “I think in a survey it’s hard to capture how really hard it is.”

Does parental leave policy ameliorate these challenges for women in an effective and meaningful way? Some of our findings demonstrate the importance of the policy for professional women – almost a quarter of our female respondents reported that the policy was influential in their childbearing decision.

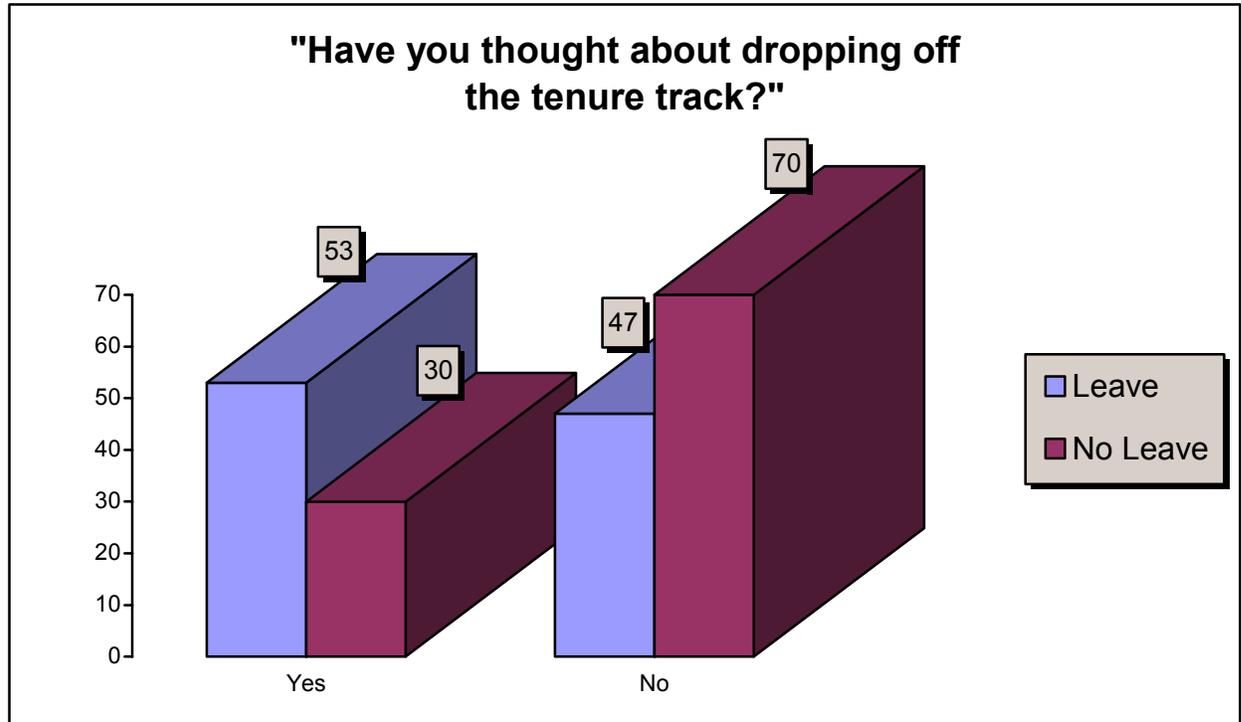
Other results, however, demonstrate that there may be a mismatch between policy design and the some intended purposes of the policy. The policies may not be delivering on some of the more ambitious goals they are often designed to address. Parental leave is often described as a way to level the playing field for women, and yet a substantial majority of leave-taking women reported that they believed utilizing the policy would make no difference in their ability to achieve tenure.

We find that there are mixed results to report. The policies may be achieving one goal – helping women adjust to the arrival of a newborn while maintaining their careers. The compelling need for the policy is evidenced by the fact that even at institutions reported to be unsupportive of pro-family policies, the majority of women still utilize the leave policy.

However, it appears that the policy may be less effective related to another goal – helping parents, particularly mothers, achieve tenure. Both men and women leave takers were *twice as likely* as non-leave takers to report that they have “much less” time for research and writing after having a child. In fact, we found that leave takers were significantly more likely than non-leave takers to have thought about dropping off the tenure track due to the pressures of “trying to get tenure and start a family.”

We found no relationship between having thought of dropping off the tenure track and reporting that pro-family policies were important for keeping the respondent in academia. However, we had only a 36% response rate on this particular question, which is, itself, interesting. (N=22 out of 61 leave takers)

**Chart Ten**



N=151,  $\chi^2=8.505$ , df = 1,  $p = .004$

Furthermore, given what we find in examining the gender differences in time demands and allocation, can these policies really be gender-neutral? As we reported, there are no differences between men and women in importance of tenure and confidence in achieving tenure. So the starting point is the same. However, we found that childbearing created significantly different personal time demands: men were two and a half times as likely to report doing over 30 hours a week in research and writing while someone else is watching their child. Indeed, half of all the men reported investing over 20 hours a week in research and writing, while 66% of women reported investing less than 20. This finding is reinforced further with additional time use data that we will be reporting in the near future that shows significant differences in the time men and women devote, in particular, to child care.

Across the board, we found persistent, and often dramatic, gender differences related to work and family challenges. As a result, when we queried our respondents on the desirability of gender-neutral leave policies, the results were intriguing, and mixed. A large majority of our respondents of both sexes supported gender-neutrality of pro-family policies. 78% of men and 66.6% of women either agreed or strongly agreed “the tenure process is made fairer if these policies apply equally to both men and women.” Still, there was a strong contingent of dissenters. This opinion does correlate with gender: a fairly large percentage of women, almost a quarter, 24%, either disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement.<sup>26</sup>

It may be that a commitment to child-raising has far-reaching career ramifications that go beyond the efficacy of a parental leave and are beyond the reach of this particular policy to address. One of our female respondents told us that it “would be very desirable” to have “halftime tenure clock positions.” Another woman said, “I wish that there were a part-time option for Assistant Professors.”

Despite its popularity, paid leave may not be helping parents, and especially women, advance in careers. Might not part-time tenure track help women more? As Drago and Williams have argued, “raising a child takes 20 years, not one semester.” They have advanced a “Model Half-Time Tenure Track Policy” that outlines a plan for allowing parents who are primary caregivers to work half-time for half-pay under an extended tenure track of ten to twelve years. We think this is a policy that deserves further exploration. (2000)

Nevertheless, a policy that is provided -- whether it is leave, stopped clock, or part-time tenure track – that is subtly discouraged will not be effective. We found important results related to stigma: leave utilization dropped off dramatically among departments that were only “somewhat supportive” of the policy. This is an underlying issue that is critical. Perhaps the last word on this belongs to one of our respondents, who told us pro-family policies were a great idea, but they couldn’t be used. “People,” he said, “expect you to be totally committed to the university.”

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<sup>26</sup> N= 174, male mean= 3.93, female mean = 3.63, t= 1.96, df=172, *p*=.052

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