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Numbers are Not Enough

Women in Higher Education in the 21st Century

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Women are now the majority of students in institutions of higher education in the United States, and in many ways women as students and faculty have seen significant progress. But numbers do not tell the whole story. Subtle forms of discrimination continue to exist, and the higher up the pyramid you go, the fewer women are to be found, whether among tenured faculty, as presidents and provosts or as board members and board chairs. Many steps can be taken to improve the situation. Some institutions are recognizing that. We note some positive changes and discuss areas where improvement is needed. True gender equality would benefit not only higher education, but society as a whole.

“**D**egree-wise, Women Dominate in Once-Male Bastions,”¹ says the *Boston Globe* in its summary of the recent report on current academic trends, “The Condition of Education.” The numbers look quite promising² and women are now a majority of students, but numbers alone do not tell the story. How well are women truly faring in higher education? What does history tell us about women’s participation in higher education? Are women now truly accepted and valued as equal partners in our postsecondary educational system?

For more than two centuries, American higher education was an exclusively male environment. While formal coeducation can trace its roots to Oberlin in the 1830s, opportunities for women in higher education were limited until the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The early experiments in coeducation and higher education for women fostered a complex and long-standing debate on the role of gender in both higher education and in society.

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After more than two hundred years of a male status quo, established colleges faced a period of what Geraldine Clifford refers to as “institutional anxiety”³ as college and university leaders adapted institutional structures either to accommodate or resist female students. The concept of gender representation and its impact on power relationships intensified the level of anxiety that many institutions faced during the historical period 1870–1920. According to Mell Nash,⁴ women did not face outright opposition until they achieved a critical mass that the establishment deemed to be threatening. During this era, the growth in female enrollments at coeducational institutions was staggering — from 11,000 to 283,000.⁵ Such explosive growth disturbed traditional enrollment patterns; for example, in 1900, enrollment at the University of Cincinnati was over 80 percent female and at Boston University that figure was over 70 percent.⁶ Leaders of many coeducational institutions across the nation feared that the female students would dominate both enrollment and achievement. University officials were concerned about the impact that this would have on male enrollments and traditional institutional cultures.⁷

Political historian Joan Wallach Scott speaks of gender as a way to understand the complexities of human interaction and notes how gender becomes a focus of power relations in hierarchical institutional structures.⁸ Leaders of the elite colleges of the late nineteenth century wished to preserve the status quo and existing power base. In the nineteenth century, debates over the question of coeducation resulted in a wide variety of institutional responses. Many leaders of established, selective institutions expressed opposition to coeducation: “The world knows next to nothing about the natural mental capacities of the female sex,”⁹ said President Eliot of Harvard. And Professor Seelye of Amherst commented in 1873, “What if the same climate which strengthens the pine blasts the rose?”¹⁰ The tone of the opposition concerned the question of whether educated women were acceptable to men.¹¹ Carol Lasser argues that power relationships affected more than just access, as the presence of women in colleges and universities did not guarantee them the necessary resources for equal education.¹²

According to Barbara Solomon, many forces in the late nineteenth century, including abolitionists expanding their focus, female reformers working for suffrage, and the expansion of the common school movement, significantly impacted women’s access to many forms of higher education. In her discussion of coeducation at private colleges and universities, Solomon argues that the religious missions of the institutions that implemented coeducation, “justified coeducation in ethical and religious terms of the equality of souls, male and female.”¹³ But Rosalind Rosenberg counters that these feminist leaders underestimated the strength of the all-male collegiate tradition and the fact that few men at elite Northeast colleges shared their passion for the concept of coeducation.¹⁴

Solomon also recounts the difficulties faced by students in early private coeducational institutions. She describes how anxiety mounted as women began to surpass men in sheer numbers and in academic performance. She cites attempts at the University of Chicago to separate the genders for instruction during the first two years, the implementation of female quotas at Stanford, and Wesleyan's decision to abandon coeducation in response to concerns expressed by male students and faculty.¹⁵ At Grinnell, once female enrollment reached 58 percent, the president worried that the institution would drift toward becoming a woman's college with an annex for men.¹⁶ The climate of the times is apparent in a letter from an anonymous alumnus to the president of the University of Chicago who states, "woman is being advanced, but the advancement is resulting in dragging down men."¹⁷

The expansion and acceptance of coeducation varied tremendously according to institutional type and geographic location. For example, in the Northeast where higher education was traditionally private and all-male, there was more resistance to coeducation. The notion of separate spheres resulted in the establishment of private women's colleges. The reputation of the Northeast women's colleges spread quickly. By 1875, Vassar had over 200 students in its collegiate program, more women than were enrolled in all of the coeducational land grant colleges combined.¹⁸ But that advantage was short-lived as coeducational institutions began to enroll a majority of women in higher education beginning in 1879.¹⁹ Women's colleges began to be blamed for the failure of many college-educated women to marry and bear children. According to Patricia Palmieri,²⁰ the real fear behind this criticism was that male dominance was in danger and that those in power were concerned about rising competition and the potential for feminization of the national culture.

In the Northeast during the latter part of the nineteenth century, coordinate colleges — such as Brown and Pembroke or Harvard and Radcliffe — were developed in response to criticisms of women's colleges. The roots of coordinate college were in England, yet American institutions soon discovered these academic couplings to be a pragmatic compromise. Like women's colleges, these institutions were never widespread, but served a specific regional role in the development of higher education for women. As Mabel Newcomer notes, the decision to embark on a coordinate relationship and the structure of the relationship was always made by the male institution.²¹ As Linda Eisenmann described the environment at Brown (and Pembroke): "Women could share the men's curriculum and facilities, but always with the understanding that men's needs came first."²²

In the Midwest and West, the Morrill Land Grant Act led to the establishment of new public universities not bound by tradition or status quo. As these new universities sought enrollments, they welcomed both male and

female students, and coeducation became an accepted concept. The University of Iowa admitted women into its college course in 1855, and taxpayers of the new public universities soon began to demand education for their daughters as well as their sons.²³ By 1900, every state university west of the Mississippi with the exception of Louisiana was coeducational.²⁴

Institutional type was also important in terms of gender relations. While the most prestigious institutions resisted the notion of coeducation, Christine Ogren in her work on the less prestigious and less visible normal schools found that female students at Wisconsin normal schools from 1868 to 1912 found an accepting environment both in and out of the classroom. At these normal schools both females and males became campus leaders and worked together in a variety of settings. Ogren attributes this to the unique position that normal schools held in what she terms the academic procession. At the head of the procession were the research universities and elite liberal arts colleges, which attracted the male, white elites of society. In the middle were institutions that tried to emulate the elites and in so doing marginalized women and minorities. The institutions at the end of the procession, while not exclusive, had a great deal of autonomy. But in this last instance, as the structures and environment began to resemble more traditional institutions, gender typing was introduced and had an impact on structures and policies that limited the role of female students.

Considering the origins of gender relations in higher education is an important step in understanding the present and the future. Carol Lasser believes that coeducation's "success and failures in supplying equal education, its utility and significance, are all matters of general interest for contemporary educators."²⁵ The phenomenon of female gender imbalance in higher education is not new and the experience of institutional responses to the issue in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provides important background as we examine where we are today.

When Title IX became law in 1972, outlawing discrimination in athletics, admissions, financial aid, and other areas, many in higher education believed that it signaled real change in gender equity in our institutions. Legislation in the 1960s had made it illegal to discriminate against women in employment or pay. With the 1972 legislation, the future looked bright.

What women faculty and students tell us now is that although the numbers have improved considerably in many areas, subtle forms of discrimination and inequalities continue to exist. These subtle forms of inequity resemble what was described by Bernice Sandler several years ago as the "chilly climate" for women.²⁶ Many women faculty continue to be left out of serious departmental discussions; obtaining tenure remains a monumental task. In fact, at the August 2006 meeting of the American Sociological Association, the gender bias was a major topic of discussion. Patricia A.

Roose and Mary L. Gatta reported that “overt discrimination” was disappearing, but these sociologists found “widespread perception of bias, much of it subtle, in decisions over raises, assignments, promotions to chair and key committees.”²⁷ Female students continue to report sexual harassment and feel they are not being taken seriously. Both faculty and students raise concerns about the treatment of women and women’s roles in curricular materials. And Title IX clearly did not do all it was intended to do. In 1997, the Women’s Equity Resource Center published a report card on Title IX.²⁸ The only category that received a good grade (which was a B-) was that of access to higher education. Other areas such as athletics, career education, employment, learning environment, and math and science received a C and sexual harassment merited a D. Yet there also are some positive signs. It is helpful to look at the progress as we raise issues of continuing concern.

STUDENT ENROLLMENT

There has been substantial progress in enrollment numbers. As the *Boston Globe* article states: “Women now earn the majority of diplomas in fields men used to dominate — from biology to business — and have caught up in law, medicine, and other advanced degrees.”²⁹ Women undergraduates now outnumber men. Yet Peter Horn notes that while women increased their representation among undergraduates from 42 percent in 1970 to 56 percent in 2001, a demographic comparison of male and female undergraduate enrollees reveals that: “Women continue to represent 60 percent or more of students with characteristics that place them at a disadvantage in succeeding in postsecondary education. . . . In particular, women make up 60 percent of students in the lowest 25 percent income level, 62 percent of students age 40 or older, 62 percent of students with children or dependents (among married or separated students), and 69 percent of single parents. All of these characteristics are associated with lower rates of persistence and completion in postsecondary education.”³⁰

National Science Foundation data show that overall enrollment in undergraduate degrees has remained steady from 1994 to 2000, with women making up approximately 55 percent of the students in both two-year and four-year colleges.³¹ Women students are a major part of our colleges and universities, but some face significant challenges.

At the graduate level and in professional schools (law, dental, and medical), as well as in doctoral programs, progress in numbers is clear. In some graduate areas, women are half or more of the students, and women have increased their numbers considerably in business, law, and medical schools. For example, in 2003, females accounted for more than half of all graduate students in areas such as psychology (74 percent), biological sciences (56

percent) and social sciences (53 percent). Thirty to 40 percent of graduate students in other science fields were female. In 2003, however, women represented only 22 percent of graduate students in engineering and 28 percent in computer sciences.³²

When looking at Master's degrees awarded, in 2002 women earned 63 percent of non-science and engineering degrees and 44 percent of the science and engineering Master's degrees, up from 1990 where women earned 58 percent and 34 percent of the degrees, respectively. Results are similar for doctoral degrees with women earning 38 percent of the science and engineering degrees and 58 percent of the non-science and engineering doctorates in 2003.³³ A more recent survey of earned doctorates found that although women received 45 percent of doctorates awarded in 2004, the fields in which they were represented were disproportionate. For example, women earned 66 percent of the doctoral degrees in education while only 27 percent in physical science and 18 percent in engineering. These statistics indicate improved participation by women in graduate studies although the nature of that involvement indicates that women continue to occupy positions in the human sciences and are less involved in the increasingly important arena of high-technology disciplines.³⁴

So again, although progress is evident, concerns remain. Why more women are not choosing the more highly technical areas in math and science when those areas will provide many of the jobs in the future was of concern to Thomas Friedman in his book, *The World Is Flat*. Friedman found "The percentage of women . . . choosing math and science careers fell 4 percentage points between 1993 and 1999."³⁵ So although the data show overall progress in the physical sciences, women should be making even greater gains in this area. Researcher Cathy Trower sums it up this way: "In four-year colleges and universities, women SET (science, engineering and technology) faculty hold fewer high-ranking posts than men, are less likely to be full professors, and are more likely to be assistant professors."³⁶

Clearly, we are not doing nearly enough in our K-12 system or in higher education to encourage and assist women in pursuing degrees and careers in SET. Presidents, provosts, deans, department chairs, and professors who send negative signals to women students about careers in math and science are not being helpful. SET are areas where the country needs highly qualified workers and where women should be playing an increased role. This complicated issue is addressed elsewhere in this journal by Hopkins.

CAMPUS CLIMATE

Some of the reasons we do not see more women in science, math, and technology have to do with the "chilly climate" for women that extends

well beyond the sciences. We still do not treat women on an equal basis with men in too many classrooms, lecture halls, and laboratories. Too often, we do not encourage their questions and focus our teaching strategies on what helps them learn. We do not challenge them to defend their arguments and encourage them to take sides and win. We do not help them learn from their mistakes, and we do not help them learn about and establish the informal networks in the fields that help people become successful. Moreover, we do not have enough female role models as senior professors. Individuals who can serve as role models or mentors tend to select individuals to mentor who are similar to themselves.³⁷ Women who are in leadership positions should make a concerted effort to reach out to young women to provide support and encouragement. Unfortunately, many women leaders are already juggling a full schedule with their work and home commitments (more so than their male counterparts due to gendered expectations of family obligations) making an investment of time for mentoring a difficult but essential task.

Educational and curricular materials have changed and improved, but the overall role of women in our society has yet to be adequately reflected in textbooks, course syllabi, and other supporting materials. New research in history, political science, and American studies is proving helpful in this area,³⁸ and we must see that these efforts continue and that the results are incorporated into the learning environment. Too often examples in case studies and in other learning tools are those of males. Furthermore, research surveys frequently do not take into account the need to differentiate between men's and women's concerns and responses. In areas such as health care, it is crucial that research on women not only continue but be strengthened. Our lives depend on it! In addition, we must continue to change our teaching practices to those that truly enhance student learning. As noted above, women undergraduates, for example, are more likely to be older and caring for dependents. They have less access to resources than male undergraduates. The structure of class offerings and traditional pedagogical techniques may not support the needs of these less "traditional" students. Collaboration appears to work better than situations of intense competition, and a more student-centered approach will be good for both men and women students.

WOMEN AND TENURE

The lack of women in key faculty areas also remains a concern. Data show that there has been some progress here, but that the proportion of women with tenure is not in line with the numbers of women who are students and with the increased number of women who receive doctorates. In 1999, according to the National Center for Education Statistics, only 34 percent of

all full-time faculty at four-year universities were women.³⁹ Claire Van Ummersen, Vice President at ACE, re-enforces this point in her recent article in *Change*,⁴⁰ stating that the representation of women “in full-time tenure track and tenured-faculty ranks has not kept pace with this rapidly diversifying student body.” This is a crucial issue as women are swelling the ranks of the adjunct and non-tenure track positions while at the same time women “continue to be underrepresented among the nation’s tenured and highest ranking faculty.”⁴¹

And this gender gap in tenure does not appear to be closing, with only 18 percent of female but 38 percent of male full-time faculty holding the rank of full professor in 1999.⁴² While overall tenure rates are down for both men and women, the gap remains. In 1995, 33 percent of female faculty were tenured or on tenure track, while for male faculty it was 48 percent. The gender gap widens when examining doctoral and master’s institutions where only 7.1 percent and 8 percent of female faculty are full professors with male professors at 31.6 percent and 22.5 percent. At the two-year colleges 16 percent of men and 12.2 percent of women are full professors.⁴³ At this level, women and men almost equally occupy the highest position for faculty, making the overall statistics quoted above somewhat deceiving. This discrepancy demonstrates the continued exclusion of women from the tenured and full professor ranks at four-year institutions.

Change magazine highlighted this and other related problems in its 2005 winter issue: “The Changing Lives of Faculty.” One particularly disturbing trend reported by Gappa, Austin, and Trice is that hiring patterns in many institutions now focus on term and part-time positions and that “full-time faculty are increasingly being appointed to positions off the tenure track.” They also report that “The portion of part-time faculty . . . has almost doubled from 22 percent in 1970 to 43 percent in 1999,” and women are more likely to be found in non-tenure appointments.⁴⁴ So, as noted above, at the same time that the number of women receiving doctorates has increased and more women are being hired, they are not as well represented in the ranks of full-time tenure-track appointments as they should be. While these non-tenure-track positions may make it easier for women to balance work/family issues, they do not make women full players in faculty decision making or put them into policy making and other positions of responsibility in our institutions, and because they have less voice in institutional policies, the institutions do not receive the full benefit of their expertise and services. We need to continue to question why substantially larger numbers of women occupy those non-tenure-track positions than men.

Laura Perna⁴⁵ asks why we find so many women concentrated in these full-time non-tenure-track positions. She offers several suggestions: Women may prefer these positions or women hold them because they are perceived

by colleges to be less productive and/or incapable of succeeding in full-time tenure-track positions. Finding women in these positions is “attributable to their marital and parental status.” She also notes that research has shown that “Women faculty have less access than men faculty to the types of collegial and social networks that convey critical job-related knowledge and information.”⁴⁶ The data are of concern. We need women in tenure positions so that other issues such as the “chilly climate,” curricular materials, and sexual harassment can be addressed by senior professors whose jobs are not threatened when they seek solutions to these complex problems. As mentioned earlier, female professors also are needed to provide role models and career advice to female graduate students.

The role of faculty in our society and our institutions is under review statewide and nationally. Do faculty teach enough courses/hours? Do they spend too much time on research? Do they focus on helping students learn? How should we evaluate faculty? These are important discussions and women faculty must be full partners in answering them and in defining the appropriate role for faculty for the twenty-first century.

A further concern is that of family friendly policies at our institutions. Our current system assumed that one family member would be the breadwinner and thereby have time to balance teaching, research, and service because that person (assumed to be “he”) had support at home. This assumption has been proven wrong for some time but many of our policies have yet to catch up. This issue is also addressed in *Change*. In an article titled “Accept, Avoid, Resist,” the authors call for institutions to establish clear and fair work/family policies. Suggestions include stopping the tenure track and reduced load options for faculty who are seriously ill or with substantial care-giving responsibilities. But they also point out that faculty must feel free to make use of policies that exist without fear of subtle or not so subtle reprisals. They conclude: “Our colleges and universities cannot expect to hire and retain the most talented faculty unless they recognize that faculty are whole persons with commitments to a variety of people, organizations, and interests beyond academic.”⁴⁷ A companion article, “Beyond the Fear Factor,” looks more deeply at the question of the willingness of faculty to avail themselves of family friendly policies. The results are somewhat discouraging. In their research the authors found that “relatively few eligible faculty members take advantage of them [policies] because they are afraid of the damage to their academic reputations that might result, given a professional culture biased against ‘caregivers.’” The authors did note an exception for use of family friendly policies by those “mothers who attended high-prestige graduate schools and had records of graduate school publications. Policy users are, in short, academics who are perceived as the ‘best and the brightest’”⁴⁸

Several institutions have implemented work/family policies, and they are to be commended. Discussions are also underway about extending the time to tenure from seven to ten years. ACE in February 2005 released a report warning colleges to be more flexible “about how professors are recruited and what is expected of them.” The report also states a concern that in using flexibility arrangements, women might become “marginalized” in their departments, according to Van Ummersen of ACE. Some of the nation’s leading presidents have commented favorably on the flexibility issue. Mary Sue Coleman of the University of Michigan and William E. Kirwan of the University System of Maryland voiced their support for more flexible structures.⁴⁹ Changing the number of years to obtain tenure will not be an easy policy revision, but the discussions that are underway suggest that greater flexibility may be necessary and even possible.

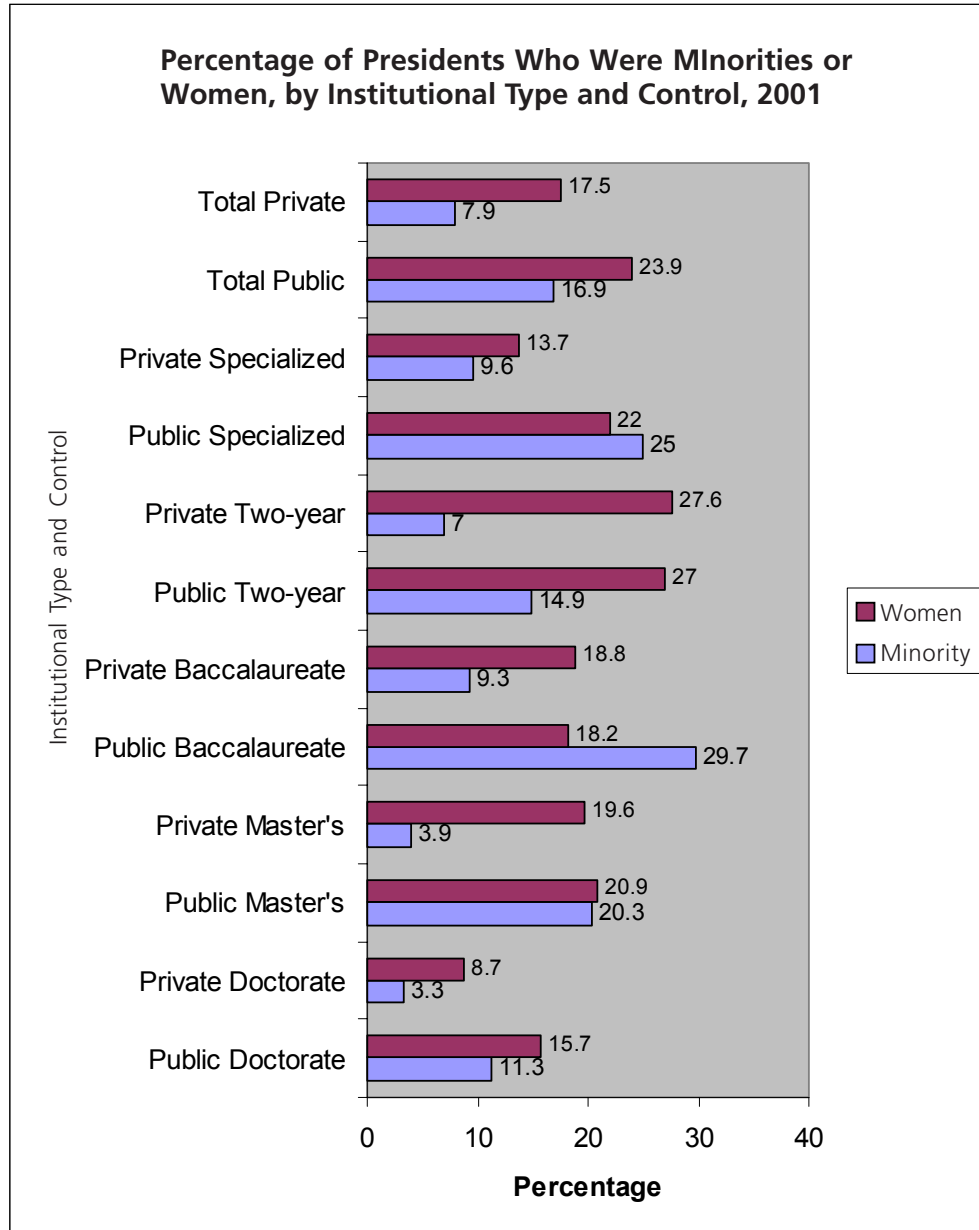
In June 2006, several positive changes were announced at Harvard where former President Larry Summers had allocated some \$50 million to address some of these issues. It is interesting that the newly selected president of Harvard, Drew Gilpin Faust, was asked by Summers to chair the task force that looked at this topic.⁵⁰ These initiatives include funds for additional day care slots, funds for research grants for non-tenured faculty, revised maternity and paternity guidelines — all intended to improve the climate for women on the campus (and to increase the numbers who obtain tenure). Institutions clearly are trying to find ways to deal with the work/life balance. This problem is not only one for higher education as the *New York Times* lead story in the business section on Sunday August 6, 2006, was titled: “The Fork in the Road: Can Women and Wall Street Live Together?”⁵¹

More research is needed to evaluate how the new and more family friendly policies are working in practice and how institutions that become family and employee friendly change their internal culture. Just as numbers are not enough, policies appear not to be enough either. What is needed is a cultural change — something that will take longer and that will be more difficult to achieve. If implemented correctly, our institutions might also become stronger learning communities.

WOMEN PRESIDENTS

Closely related to the problem of hiring large numbers of women in non-tenure-track positions is the role of women in administering our institutions: Where are the women deans, provosts, and presidents? Again, progress has been made, and in 2001, approximately 24 percent of presidents in public institutions were female compared to 17.5 percent for the private sector. In both cases the number of those who are women of color

lags behind that of white women. For example, minority-women presidents led 12.8 percent of colleges and universities but comprised 15 percent of all



Source: ACE 2002

faculty and staff. The chart on the previous page prepared by ACE shows the trends.⁵²

It is particularly gratifying that we can now list Harvard, MIT, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Michigan, Brown University, RPI, and Syracuse University as having women presidents.

Data from the Office of Women at the American Council of Education also show important and positive changes over time. In 1975, the total for women presidents was 148 and in 1987 it was 296. In fact, the share of presidencies held by women doubled between 1986 and 1998 from 9.5 percent to 19.3 percent. In addition, for women of color the share rose by 40 percent. The largest gains were at two-year institutions and doctoral universities, although women are less likely to run a doctoral institution than any other kind of college.⁵³ But the data do not always show progress. In 1998, 20.4 percent of college presidents at baccalaureate degree granting four-year institutions were women. By 2001, that number had declined to 18.7 percent,⁵⁴ so progress can be reversed. In 2005, out of 3600 presidents of regionally accredited degree granting institutions (public and private), 808 or 22 percent were female.⁵⁵ By 2006, that number was 23 percent female.

We raised the numbers question in a 1990 article in *The New England Journal of Public Policy* titled “Why Not A Fifty-Fifty Goal: Increasing Female Leadership in Higher Education?”⁵⁶ If more than half of our students are women, why can’t we work toward a goal of half of the presidents as women? Even though more women are being hired, barriers still remain and we are a long, long way from a 50/50 number. Some institutions are hiring more non-traditional presidents (non-academic), but these appointments do not appear to be opening the door to more women. They are often made from the business world where women CEOs are still too rare. In fact, as of August 2006 only eleven women were CEOs of Fortune 500 companies. The eleventh was named by PepsiCo when Indra K. Nooyi was appointed CEO.⁵⁷

As institutions face continuing pressure from state governments and trustees to streamline and restructure, they also often look for “tough” leaders — leaders who can get the faculty to come around, and leaders who can bring about major changes in their institutions. Too often, women are not sought out for these roles although many women presidents have, in fact, restructured and have brought about significant changes in their institutions. They can be “tough” when they need to be; they are good managers and good fund raisers, but they may not as easily fit the “image” of a university president as seen by boards of trustees where men outnumber women members. It is somewhat ironic that just as the business world is

embracing collaborative leadership and teamwork, the academic world too often looks for that “warrior-like” leader. Unfortunately, at the current time, we would advise any woman seeking a presidency to stress her ability to make hard decisions, to balance budgets, and to raise money (and also to support winning athletic teams) rather than to stress her collaborative style.

TRUSTEES

Governance of our institutions is in the hands of boards of trustees and boards of regents. In public institutions these individuals are often appointed by governors or legislative bodies or a combination of both. In private ones, alumni and institutional loyalty play a large role in trustee selection. Again, let’s look at the role of women. How many women board chairs are there? How many women hold trustee positions?

Recent data provide partial answers to these questions and are not encouraging. A recent article in *Women in Higher Education* notes that board positions are an area where women appear to be “stalled.”⁵⁸ The Association of Governing Boards (AGB) 2004 reports that men outnumbered women two to one. In addition, the background of nearly half the trustees was business. In the public sector, women are 31.6 percent of trustees in community colleges, 27.4 percent in four-year schools, and 25.7 percent in state systems. Similarly, 72.7 percent of board chairs were male with 26.4 percent female. The overall gender mix for trustees, president, and students provides a startling contrast. In the public sector, male trustees are 71 percent; male presidents are 74.3 percent while male students are at 43.6 percent. Yet for women the opposite ratio is true: Women students are 56.4 percent, female presidents are 25.7 percent, and trustees 29 percent.⁵⁹

The trend is similar for independent schools where male trustees are 71.6 percent in total, with 71.8 percent at four year schools and 69.8 percent at two year schools. Board chairs show even more unfavorable numbers with males at 81 percent of board chairs (and 93.7 percent were white). Again the overall gender mix is not favorable to females. Male trustees overall are 71.6 percent; male presidents 77.4 percent; and male students 44.2 percent. The numbers for females follow: students 55.8 percent; presidents 22.6 percent; and trustees 28.4 percent.⁶⁰

As is the case with the presidency, women are not adequately represented on boards. Better representation of women would help to increase the numbers of women in presidencies since boards play a large role in the selection process. Better representation of women on boards would also help with the choices we must make in organizing our institutions for the best ways to deal with new student clienteles (many of whom are women) and

with different learning styles and needs for particular student services. Changes in board policies are key in decisions about family friendly policies on our campuses. Finally, gender-balanced boards of trustees will help us evaluate our institutions to see that they are serving both men and women to their fullest.

CONCLUSION

When we find that ideal institution, it will be one where representation of females in the student body is matched by representation in administrative, faculty, and trustee roles. It will also be one where women and women's experiences are reflected in the curriculum and where inappropriate remarks are absent from lectures and class discussions, where women are full discus-sants and where professors challenge women students equally with men and help them sharpen their arguments. Pedagogy will reflect a variety of learn-ing styles, and technology will allow for learning and interaction at times of day/night that fit with the needs of all students. Women in higher education also will be provided with the informal tools and networks to get ahead in their fields whether as professors, students, or administrators as well as in careers outside the academy. Women and men will expect and receive sala-ries commensurate with their experience, expertise, performance, and disci- plines, and not their gender. True gender equality will benefit all in our insti- tutions. Our country needs the full talent pool of all its citizens.

Notes

The authors gratefully acknowledge the research contribution of Meredith Evans to this paper.

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