

do, but women don't."

Men who took a university job without children were 70 percent more likely than their female counterparts to become parents, the study found. Only one-third of women who took a university job without children ever became mothers.

Over all, male professors were much more likely to marry and have a family than female professors. Only 44 percent of all the tenured women in the study were married and had children within 12 years of earning their Ph.D.'s. But 70 percent of tenured men married and became fathers during that time period.

About a quarter of tenured women were still single without children 12 years after earning their doctorates. Only 11 percent of men were.

Academic women, says Ms. Mason, are expected to work hardest during their tenure-track years, precisely when their biological clocks are ticking the loudest. "The average age for receiving a Ph.D. is 33," she says. "Many professors do not secure tenure under the age of 40. These busy career-building years are also the most likely reproductive years."

Fathers are more successful in academe than mothers, says Ms. Mason, because they are more likely to have a spouse who stays at home. In 1999, only 48 percent of men who were married and were full professors in the sciences and social sciences had wives who worked full time. But 91 percent of women who were married and were full professors in those disciplines had spouses who worked full time, according to the study.

"We are being made to compete with people who are single and have all the time in the world, or with married men who have a wife at home," says Joline J. Blais, an assistant professor of new media at the University of Maine's Orono campus and the mother of two young children.

Not all academic women struggle with motherhood. Kathryn L. Lynch, a 52-year-old professor of English at Wellesley College, recommends having children early in graduate school. She did, and her son and daughter were school-age by the time she took her first tenure-track job at Wellesley. "I don't think I've had to make disturbing compromises in my career," says Ms. Lynch, who had another son the year she came up for tenure. "I think you can have it all."

Academe certainly isn't the only demanding career that women have trouble negotiating with a family. It is also hard to be a lawyer or a doctor, for example, while raising small children. But those careers do not have an "up or out" point that is as unforgiving as the tenure system. If a woman wants to work in academe but is not within the tenured or tenure-track ranks, she is likely to be an adjunct or lecturer with little job security and meager pay.

"There is only one genuinely legitimate career path in the academy," says Kathleen Christensen, director of the Workplace, Workforce, and Working Families program at the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. "It's very rigid, up or out, and you have to get on and stay on or you're penalized if you deviate."

Joan C. Williams, director of the Program on WorkLife Law at American University, says academe is still based on a model in which men worked and their wives stayed at home with the children. "This is a job structure that systematically excludes mothers," she says. "It shows that so long as we continue to identify the ideal academic worker as someone who works full time, 60 hours a week for 40 years straight -- surprise! -- that will overwhelmingly be men."

The University of California system has started a family-friendly initiative, financed by the Sloan foundation. The effort, Ms. Mason says "is aimed at altering the workplace structure to accommodate families."

### Fewer Children

Women trying to combine motherhood and academic careers don't find the study's conclusions particularly surprising. Many, it seems, have their own stories of just how hellish the endeavor can be.

Elizabeth Scala, an associate professor of English at the University of Texas at Austin, earned tenure last year despite giving birth to two daughters in the last six years. After her first daughter, Madeleine, was born in 1997, Ms. Scala regularly rose at 3 a.m. to nurse the baby. She would then stay up, grading papers and working on her book until she left home for her morning classes.

When her second baby, Claire, was born two years later, "I taught on fumes," recalls Ms. Scala, who has posted a picture of herself with her two girls on her university Web site. "I was sleepwalking through teaching *The Canterbury Tales* for the sixth time in a row, and spending all my brain power" on finishing a book in time for tenure review, she says.

Looking back, says Ms. Scala, who is 37 and earned her Ph.D. from Harvard University: "I could have done more work if I didn't have kids. I probably could have written a second book already -- maybe I could have a job at Yale."

Young academic women think a lot about whether they can have it all, and if not, what the trade-offs will be. Lorelei Mitchell is a 35-year-old graduate student in social welfare at Berkeley who has worked with Ms. Mason. She had her daughter, Lydia, 17 months ago, even though she knew the data showed she would be better off waiting until after she had earned tenure. "I wasn't about to wait until I was 42," says Ms. Mitchell.

But she is already wondering whether she and her husband will have another child, and if so, when. Being pregnant on the tenure track won't be easy, she knows. An alternative, says Ms. Mitchell, is to have another baby and forgo a tenure-track job for work as a researcher. For Ms. Mitchell, it comes down to what she wants more -- another baby, or a tenure-track career.

A second study, of 8,700 professors in the University of California system, also by Ms. Mason, shows that Ms. Mitchell is not alone. Thirty-eight percent of the female faculty members in the study said they had fewer children than they wanted.

One female assistant professor at a major research university had considered giving up on the idea of becoming a mother. But at 36 she decided she "wasn't willing to do that," and has just learned she is pregnant.

Still, she's worried. "I'm committing career suicide," she says. She hasn't yet told anyone at the university.

Part of the problem, says the woman, who wanted to remain anonymous, is that while she has several female role models, none of them offer advice on how to manage a baby with a tenure-track career. "You get a lot of mentorship about how you negotiate for your salary and for course load reductions," she says. "But the questions usually aren't: 'If I'm a woman, and I want to have kids, what do I do?'"

### **Losing 20 Pounds**

Ms. Blais, the assistant professor at Maine, says there is a silence in academe surrounding parenthood. Raising two young children while holding down two academic careers has been demanding for Ms. Blais and her partner, Jon Ippolito, who is also an assistant professor of new media at Maine. They could use some advice, she says.

The couple do much of their scholarly work together, developing teaching strategies that encourage information-sharing over the Internet. They travel frequently to New York and abroad and must scramble to find someone to watch their 3-year-old daughter and 5-year-old son.

Ms. Blais was 40 years old when she gave birth to their daughter, and returned to teaching two months later. A month after that she was scheduled to fly to California for work with Mr. Ippolito. But she found herself too exhausted to travel, and wound up getting pneumonia and losing 20 pounds in three weeks.

Many universities allow female faculty members just six to eight weeks of paid maternity leave, and require young professors to find someone to fill in for them if they give birth during a semester. Some universities, primarily major research institutions, provide a semester's paid leave from teaching.

Micki McGee, a faculty fellow in interdisciplinary studies at New York University, has a 6-year-old daughter. She says the paucity of mothers in academe is higher education's loss. "Academe deprives itself of that kind of robust understanding that parenting provides to people by limiting the number of mothers in the community," she says.

Ms. Spinner, the graduate student who will earn her Ph.D. from Connecticut in May, has put some limitations on her own career. She won't apply for jobs at major research institutions because she believes it would be too hard to manage the kind of work required with a family. Always an overachiever, Ms. Spinner has had to lower her standards.

"I knew I wasn't going to be on my deathbed thinking, 'If only I had written three more articles. If only I had chaired that committee,'" she says. "I had to decide to come to terms with the fact that I may be an A scholar, rather than an A-plus scholar, in order to have a family."

### **HOW BABIES AFFECT TENURE**

A new national study from the University of California at Berkeley looks at the impact of babies on the tenure prospects of men and women and finds women's chances for tenure are greatly reduced if they have children. A second study, of professors in the UC system, looks at the effects of academic work on families.

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## The Double Shift: Managing Careers and Families

**GENDER EQUITY |** *Ninety-four hours a week: Just thinking about this number—the time devoted to professional work, housework, and caregiving by the average woman with children on the faculty at UC-Berkeley—is enough to make one cry sabbatical. And it's 13 hours more than what her male counterpart spent on the same tasks.*

"This tells a very tiring story," says Dr. Mary Ann Mason, the professor of social welfare and dean of the graduate division at Berkeley who gathered the numbers and presented them at a Penn conference titled, "Mommies' and 'Daddies' on the Fast Track: Success of Parents in Demanding Professions."

"I can see why graduate students may say, 'I don't want to go [into academe]. It's not necessarily a life I can sustain.'"

Pointing out the pressures borne by working parents—and envisioning ways to make academics, law, business, medicine, and other professions more equitable and family-friendly—was the subject of a conference sponsored by the Alice Paul Center for Research on Women and Gender, part of a series of events marking 30 years of women's studies at Penn.

Keynote speaker Claudia Goldin, the Henry Lee Professor of Economics at Harvard and a former faculty member at Penn, described the evolution

of women's career and family lives over the past 100 years. Women who graduated from college at the turn of the last century up until World War I made a clear choice between having a family or having a career, Goldin said. Those who chose the latter path "spoke of their careers as teachers, librarians, social workers, and nurses as higher callings. A career, in fact, liberated them from the constraints of marriage and household duties. This was the opt-out for them." The women who graduated in later decades pursued jobs, then families; families, then jobs; and careers, then families—with mixed results.

About 15 or 20 years ago, Goldin began to notice college women talk about expecting to have *both* a career and family at the same time. "It sounded like *careerandfamily*. These were not three words, but one word. They spoke as if timing was not an issue, or simply was not going to be an issue."

It's too early to tell what percentage of the group that graduated between 1980 and 1990 has managed to have it all. But it is clear that timing

has been a struggle for many working mothers, whether accumulating billable hours in the quest to make partner at the law firm or managing all the duties of an assistant professor.

A sore point at the conference was "The Opt-Out Revolution," a recent article in *The New York Times Magazine* by Lisa Belkin, describing an exodus of women from the high-powered career track to full-time motherhood. The women who were quoted voiced few regrets and felt they were making the best decisions for themselves and their families. But according to Pamela Stone, professor of sociology at Hunter College and the Graduate Center at City University of New York, the article overstated the magnitude of the job exodus and failed to shed full light on the reasons behind their actions.

In her own study Stone interviewed 43 women who gave up their high-powered jobs to stay home with their children full-time. Contrary to the impression given by Belkin, Stone said, "This was a very difficult decision for these women. They were extraordinarily conflicted about this."

## A Woman's Place—in the Academy

PANEL DISCUSSION I  
Talk about career setbacks.

Dr. Sherrill Adams came to Penn's medical school two decades ago, expecting to work under the guidance of the department chair who hired her. Two months later the man died. "For the next seven years I was the department step-child," Adams recalls. "I was the only person in the department without tenure, I had no laboratory space of my own, and I had no one to advise or mentor me."

Now a professor and chair of biochemistry in the School of Dental Medicine, Adams seeks better treatment toward junior faculty—particularly women, for whom the academy is often seen as being "relatively inhospitable." The good news is that, "when we do treat our faculty well, put them in a collegial environment with proper support and mentoring, they can thrive."

Adams was a panelist during a Homecoming weekend discussion sponsored by the Trustees' Council of Penn Women, "Stepping Stones and Hurdles: Managing a Career in Academia." Made up of Penn alumnae, TCPW supports the goal of increasing the number and visibility of women faculty.

After Adams was denied promotion in her first job at Penn, she was offered a research-track position in the dental school. Though that position had little job security, it did put Adams in a nurturing environment that eventually led to her current roles. With that in mind she created a mentoring program in her department a few years ago.

One reason for job flight was an office culture where long hours were the norm and part-time work was either not permitted or was stigmatized. "I never envisioned myself not working," one study participant said. "I just felt like I'd become a nobody if I quit. Well, I was a nobody working [part-time], too. So it was sort of, 'Which nobody do you want to be?'"

Another factor was the lack of help for what Stone calls the "second shift." These professional women's husbands worked long hours themselves and weren't around to help support them in child-rearing and simply creating a sense of "a family unit."

One woman who quit her job said, "It was nice having a choice, but it wasn't the right thing to do at this time in my life." According to Stone, "they often used 'choice' rhetoric in framing their position, but with their husbands gone 50 percent of the time, it's not clear how much choice there is."

Dr. Heidi Hartmann, professor of economics at the Washington-based Institute for Women's Policy Research, wouldn't let mothers or fathers off the hook. "Even though the rhetoric of the women's movement supports the choice of women to stay home, I think most of us view it as a waste, especially for highly educated women" and "shouldn't make it a socially acceptable alternative," Hartmann said.

Dr. Amy Wax, a professor at Penn's law school, found Hartmann's words too harsh. "I don't think there is any benefit to being judgmental," she said. "Tolerance is in order here. Ultimately, working moms and stay-at-home moms have to make common cause on a whole set of issues."

Mary Ann Mason drew two figures on the board—ovals and rectangles that represent heads, necks, and torsos.

"As you can see, men have a big head and a tiny neck, and women are rather thick-necked," she said, adding, "Women do have something of a body problem, a bulge at the hips."

Mason wasn't critiquing physiques. She was comparing the number of men versus women who comprise tenure-track faculty, second-tier faculty, and clerical staff at her institution. Only 325 women are on the tenure track, versus 987 men. Women dominate the second level, with 256 working as lecturers, adjuncts, and in other academic non-tenure track positions compared to 130 men. And the clerical staff is composed of many more women than men.

That "body problem" is perpetuated in the differences between mothers and fathers in the academy. Men who have early babies—within five years after earning their Ph.D.s—are 38 percent more likely to receive tenure than women with early babies.

But tenure outcome isn't the only measure that should be sought when studying equity, Mason said. "We should turn the study on its head and look at the effects of career on family outcome." Only 44 percent of women who are tenured within 12 years of earning their Ph.D. have children, compared to 70 percent of men. Women faculty were more than twice as likely as men faculty to indicate they had fewer children than they wanted.

Working with the Sloan Foundation, Mason has proposed some family-friendly policies for Berkeley, including a flexible part-time option for tenure-track faculty with

substantial caregiving responsibilities; emergency back-up childcare programs; and postdoctoral fellowships to help parents who have taken time off reenter the academy.

"The only way to sell this to the whole faculty, not just to the mothers, is to talk about this as a major recruitment tool for the best and brightest candidates," she said. "We should be the model for all professions, not the lag behind."

Every year Penn's Amy Wax gives her students a questionnaire asking if they would give up some income in their first law jobs—dropping down from, say \$150,000 a year to \$90,000 a year—in exchange for working 20 percent fewer hours. "The answer is yes from almost everyone," she says.

"And yet we don't see that happening." Wax argues that there are cost-efficiencies to be gained in a family-friendly firm, where all employees work reasonable hours. The challenge is assembling a group of people who share these preferences, "so we don't get people jumping ahead to out-compete."

The implications for both men and women were highlighted by a University of Michigan study, which found that law-firm associates who took time out or worked part time to raise children were less likely to make partner. For men, working part time or taking a leave to care for children carried *significant* penalties in the bid for partnership—more so than it did for women, said Mary Corcoran, professor at the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy at Michigan. "When we did our simulations and made the man take one year off from work, we found the likelihood of him becoming partner was zero." ♦—S.F.

"It hasn't been in place long enough to know how it will affect the promotion rate. But I can tell you it has positively affected the morale of junior faculty, because I think they have a much better understanding of what they have to do to succeed." Adams hopes to see a University-wide effort of this kind one day.

Beyond that, universities must establish "rational, family-friendly policies," she says. "I don't think we can realistically expect women faculty to spend 60 to 70 hours a week here at the University, which is what they've been doing, and then go home and spend 30 to 40 hours a week doing their other job, taking care of their children."

Dr. Rebecca Bushnell, professor of English and dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, negotiated her working hours up front when she took on her first job in the college administration. With two daughters at home, then 10 and 14, Bushnell decided, "I would serve the University in a way that fit the shape of my family life. I would get to leave at 4 [each day] and work at home on Fridays. What

I gave in return were hours of email and phone calls at home."

Her next challenge was working in a male-dominated culture. "There were times I felt excluded from the world of the locker room and the squash court where, it was implied, the real business was being done, the real conversations taking place," she said. "I have learned how to make sure business happens in my place, at my time."

Dr. Janice Madden, professor of regional science, sociology, urban studies and real estate and director of the women's studies program, notes that Penn has designed some policies to help level the playing field for men and women, but they haven't always worked in practice.

One policy adds up to two years to the tenure track for faculty having children. The extension means additional time to publish and bring in research dollars. But Madden adds, it applies "to all parents, regardless of what the parent's involvement is in actually raising the children ... ending any correction it might have for women who are primary caregivers." ♦ —S.F.

## Quad Arrest Prompts Questions

**PUBLIC SAFETY | Following the pepper-spraying and arrest of a faculty member's spouse on campus,** a University subcommittee has been set up to look into police policies and practices—including concerns some have expressed about racial profiling.

Rui DaSilva was trying to bring donated bikes into the Quadrangle just before noon on October 11 when he was stopped by a Penn police officer. After an exchange with the officer, he was pepper-sprayed and arrested for disorderly conduct—a charge that was later dropped.

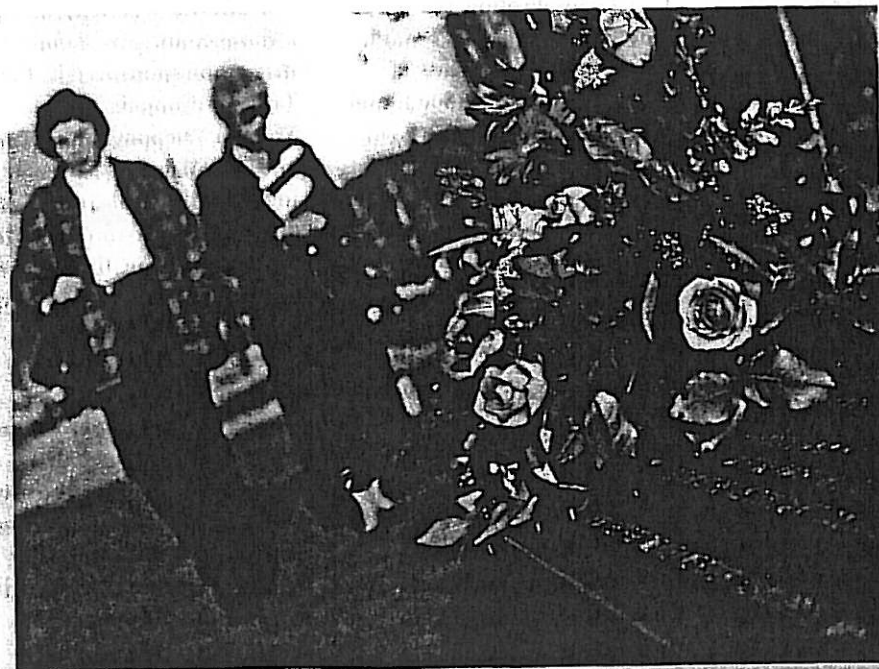
DaSilva, a student at Temple University, is married to Dr. Ann Farnsworth-Alvear, faculty master of Spruce College House, associate professor of history, and director of Latin American and Latino Studies. A U.S. citizen, DaSilva was born in Angola.

In a letter to *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, Faculty Senate Chair Lance Donaldson-Evans requested "an indepth and

impartial review of the events of Oct. 11 [and] that the policy regarding profiling and race-based stops be made known to all community members." In response, President Judith Rodin asked Dr. Dennis Culhane, professor of social welfare policy and psychology in the School of Social Work, to head up a subcommittee of the Public Safety Advisory Board, which he chairs, to look into the matter.

Maureen Rush, vice president for public safety, stresses that race played no role in the stop. "No one in the Division of Public Safety is in any way going out and profiling any group. If they are, they won't be here, because that's not what the Division will stand for."

Rush says the officer who arrested DaSilva was in her patrol car when she came across him walking east on Spruce, between 36th and 37th streets. "He had one bike on his shoulder and was



## Written in Stone

*"Treated as badly as we are, we all love Pennsylvania ... If the men did not look down on us so, it would be simply wonderful."*

That sentiment from "A Co-ed" in 1925 and dozens of other quotations representative of the history of women at Penn have been etched into benches and bricks lining a walkway that crosses the newly christened Hill Square.

Commissioned as part of the 125th Celebration of Women at Penn, the sculpture was created by conceptual artist Jenny Holzer and was dedicated during Homecoming Weekend. Also included was a performance of a musical piece composed for the occasion by Assistant Professor of Music Anna Weesner.

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## The Motherhood Manifesto

by JOAN BLADES & KRISTIN ROWE-FINKBEINER

[from the May 22, 2006 issue]

In the deep quiet of a still-dark morning, Renee reaches her arm out from under her thick flowered comforter and across the bed to hit the snooze button on her alarm clock. For a few blessed (and pre-planned) minutes she avoids the wakeful classic rock blaring into her bedroom from her alarm. Renee hits the snooze button exactly three times before finally casting off her covers. She does this each morning, and each morning she sleepily thinks the same thing: "It's too early. I was just at work two seconds ago, and I don't want to go back already."

Everything about Renee's morning is structured for speed and efficiency. At 5:45, with her young son, Wade, and husband, Alan, still sleeping, Renee drags herself out of bed and sleepwalks to the shower. She brushes her teeth while the shower is warming, making sweeping circles on the mirror with her hand so she can see her reflection. Renee's movements, though she's thoroughly tired, are crisp, hurried and automatic--she's repeated the routine daily for several years.

Renee knows exactly how long each of her morning tasks will take, to the minute. That, for instance, between 6 and 6:12 she needs to put on her makeup, get herself dressed, get her son's clothes out and ready for the day, and get downstairs to the kitchen to start breakfast.

All this is done with an eye on the clock and a subtle, yet constant, worry about time. Her mind loops over the potential delays that could be ahead: "Is there going to be traffic? Am I going to get stuck behind a school bus? Is my son going to act normal when I drop him off or is he going to be stuck to my leg? Am I going to get a parking space in the office garage or am I going to have to run five blocks through the city to get to work on time?" And if there isn't any garage parking, which happens often, then in order to be on time for work Renee has to run up six flights of stairs in heels because she doesn't have extra time to waste waiting for an elevator. She's done this climb more than once.

Why the stress? At her work, if Renee is late more than six times, she's in danger of losing her job. Like many American mothers, Renee needs her income to help provide for her family. In our modern economy, where more often than not two wage earners are needed to support a family, American women now make up 46 percent of the entire paid labor force. In fact, a study released last June found that in order to maintain income levels, parents have to work more hours--two-parent families are spending 16 percent more time at work, or 500 more hours a year, than in 1979.

Despite all the media chatter about the so-called Opt-Out Revolution--and all the hand-wringing about whether working moms are good for kids--women, and mothers, are in the workplace to stay. Yet public policy and workplace structures have yet to catch up.

This Mother's Day, why not step back and reflect about how we as a country can really help mothers like Renee? For example, the option of flextime would make a world of difference for Renee and her family. "Flextime would make a huge difference in my life because with my job function, there are busy days and late days. As long as I'm there forty hours a week and get my job done, then I don't know why anyone would care. I don't understand why there's such an 8 am to 5 pm 'law' in my workplace."

Seemingly mundane challenges like getting out the door in time for work and the morning commute, Renee tells us, become overwhelming when coupled with the financial anxieties that face so many families in America. Renee and Alan would like to have a second child, but they worry that they simply can't afford one right now. "By no means do we live, or want to live, extravagantly: We just want two cars, two kids and a vacation here and there," says Renee.

She and millions of other parents across the country are seriously struggling to meet the demands of work and parenthood. Vast numbers of women are chronically tired and drained. But the American credo teaches us to be fierce individualists, with the result that most parents toil in isolation and can't envision, or don't expect, help. It's time to recognize that our common problems can be addressed only by working together to bring about broad and meaningful change in our families, communities, workplaces and nation.

It's often said that motherhood is perhaps the most important, and most difficult, job on the planet. This cliché hits fairly close to the mark. While we raise our children out of an innate sense of love and nurturing, we also know that raising happy, healthy children who become productive adults is critical to our future well-being as a nation.

But right now, motherhood in America is at a critical juncture. As women's roles continue to evolve, more women than ever are in the workforce and most children are raised in homes without a stay-at-home parent. At the same time, public and private policies that affect parenting and the workplace remain largely unchanged. We have a twenty-first-century economy stuck with an outdated, industrial-era family support structure. The result is that parents, mothers in particular, are struggling to balance the needs of their children with the demands of the workplace.

America's mothers are working, and working hard. Almost three-quarters have jobs outside their homes. Then, too, America's mothers are working hard but for less money than men (and less money than women who are not mothers). In fact, the wage gap between mothers and nonmothers is greater than that between nonmothers and men--and it's actually getting bigger. One study found that nonmothers with an average age of 30 made 90 cents to a man's dollar, while moms made only 73 cents to the dollar, and single moms made 56 to 66 cents to a man's dollar.

"It is well-established that women with children earn less than other women in the United States," writes Jane Waldfogel of Columbia University in *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*. "Even after controlling for differences in characteristics such as education and work experience, researchers typically find a family penalty of 10-15 percent for women with children as compared to women without children."

What's more, it's still common for women and men to hold the same job and receive different pay. In fact, women lost a cent between 2002 and 2003, according to the US Census, and now make 76 cents to

a man's dollar. Most of these wage hits are coming from mothers, because the lower wages they receive drag down the overall average pay for all women.

The United States has a serious mommy wage gap. Why? Because, as Waldfogel writes, "The United States does at least as well as other countries in terms of equal pay and equal opportunity legislation, but...the United States lags in the area of family policies such as maternity leave and childcare." Studies show that this mommy wage gap is directly correlated with our lack of family-friendly national policies like paid family leave and subsidized childcare. In countries with these family policies in place, moms don't take such big wage hits.

Consider one family-friendly policy: paid family leave. The United States is the only industrialized country that doesn't have paid leave other than Australia (which does give a full year of guaranteed unpaid leave to all women, compared with the scant twelve weeks of unpaid leave given to those who work for companies in the United States with more than fifty employees). A full 163 countries give women paid leave with the birth of a child. Fathers as well often get paid leave in other countries--forty-five give fathers the right to paid parental leave.

By way of example, our close neighbor to the north, Canada, gives the mother fifteen weeks of partial paid parental leave for physical recovery, and then gives another thirty-five weeks of partial paid leave that has to be taken before the child turns 1. These thirty-five weeks of parental leave can be taken by the mother or the father, or can be shared between the two.

Sweden, with about a year of paid family leave and some time specifically reserved for fathers, is often held up as a model. Not surprisingly, with this support, Ann Crittenden writes in *The Price of Motherhood*, "Swedish women on average have higher incomes, vis-à-vis men, than women anywhere else in the world."

America, on the other hand, generally leaves it up to parents to patch together some type of leave on their own. Some states are starting to give more support to new parents, but only one of our fifty states, California, offers paid family leave. The federal government simply doesn't offer a paid family leave program at all. A weighty consequence emerges from this lack of family support. Research reveals that a full 25 percent of "poverty spells," or times when a family's income slips below what is needed for basic living expenses, begin with the birth of a baby.

Speak to mothers across the nation and you will hear that the vast majority of them find they hit an economic "maternal wall" after having children. By most accounts, this wall is why a large number of professional women leave the workforce, and it's a core reason so many mothers and their children live in poverty. Amy Caiazza, from the Institute for Women's Policy Research, notes, "If there wasn't a wage gap, the poverty rates for single moms would be cut in half, and the poverty rates for dual earner families would be cut by about 25 percent."

But mothers across America are not just crying out for better (or at least fair and equal) pay; they are also yearning to live a life in which they aren't cracking under pressure, a life in which they know that their children will be well cared for, a life in which it's possible to be at home with their son or daughter even just one afternoon a week without worrying about sacrificing a disproportionate amount of their income and benefits--or losing their job altogether. Some would argue that mothers just need to find the proper balance between parenting and career. We believe there's more to it than that.

While Renee's story captures the essence of what millions of working American women face each morning, Kiki's daunting experience simply trying to find a job shows just how deeply rooted, and



widely accepted, discrimination against mothers has become.

A single mother of two, Kiki moved to a one-stoplight Pennsylvania town in 1994. She was truly on her own. Her husband had left several years earlier, when her children were 2 and 4. Kiki hadn't known how she'd make it as a single parent until her mother, a petite powerhouse and survivor of a World War II Russian gulag, stepped in to help. But when Kiki's mother died, there was nothing to keep Kiki in the Long Island town where she'd been living. The rapid property-tax increases in Kiki's carefully landscaped neighborhood of gorgeous Colonial houses were quickly exceeding her economic reach as a single working mother. So Kiki left in search of a smaller town with a lower cost of living.

With this move, Kiki and the kids were alone in a new town that had just two supermarkets. Several diners served a variety of aromatically enticing pork, sauerkraut and dumpling dishes. It was just the change she wanted. Kiki was able to buy a Dutch Colonial house at the top of a small mountain in the Poconos with nearly two acres of land for a fraction of the price of her old house. It seemed ideal, until she started looking for a job to support her family.

On a hot, humid August day, at an interview for a legal secretary position in a one-story brick building, Kiki sat down in a hard wooden chair to face a middle-aged attorney ensconced behind a mahogany desk. His framed diplomas lined the walls, and legal books filled the shelves behind him. Kiki remembers the attorney clearly, even his height of 5'10" and the color of his light brown hair. The interaction was significant enough to remain seared in her mind a decade later. "The first question the attorney asked me when I came in for the interview was, Are you married? The second was, Do you have children?"

It was the eleventh job interview in which she'd been asked the very same questions. After answering eleven times that she wasn't married, and that she was the mother of two, Kiki began to understand why her job search was taking so long.

She decided to address the issue head-on this time. "I asked him how those questions were relevant to the job, and he said my hourly wage would be determined by my marital and motherhood status." What's that? "He said, If you don't have a husband and have children, then I pay less per hour because I have to pay benefits for the entire family." The attorney noted that a married woman's husband usually had health insurance to cover the kids, and since Kiki didn't have a husband, he "didn't want to get stuck with the bill for my children's health coverage."

The attorney insisted that this blatant discrimination was perfectly legal--and he was right. Pennsylvania, like scores of states, does not have employment laws that protect mothers.

Recent Cornell University research by Shelley Correll confirms what many American women are finding: Mothers are 44 percent less likely to be hired than nonmothers who have the same résumé, experience and qualifications; and mothers are offered significantly lower starting pay. Study participants offered nonmothers an average of \$11,000 more than equally qualified mothers for the same high-salaried job. Correll's groundbreaking research adds to the long line of studies that explore the roots of this maternal wage gap. "We expected to find that moms were going to be discriminated against, but I was surprised by the magnitude of the gap," explains Correll. "I expected small numbers, but we found huge numbers. Another thing was that fathers were actually advantaged, and we didn't expect fathers to be offered more money or to be rated higher." But that's what happened.

The "maternal wall" is a reality we must address if we value both fair treatment in the workplace and the contributions working mothers make to our economy.

Stories like those of Renee and Kiki confirm that something just isn't right about what we're doing--or not doing--to address the needs of mothers across our nation. Some companies and states are experimenting with family-friendly programs, but such programs are not the norm. We need to open a whole new conversation about motherhood by illuminating the universal needs of America's mothers and spelling out concrete solutions that will provide families--whether working- or middle-class--with real relief.

National policies and programs with proven success in other countries--like paid family leave, flexible work options, subsidized childcare and preschool, as well as healthcare coverage for all kids--are largely lacking in America. The problems mothers face are deeply interconnected and often overlap: Without paid family leave parents often have to put their infants in extremely expensive or substandard childcare facilities; families with a sick child, inadequate healthcare coverage and no flexible work options often end up in bankruptcy.

Fixing even one of these problems often has numerous positive repercussions. Companies that embrace family-friendly workplace policies are thriving, with lower employee turnover, enhanced productivity and job commitment from employees, and consequently with lower recruiting and retraining costs. Flexible work options also allow parents to create work schedules that are well suited to raising happy, healthy children.

The good news is that more enlightened policies would provide practical benefits to the whole society. But we need a genuine motherhood revolution to achieve this sort of change. We believe the following Motherhood Manifesto points are a good place to start:

§**M** = Maternity/Paternity Leave: Paid family leave for all parents after a new child comes into the family.

§**O** = Open, Flexible Work: Give parents the ability to structure their work hours and careers in a way that allows them to meet both business and family needs. This includes flexible work hours and locations, part-time work options and the ability to move in and out of the labor force without penalties to raise young children.

§**T** = TV We Choose & Other After-School Programs: Offer safe, educational opportunities for children after school doors close, including a clear and independent universal television rating system for parents along with technology that allows them to choose what is showing in their own homes; quality educational programming for kids; expanded after-school programs.

§**H** = Healthcare for All Kids: Provide quality, universal healthcare to all children.

§**E** = Excellent Childcare: Quality, affordable childcare should be available to all parents. Childcare providers should be paid at least a living wage and healthcare benefits.

§**R** = Realistic and Fair Wages: Two full-time working parents should be able to earn enough to care for their family. And working mothers must receive equal pay for equal work.

By tackling these interconnected issues together, we can create a powerful system of support for families, improving the quality of our lives and making sure our children inherit a world in which they will thrive as adults and parents. The Motherhood Manifesto is a call to action, summoning all Americans--mothers, and all who have mothers--to start a revolution to make motherhood compatible with life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

**September 20, 2005**

**Many Women at Elite Colleges Set Career Path to Motherhood**

**By LOUISE STORY**

Cynthia Liu is precisely the kind of high achiever Yale wants: smart (1510 SAT), disciplined (4.0 grade point average), competitive (finalist in Texas oratory competition), musical (pianist), athletic (runner) and altruistic (hospital volunteer). And at the start of her sophomore year at Yale, Ms. Liu is full of ambition, planning to go to law school.

So will she join the long tradition of famous Ivy League graduates? Not likely. By the time she is 30, this accomplished 19-year-old expects to be a stay-at-home mom.

"My mother's always told me you can't be the best career woman and the best mother at the same time," Ms. Liu said matter-of-factly. "You always have to choose one over the other."

At Yale and other top colleges, women are being groomed to take their place in an ever more diverse professional elite. It is almost taken for granted that, just as they make up half the students at these institutions, they will move into leadership roles on an equal basis with their male classmates.

There is just one problem with this scenario: many of these women say that is not what they want.

Many women at the nation's most elite colleges say they have already decided that they will put aside their careers in favor of raising children. Though some of these students are not planning to have children and some hope to have a family and work full time, many others, like Ms. Liu, say they will happily play a traditional female role, with motherhood their main commitment.

Much attention has been focused on career women who leave the work force to rear children. What seems to be changing is that while many women in college two or three decades ago expected to have full-time careers, their daughters, while still in college, say they have already decided to suspend or end their careers when they have children.

"At the height of the women's movement and shortly thereafter, women were much more firm in their expectation that they could somehow combine full-time work with child rearing," said Cynthia E. Russett, a professor of American history who has taught at Yale since 1967. "The women today are, in effect, turning realistic."

Dr. Russett is among more than a dozen faculty members and administrators at the most exclusive institutions who have been on campus for decades and who said in interviews that they had noticed the changing attitude.

Many students say staying home is not a shocking idea among their friends. Shannon Flynn, an 18-year-old from Guilford, Conn., who is a freshman at Harvard, says many of her girlfriends do not want to work full time.

"Most probably do feel like me, maybe even tending toward wanting to not work at all," said Ms.

Flynn, who plans to work part time after having children, though she is torn because she has worked so hard in school.

"Men really aren't put in that position," she said.

Uzezi Abugo, a freshman at the University of Pennsylvania who hopes to become a lawyer, says she, too, wants to be home with her children at least until they are in school.

"I've seen the difference between kids who did have their mother stay at home and kids who didn't, and it's kind of like an obvious difference when you look at it," said Ms. Abugo, whose mother, a nurse, stayed home until Ms. Abugo was in first grade.

While the changing attitudes are difficult to quantify, the shift emerges repeatedly in interviews with Ivy League students, including 138 freshman and senior females at Yale who replied to e-mail questions sent to members of two residential colleges over the last school year.

The interviews found that 85 of the students, or roughly 60 percent, said that when they had children, they planned to cut back on work or stop working entirely. About half of those women said they planned to work part time, and about half wanted to stop work for at least a few years.

Two of the women interviewed said they expected their husbands to stay home with the children while they pursued their careers. Two others said either they or their husbands would stay home, depending on whose career was furthest along.

The women said that pursuing a rigorous college education was worth the time and money because it would help position them to work in meaningful part-time jobs when their children are young or to attain good jobs when their children leave home.

In recent years, elite colleges have emphasized the important roles they expect their alumni - both men and women - to play in society.

For example, earlier this month, Shirley M. Tilghman, the president of Princeton University, welcomed new freshmen, saying: "The goal of a Princeton education is to prepare young men and women to take up positions of leadership in the 21st century. Of course, the word 'leadership' conjures up images of presidents and C.E.O.'s, but I want to stress that my idea of a leader is much broader than that."

She listed education, medicine and engineering as other areas where students could become leaders.

In an e-mail response to a question, Dr. Tilghman added: "There is nothing inconsistent with being a leader and a stay-at-home parent. Some women (and a handful of men) whom I have known who have done this have had a powerful impact on their communities."

Yet the likelihood that so many young women plan to opt out of high-powered careers presents a conundrum.

"It really does raise this question for all of us and for the country: when we work so hard to open academics and other opportunities for women, what kind of return do we expect to get for that?" said Marlyn McGrath Lewis, director of undergraduate admissions at Harvard, who served as dean for

coeducation in the late 1970's and early 1980's.

It is a complicated issue and one that most schools have not addressed. The women they are counting on to lead society are likely to marry men who will make enough money to give them a real choice about whether to be full-time mothers, unlike those women who must work out of economic necessity.

It is less than clear what universities should, or could, do about it. For one, a person's expectations at age 18 are less than perfect predictors of their life choices 10 years later. And in any case, admissions officers are not likely to ask applicants whether they plan to become stay-at-home moms.

University officials said that success meant different things to different people and that universities were trying to broaden students' minds, not simply prepare them for jobs.

"What does concern me," said Peter Salovey, the dean of Yale College, "is that so few students seem to be able to think outside the box; so few students seem to be able to imagine a life for themselves that isn't constructed along traditional gender roles."

There is, of course, nothing new about women being more likely than men to stay home to rear children.

According to a 2000 survey of Yale alumni from the classes of 1979, 1984, 1989 and 1994, conducted by the Yale Office of Institutional Research, more men from each of those classes than women said that work was their primary activity - a gap that was small among alumni in their 20's but widened as women moved into their prime child-rearing years. Among the alumni surveyed who had reached their 40's, only 56 percent of the women still worked, compared with 90 percent of the men.

A 2005 study of comparable Yale alumni classes found that the pattern had not changed. Among the alumni who had reached their early 40's, just over half said work was their primary activity, compared with 90 percent of the men. Among the women who had reached their late 40's, some said they had returned to work, but the percentage of women working was still far behind the percentage of men.

A 2001 survey of Harvard Business School graduates found that 31 percent of the women from the classes of 1981, 1985 and 1991 who answered the survey worked only part time or on contract, and another 31 percent did not work at all, levels strikingly similar to the percentages of the Yale students interviewed who predicted they would stay at home or work part time in their 30's and 40's.

What seems new is that while many of their mothers expected to have hard-charging careers, then scaled back their professional plans only after having children, the women of this generation expect their careers to take second place to child rearing.

"It never occurred to me," Rebecca W. Bushnell, dean of the School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania, said about working versus raising children. "Thirty years ago when I was heading out, I guess I was just taking it one step at a time."

Dr. Bushnell said young women today, in contrast, are thinking and talking about part-time or flexible work options for when they have children. "People have a heightened awareness of trying to get the right balance between work and family."

Sarah Currie, a senior at Harvard, said many of the men in her American Family class last fall

approved of women's plans to stay home with their children.

"A lot of the guys were like, 'I think that's really great,' " Ms. Currie said. "One of the guys was like, 'I think that's sexy.' Staying at home with your children isn't as polarizing of an issue as I envision it is for women who are in their 30's now."

For most of the young women who responded to e-mail questions, a major factor shaping their attitudes seemed to be their experience with their own mothers, about three out of five of whom did not work at all, took several years off or worked only part time.

"My stepmom's very proud of my choice because it makes her feel more valuable," said Kellie Zesch, a Texan who graduated from the University of North Carolina two years ago and who said that once she had children, she intended to stay home for at least five years and then consider working part time. "It justified it to her, that I don't look down on her for not having a career."

Similarly, students who are committed to full-time careers, without breaks, also cited their mothers as influences. Laura Sullivan, a sophomore at Yale who wants to be a lawyer, called her mother's choice to work full time the "greatest gift."

"She showed me what it meant to be an amazing mother and maintain a career," Ms. Sullivan said.

Some of these women's mothers, who said they did not think about these issues so early in their lives, said they were surprised to hear that their college-age daughters had already formed their plans.

Emily Lechner, one of Ms. Liu's roommates, hopes to stay home a few years, then work part time as a lawyer once her children are in school.

Her mother, Carol, who once thought she would have a full-time career but gave it up when her children were born, was pleasantly surprised to hear that. "I do have this bias that the parents can do it best," she said. "I see a lot of women in their 30's who have full-time nannies, and I just question if their kids are getting the best."

For many feminists, it may come as a shock to hear how unbothered many young women at the nation's top schools are by the strictures of traditional roles.

"They are still thinking of this as a private issue; they're accepting it," said Laura Wexler, a professor of American studies and women's and gender studies at Yale. "Women have been given full-time working career opportunities and encouragement with no social changes to support it.

"I really believed 25 years ago," Dr. Wexler added, "that this would be solved by now."

Angie Ku, another of Ms. Liu's roommates who had a stay-at-home mom, talks nonchalantly about attending law or business school, having perhaps a 10-year career and then staying home with her children.

"Parents have such an influence on their children," Ms. Ku said. "I want to have that influence. Me!"

She said she did not mind if that limited her career potential.

"I'll have a career until I have two kids," she said. "It doesn't necessarily matter how far you get. It's kind of like the experience: I have tried what I wanted to do."

Ms. Ku added that she did not think it was a problem that women usually do most of the work raising kids.

"I accept things how they are," she said. "I don't mind the status quo. I don't see why I have to go against it."

After all, she added, those roles got her where she is.

"It worked so well for me," she said, "and I don't see in my life why it wouldn't work."

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## Weasel-Words Rip My Flesh!

Spotting a bogus trend story on Page One of today's *New York Times*.

By Jack Shafer

Posted Tuesday, Sept. 20, 2005, at 3:38 PM PT

How many "many's" are too many for one news story?

Like its fellow weasel-words—*some, few, often, seems, likely, more*—*many* serves writers who haven't found the data to support their argument. A light splash of weasel-words in a news story is acceptable if only because journalism is not an exact science and deadlines must be observed. But when a reporter pours a whole jug of weasel-words into a piece, as Louise Story does on Page One of today's (Sept. 20) *New York Times* in "Many Women at Elite Colleges Set Career Path to Motherhood," she needlessly exposes one of the trade's best-kept secrets for all to see. She deserves a week in the stockades. And her editor deserves a month.

Story uses the particularly useful weasel-word "many" 12 times—including once in the headline—to illustrate the emerging trend of Ivy League-class women who attend top schools but have no intention of assuming the careers they prepared for.

She informs readers that "**many of these women**" being groomed for the occupational elite "say that is not what they want." She repeats the weasel-word three more times in the next two paragraphs and returns to it whenever she needs to express impressive quantity but has no real numbers. She writes:

**Many women** at the nation's most elite colleges say they have already decided that they will put aside their careers in favor of raising children. Though some of these students are not planning to have children and some hope to have a family and work full time, **many others**, like Ms. Liu, say they will happily play a traditional female role, with motherhood their main commitment.

Much attention has been focused on career women who leave the work force to rear children. What seems to be changing is that while **many women in college** two or three decades ago expected to have full-time careers, their daughters, while still in college, say they have already decided to suspend or end their careers when they have children. ...

**Many students** say staying home is not a shocking idea among their friends. Shannon Flynn, an 18-year-old from Guilford, Conn., who is a freshman at Harvard, says **many of her girlfriends** do not want to work full time. ...

Yet the likelihood that so **many young women** plan to opt out of high-powered careers presents a conundrum. ...

What seems new is that while **many of their mothers** expected to have hard-charging careers, then scaled back their professional plans only after having children, the women of this generation expect their careers to take second place to child rearing. ...

Sarah Currie, a senior at Harvard, said **many of the men** in her American Family class last fall approved of women's plans to stay home with their children. ...

**For many feminists**, it may come as a shock to hear how unbothered **many young women**



at the nation's top schools are by the strictures of traditional roles. ...

None of these *many's* quantify anything. You could as easily substitute the word *some* for every *many* and not gain or lose any information. Or substitute the word *few* and lose only the wind in Story's sails. By fudging the available facts with weasel-words, Story makes a flaccid concept stand up—as long as nobody examines it closely.

For instance, Story writes that she interviewed "Ivy League students, including 138 freshman and senior females at Yale who replied to e-mail questions sent to members of two residential colleges over the last school year." Because she doesn't attribute the preparation of the e-mail survey to anyone, one must assume that she or somebody at the *Times* composed and sent it. A questionnaire answered by 138 Yale women sounds like it may contain useful information. But even a social-science dropout wouldn't consider the findings to be anything but anecdotal unless he knew 1) what questions were asked (Story doesn't say), 2) how many questionnaires were distributed, and 3) why freshman and seniors received the questionnaires to the exclusion of sophomores and juniors. Also, 4) a social-science dropout would ask if the *Times* contaminated its e-mailed survey with leading questions and hence attracted a disproportionate number of respondents who sympathize with the article's underlying and predetermined thesis.

To say Story's piece contains a thesis oversells it. Early on, she squishes out on the whole concept with the weasel-word *seems*. She writes, "What *seems* to be changing is that while many women in college two or three decades ago expected to have full-time careers, their daughters, while still in college, say they have already decided to suspend or end their careers when they have children."

To say the piece was edited would also be to oversell it. Story rewrites this *seems* sentence about two-thirds of the way through the piece without adding any new information. "What *seems* new is that while many of their mothers expected to have hard-charging careers, then scaled back their professional plans only after having children, the women of this generation expect their careers to take second place to child rearing." [Emphasis added.]

Halfway through, Story discounts her allegedly newsworthy findings by acknowledging that a "person's expectations at age 18 are less than perfect predictors of their life choices 10 years later." If they're less than perfect predictors, then why are we reading about their predictions on Page One of the *Times*?

While bogus, "Many Women at Elite Colleges Set Career Path to Motherhood" isn't false: It can't be false because it never says anything sturdy enough to be tested. So, how did it get to Page One? Is there a *New York Times* conspiracy afoot to drive feminists crazy and persuade young women that their place is in the home? Did the paper dispatch *Times* columnist John Tierney to write a pair of provocative columns on this theme earlier this year (early May and late May) and recruit Lisa Belkin to dance the idea around in an October 2003 *Times Magazine* feature titled "The Opt-Out Revolution"?

Nah.

I suspect a *Times* editor glommed onto the idea while overhearing some cocktail party chatter—"Say, did you hear that Sam blew hundreds of thousands of dollars sending his daughter to Yale and now she and her friends say all they want in the future is to get married and stay at home?"—and passed the concept to the writer or her editors and asked them to develop it.

You can see the editorial gears whirring: The press has already drained our collective anxiety about well-educated women assuming greater power in the workplace. So, the only editorial vein left to mine

is our collective anxiety about well-educated women deciding *not* to work instead. Evidence that the *Times* editors know how to push our buttons can be found in the fact that as I write, this slight article about college students is the "Most E-Mailed" article on the newspaper's Web site.

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*Slate's* new slogan should be "For Overeducated Stay-at-Home Mothers Who Think." Send your slogans to [slate.pressbox@gmail.com](mailto:slate.pressbox@gmail.com). (E-mail may be quoted unless the writer stipulates otherwise.)

**Addendum, Sept. 24:** *But wait... I have more to say about this Times piece.*

**Addendum, Sept. 28:** On Sept. 23, Louise Story described on [NYTimes.com](http://NYTimes.com) how she reported her article.

*Jack Shafer is Slate's editor at large.*

Article URL: <http://slate.msn.com/id/2126636/>

# The Secret of Our Success

Women can achieve a fulfilling blend of motherhood and career—just maybe not perfection. And that's OK.

By Leslie Bennetts

**AS** the lunch program was called to order in the New York offices of the global investment bank Lehman Brothers, the room was packed with an overflow crowd of animated, attractive women. The National Council for Research on Women had assembled a group of high-powered executives, academics, social scientists, and other experts for a program entitled "Opting Out—Myth, Viable Option or Media Spin?"

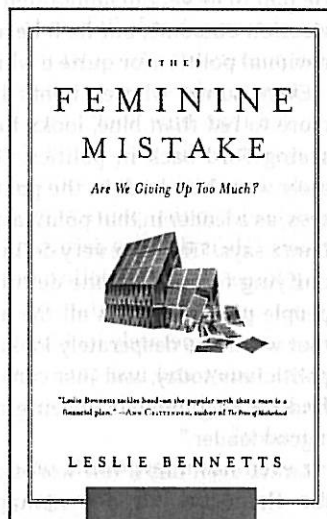
The women in the audience were as accomplished as the speakers. In fact, the contrast between the subject at hand and the lives of the women in that room provided an ironic exercise in cognitive dissonance. If it's really impossible to combine work and family successfully, how to explain all these energetic, confident women buzzing excitedly about their children, their grandchildren—and their own fascinating careers?

During the question-and-answer period after the speakers' presentations, a Lehman Brothers vice chairman stood up and told the audience that she had raised four children with her doctor husband while advancing to her present level of professional achievement. "It can be done," said this paragon of having it all, "but nobody ever writes a story about us. Why isn't the media talking about the success stories?"

Why indeed? Ever since the 1970s, the mainstream media have harped endlessly on the downside of "having it all." Even as millions of women succeeded in combining work and motherhood, the news coverage focused obsessively on the logistical challenges of the juggling act, rarely exploring the rewards. And yet the labor force is full of women who love their families and enjoy their jobs and who have somehow managed to combine the two—to the benefit of all concerned.

Such women are usually too busy living those lives to worry about the chronic biases of the media. But when the glorification of full-time motherhood prompted a new generation of young mothers to reject the idea of work, many of us became alarmed. As far as we were concerned, "having it all" was the best idea since women's suffrage. Why on earth did younger women believe that it couldn't be done, or that it was too difficult to be worth the effort, or that the attempt would wreck their marriages and ruin their children?

The first problem might well have been the catchphrase itself. "Having it all" was an unfortunate misnomer from the outset; it struck many women as insufferably smug, reeking of an elitist self-righteousness that belies the messy realities of women's domestic lives. Although most of my friends



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