
Life after Tenure

Securing a tenure-track position represents one of the most profound moments of an academic's career. After long years as a student, one suddenly becomes a titled professional. Next looms the challenge of a lifetime: getting tenure. On completion of a demanding probationary period, the academic gets a brass ring: one of the world's most secure jobs. The perquisites of the position are renowned, just as the blood, toil, tears, and sweat it often takes to get there are notorious. Subsequent to tenure comes a measure of security, yet still more hurdles. Scholars aspiring to the rank of full professor must continue to burnish their professional credentials. And at most schools, meaningful pay raises are contingent on continued scholarly productivity.

This chapter examines gender differences in academic careers after the pressure cooker pre-tenure years. In particular, we are interested in how marriage and children affect men's and women's salaries and promotion to full professor. We have already demonstrated wide-ranging gender differences in how young Ph.D. recipients enter the professoriate and obtain tenure. Do these differences extend into the midcareer years? How do marriage and children affect promotion to full professor and faculty salaries? We also explore retirement and the role of family considerations at the end of academic careers.

These topics are of special interest, given the paucity of previous research. Most higher education scholars have focused on the early career years (studies of the income gender gap are an exception).¹ To an extent this is understandable because the most conspicuous gender difference in the professoriate is simply the glaring absence of women. But as the previous chapter has shown, simply achieving gender parity isn't enough. We need also be concerned with how women fare once they receive tenure and become ensconced in their academic careers.

Promotion to Full Professor

We would expect family considerations to matter less when men and women seek promotion to the rank of full professor. The vast majority of academicians will be in their forties or older when that promotion becomes a possibility. According to the 2006 Survey of Doctorate Recipients, only 2 percent of academics become full professors within ten years of receiving their doctorates.² This means that promotion to full professor becomes an issue for most women when they are beyond their childbearing years. Many academics will have children in the house around the time they seek promotion, but these children are likely to be older and in school and not requiring the same degree of care that babies and toddlers do. By now, most of the academics who will ever get married have probably already done so.³ Dual-career concerns have likely faded, since scholars seeking promotion to full professor will have been at their jobs for a number of years; presumably their partners are equally ensconced in their careers and not looking to relocate. Although family considerations can still affect women's ability to get ahead, there should be fewer challenges at this juncture than for women seeking academic jobs or working towards tenure. This was the belief of one woman faculty member in the social sciences at the University of California: "Family obligations have slowed down my research and overall career, but they haven't ended it—I still got tenure, am still a productive researcher. And I expect that the impact of parenthood will diminish somewhat as my kids become older and more independent (my younger child is 2). I think this is a great outcome—it would be unrealistic for kids not to slow down a career, especially a mother's career. Yes, I've won fewer awards, have a somewhat lower profile, have had fewer outside offers than I would have without kids. But I haven't been forced to make the hard choice between only a career and only family."

Only 19 percent of full professors in the sciences, and just 24 percent overall, are women.⁴ The Survey of Doctorate Recipients sheds light on this disparity. Adjusting for various differences between respondents, we find that female associate professors in all fields are 21 percent less likely to get promoted in comparison with their male colleagues. Marriage and children, young or old, do not affect the chances of promotion differently for men and women.⁵ In fact, we find marriage increases the likelihood of promotion to full professor by 23 percent for both sexes.

The benefits of marriage for promotion prospects are easy to understand. As noted in previous chapters, marriage generally makes workers more productive. Married scholars publish more than their unmarried colleagues. Indeed, chapter 3 showed that married academics in the sciences are more likely to get tenure. Marriage does not represent a career obstacle for female midcareer scholars in the same way it does for newly minted Ph.D.s poised for a transnational move. As suggested in chapter 2, spousal employment represents a

formidable obstacle to women on the academic job market but does not appear to be an issue later on in their careers.

It is also easy to understand why children, who play such a critical role in women's professional fortunes earlier on, make no difference when women come up for promotion to full professor. At this point in their careers, few women still have infants or toddlers at home. Keep in mind also that mothers who have made it this far in their careers are a select group, perhaps better equipped to negotiate the challenges of balancing families and demanding jobs. This does not mean, of course, that no women are adversely affected. Some women (and, indeed, some men) may deliberately choose not to seek promotion in order to spend more time with their families, as one woman in the arts at the University of California explained: "I decided to remain at the Associate level because of [*sic*] my priority of family life was higher than making an international reputation in my profession." But scholars who deliberately make this choice appear to be in the minority.

If marriage and children cannot account for why women have trouble getting promoted, than what can? Until recently, social science has not had much luck in coming up with an answer.⁶ The gender gap in promotion rates cannot be explained by easily measured differences between male and female academics. For lack of a better explanation, scholars have generally concluded that discrimination was preventing women from getting promoted: maybe men are fine with having women as colleagues, but not at the upper echelons. Yet recent research has cast doubt on the prevalence of discrimination in the modern professoriate.⁷

A 2011 report by a research team headed by sociologists Joya Misra and Jennifer Hicke Lundquist points to the first compelling argument about why so many women get stuck at associate professor: the unequal allotment of university service.⁸ According to Misra and Lundquist, three-fourths of female associate professors at the University of Massachusetts have held major service commitments, compared with only half the men. Thirty-five percent of the women but just 17 percent of the men had served as a director of undergraduate studies. Being undergraduate director is a time-devouring, low-status position that probably does not help associate professors get promoted. Equally noteworthy, 15 percent of the women and *none* of the men had chaired their departments as associate professors (among full professors almost three times as many men had been chairs).⁹ It is hard to imagine many professors doing the research necessary for promotion when saddled with the heavy administrative burden of running an academic department. Overall, women associate professors spent much more of their time teaching and doing service than did their male colleagues. Compared with the men, women spent an average of three more hours a week with students and almost five more hours a week on service to their universities. That is almost eight hours a week that women cannot spend doing

the research that might otherwise get them promoted. As a result, female associate professors end up devoting only a quarter of their working hours doing research; in contrast, the men spend 37 percent of their time on scholarship. And these inequities do indeed matter. Women who serve as undergraduate directors take more than three years longer than the average faculty member to move from Ph.D. to the rank of full professor (and recall that more than one-third of female associate professors serve in this capacity).

Misra and Lundquist make clear that women associate professors aren't assuming their heavy service loads by choice. Indeed, most of the women in their study voiced dissatisfaction with the amount of service they do. But they end up getting stuck with it anyway, as one associate professor at the University of Massachusetts related: "Because departments try to shield junior faculty from service, and full professors are usually in a better position to say 'no' when asked, associate professors often carry disproportionately heavy service loads compared to their junior and senior colleagues." Perhaps men are simply better at saying no when asked to assume heavy service responsibilities. Alternately, the allocation of service positions may reflect a self-fulfilling prophecy: academic administrators assume that tenured women won't be promoted, so they get loaded up with service positions that ensure they don't get promoted—while their male colleagues, lacking heavy service burdens, go on to become full professors.

Keep in mind that these findings are based on only one institution. Perhaps there is something unusual about the University of Massachusetts. Nevertheless, the Misra and Lundquist study provides the most compelling evidence that has been offered to date about why so many women academics stagnate at the rank of associate professor.

The Ultimate Promotion: College President

For most academics, a full professorship marks the highest rung on the academic ladder. But a small percentage will climb even higher, into the ranks of academic administrators. We would expect fewer women administrators simply on the basis of the pipeline problem: fewer women than men get academic jobs, fewer still get tenure, and even fewer become full professors, generally a requirement for holding high academic office. Yet women hold the same share of full professorships as university presidencies. We base this assessment on a 2007 report by the American Council on Education, *The American College President*, that included information on 2,148 college and university presidents (unfortunately we have no comparable source of information on lesser administrative offices, such as deanships).¹⁰

In recent years there have been several prominent female college presidents. Shirley M. Tilghman and Drew Gilpin Faust became the first woman presidents at, respectively, Princeton and Harvard. Judith Rodin served for many years as the

first female president at the University of Pennsylvania; she was succeeded by another woman, Amy Guttmann. Yet another female scholar, Ruth Simmons, has been at the helm at Brown University for the past ten years. However, the Ivy League isn't typical. In 2006, just 23 percent of college and university presidents were women—and far more women hold presidencies than used to be the case. In 1986 just 10 percent of college and university presidents were women. The downside, according to *The American College President*, is that the rate of growth has slowed: “The share of new appointees who are women has not changed appreciably since these data were first collected in 1998.”¹¹

The American College President offers data on marriage and children that are fully consistent with our results. Sixty-three percent of female college presidents are married compared with 89 percent of the men. Twenty-four percent of the women presidents are divorced or have never been married; this holds true for just 7 percent of the men. Sixty-eight percent of female college presidents have children, compared with 91 percent of their male colleagues. Finally, three times as many women college presidents (15 percent, versus 5 percent for men) reported that they “altered career for family.”

The average college president is sixty years old, up from a mean of fifty-two in 1986. This means that most college presidents—and in particular the women—are done with having children. They are also unlikely to get married if they have never been married before.¹² Assuming that a college presidency is not causing women to remain unmarried and childless, female academics likely become college presidents *because* they remained single and childless. Ascending to the highest academic ranks takes time and hard work; it's easier for women to devote the necessary effort to achieve this career pinnacle when they don't have children and don't face constraints imposed by a spouse's career. We should also keep in mind the findings presented in previous chapters. The pool of female academics from which college presidents are drawn already contains disproportionately few married women and few women with children.

The findings of *The American College President* are mixed and warrant guarded optimism. It is certainly good news that more women than ever before are becoming college and university presidents. Yet at this level of the academic food chain women endure the same inequities concerning marriage and children as do rank-and-file faculty members. This comes as little surprise and provides yet more evidence that we have a long way to go toward leveling the playing field for women academics, especially those with families.

Income

A touchstone of inequality research in the United States is the gender wage gap. As of 2009, women full-time workers made only seventy-seven cents on the

male dollar, a figure that hasn't changed much in the past few years.¹³ Although scholars disagree on the reasons for this persistent inequity, most attribute the gap mainly to differences in occupation, industry, and job experience.¹⁴ In recent years, a growing literature has emphasized the economic consequences of having children. Several studies document that each child produces an incremental wage penalty for mothers.¹⁵

Academia is no different from other professions, as the gender income gap has long been part of the landscape.¹⁶ Why is this the case? Much of the income disparity seems to be attributable to the kinds of jobs women hold. Faculty in predominantly female disciplines (for example, art and social work) earn less than those in male disciplines (for example, engineering and dentistry).¹⁷ Women are more likely to be employed at the kinds of institutions, namely baccalaureate and junior colleges, that don't pay as well as graduate universities. Female faculty make ninety-six cents on the male dollar at community colleges, but just seventy-eight cents on the male dollar at research universities.¹⁸ And as we have shown, men are far more likely than women to hold higher academic rank. Tenured faculty make more than assistant professors; tenure-stream faculty make more than adjuncts. This all adds up in the long run.

Do marriage and children play a role here? The Survey of Doctorate Recipients (SDR) allows us to answer this question.¹⁹ We follow the research strategy established by Michelle Budig, Paula England, Jane Waldfogel, and others by examining the income penalty produced by each child.²⁰ The results are straightforward. After controlling for various differences between respondents, we find that each child incrementally decreases women's salaries by 1 percent. Children exert no effect, positive or negative, on men's salaries.

This is not a large economic penalty for women compared with the difference produced by academic rank or job type (for example, community college versus research university). Nevertheless, it represents one more way in which children adversely affect women's academic careers while having no corresponding negative effect on men's careers. Even after holding constant academic rank, differences between universities, and years of professional experience, the finding is that each child decreases female faculty's salaries. Furthermore, this salary penalty adds up over time. Women start their academic careers with lower salaries than those of their male colleagues.²¹ Often raises are calculated as a percentage of a faculty member's current salary. Motherhood therefore guarantees cumulatively smaller increases over time. Women are also less likely to get promoted and enjoy the associated salary bump. In the long run, women's salaries will lag far behind men's, as one *Chronicle of Higher Education* forum participant observed:

Having been through a major gender inequity survey on this campus (conducted by a faculty member who is a consultant to several states

and corporations with policies about pay equity), I have to wonder if you realize how much money a female faculty member may have lost, when compared to male faculty with the same length of time at a college and similar publication records, over the fifteen or twenty years of work at the college. I'm speaking of a cumulative loss, money lost every year: hired at a smaller salary, promoted more slowly, fewer merit raises, and always the same percentage increase (per year, or with promotion) but with the much smaller base to begin with (from hire, from smaller merit increases, from extra years before tenure and before promotion). In a case like this, it would take a good many years earning \$20,000 extra per year to make up for the total amount lost in the 15 or more years between hire and promotion to full professor.²²

As this web post suggests, women faculty never catch up to men when it comes to salary.²³ To explore this idea we calculated average salaries at retirement for male and female faculty based on SDR data extending from 1985 to 1995.²⁴ In 1995 constant dollars, men retired with an average salary of \$79,688 whereas women retired with an average of only \$61,847—a difference of 29 percent. This disparity represents a lifetime of lower earnings and cumulatively smaller raises. Nor has the situation likely to have improved much in recent years.²⁵

Why are children costly to female academics? As we and others have suggested, children may decrease scholarly productivity for women.²⁶ One University of California social scientist indeed worried that her parenting obligations would ultimately affect her salary: "As a new parent, I feel increased anxiety about publications and perceived performance. Parenthood has slowed down my academic productivity, and I worry that this shift in my ability to get work done will negatively affect salary and tenure." More generally, children mean time away from work. As we showed in chapter 2, even mothers who obtain ladder-rank positions may have waited longer to get their jobs. Women who already have tenure-track jobs may go on leave when they give birth. At the very least, they are probably doing less of the research that might otherwise increase their salaries. Scholars who publish more get paid more (although this might be a product of the fact that scholars who publish are more likely to work at schools that pay well, namely, research universities).²⁷ And, there is evidence that time out of the labor force reduces the salaries of women more broadly.²⁸

The most common means of getting a sizeable salary increase in academia is to get promoted. However, this cannot account for income disparities for full professors, which tend to be larger than at lower academic ranks.²⁹ At this stage in the academic game, the best way to secure a big raise is to receive a job offer from another university. As we noted earlier in this book, the responsibilities of childrearing make it harder for women to go on job interviews and harder for them to attend the academic conferences that might produce such interviews.

Spousal employment may also prevent female faculty from pursuing more lucrative opportunities. Perhaps for these reasons, women are far less likely than men to pursue job offers. Fifty-three percent of married faculty mothers at the University of California say that family considerations have prevented them from seeking new jobs outside their current region of residence, compared with just 24 percent of the men.³⁰ This was the case for one female academic at the University of California: “I have not realistically been able to pursue outside job offers and this has definitely hurt my salary. Even though I’m a professor Step VII, my off-scale salary is far below that of others who pursued outside offers.” If children and husbands prevent women from going on the academic job market right out of graduate school, they probably make it harder to do so later on.

As observed in previous chapters, faculty with children spend much more time providing care than do their childless colleagues; mothers spend much more time engaged in caregiving than do fathers. Moreover, faculty mothers continue to spend substantial hours providing care into their late fifties, as figure 5.1 illustrates. This has two implications for our discussion of the child-income penalty for female faculty. First, even full professors in the prime of their careers may have trouble getting away from their families to conduct research or to go on the job talks that might produce lucrative counteroffers. Second, the economic costs of children extend well into women’s careers.

Marriage benefits both men and women in the salary department, but the rewards are not equal. Marriage increases the salaries of men by 3 percent, but by only 1 percent for women.³¹ Why do men derive three times the pecuniary

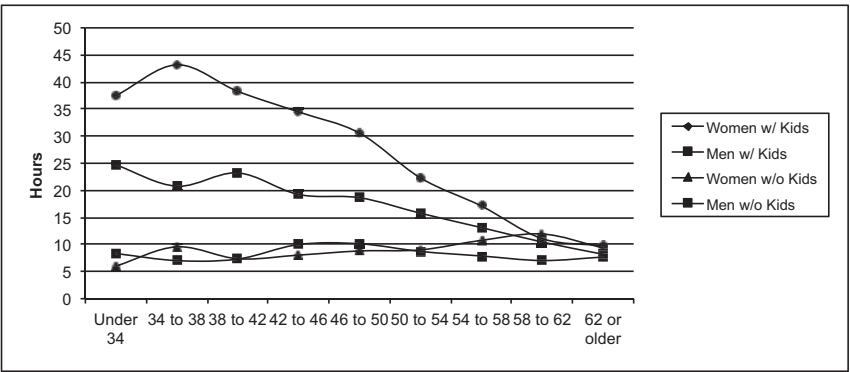


FIGURE 5.1 Average Time Spent Weekly in Care Provision, by Gender, Parental Status, and Age

Source: University of California Faculty Work and Family Survey, 2002–2003; Mary Ann Mason, Marc Goulden, and Nicholas H. Wolfinger, “Babies Matter: Pushing the Gender Equity Revolution Forward,” in *The Balancing Act: Gendered Perspectives in Faculty Roles and Work Lives*, ed. S. J. Bracken et al., 9–30 (Sterling, VA: Stylus, 2006), figure 1.7.

N = 4,060

benefit from marriage that women get? The most likely reason is that the men “specialize in making money.”³² Recall that 56 percent of male faculty members have spouses that are employed full time, compared with 89 percent of female faculty members.³³ It’s understood within many marriages that the man will be the primary—and perhaps exclusive—wage earner (At the same time, it should be acknowledged that modern couples share more caregiving responsibilities.)³⁴ So couples split their responsibilities: the man pursues professional success over almost everything else, while the woman works in paid employment but also assumes traditionally feminine duties like cooking, cleaning, arranging social activities, and “kin-keeping” (staying in touch with extended family members) and, perhaps, ramps down work to accommodate children.³⁵

Retirement

Perhaps no part of the academic life course is as little understood as retirement. Scholars have examined early retirement programs, the end of mandated retirement, retirement intentions, the characteristics of retired faculty, pension preferences, and phased retirement and other incentive programs, but have said relatively little about the individual factors that affect retirement.³⁶ This lack of scholarly attention is puzzling, since retirement garners so much attention from both faculty and universities. The average American faculty member is fifty years old, and retirement is likely on the minds of many professors: almost half of those aged fifty-five and older say it is at least somewhat likely that they will retire within three years.³⁷ Academic administrators also take a keen interest in faculty retirement. Older faculty members have higher salaries, so universities can save money by replacing retiring faculty with assistant professors or adjuncts.³⁸ Finally, it is worth pointing out that tenure creates a retirement dynamic that is virtually unique among the professions. As one faculty member pointed out on the *New York Times* website: “One of the attractions of the professoriate is the option to choose when to retire. That and tenure are part of the total compensation package I accepted. I traded ‘take-home salary’ for independence and job security. If both of these are taken away from professors, ‘take-home salary’ will have to increase to maintain total compensation.”³⁹ As this post suggests, faculty retirement is unique in that tenured professors are almost never forced out of their jobs.

Despite professed intentions to the contrary, most academics do not retire early. The SDR follows respondents until they turn seventy-six and therefore provides an excellent resource for studying faculty retirement. As figure 5.2 suggests, almost no faculty call it quits in the couple of years after age fifty-five, when our data start.⁴⁰ Even by age sixty-five, only 28 percent of faculty have retired. The retirement rate gradually increases but does not shoot up quickly until faculty are in their early seventies.

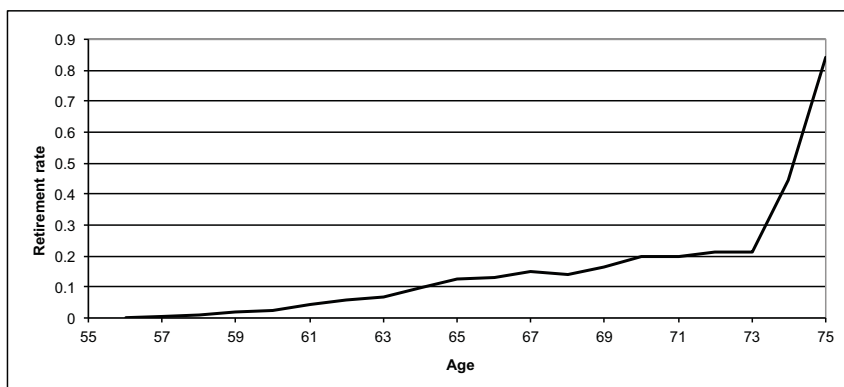


FIGURE 5.2 Retirement Rates by Age for College and University Faculty

Source: Survey of Doctorate Recipients, National Science Foundation, 1981–1995.

N = 9,426

According to the 2004 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty, 89 percent of faculty report being somewhat or very satisfied with their jobs.⁴¹ This figure does not vary much by gender or rank and perhaps helps to explain why many faculty retire relatively late compared with other Americans.⁴² As one professor put it: “Depending upon where you work, there’s much to miss about employment in academia. You lose the daily chats with colleagues, the water cooler banter, the status or legitimacy of affiliation, and the sustained activity of regular work. There’s the potential to ‘rot’ in retirement, where the complete freedom of time makes one unmotivated to achieve or thrive. I’ve never retired, not even close, but my most unproductive and unhappy professional periods come when I have no constraints on my free time.”⁴³ It is telling that many academics continue to work long hours into their fifties and sixties, presumably well past the age at which they were tenured, when such long hours might have been necessary. Figure 5.3 charts weekly hours of work for tenure-track faculty in the sciences (including the social sciences). From doctoral receipt until their late fifties, science faculty work around fifty hours a week. Only in the seventh decade of life do average work hours fall to forty. These long work hours lead us to believe that a fair number of academics are decidedly ambivalent about retirement even late into their professional lives. Indeed, some are dead set against it, like this professor revealed in a post on the *New York Times* website: “We’re all living longer, healthy lives, and nobody wants to walk away from their job and career, simply because they have reached what used to be ‘retirement age.’ These aren’t creaky old antiques who are still teaching, but rather productive people who do not want to be kicked aside. I’m sixty, and still teaching

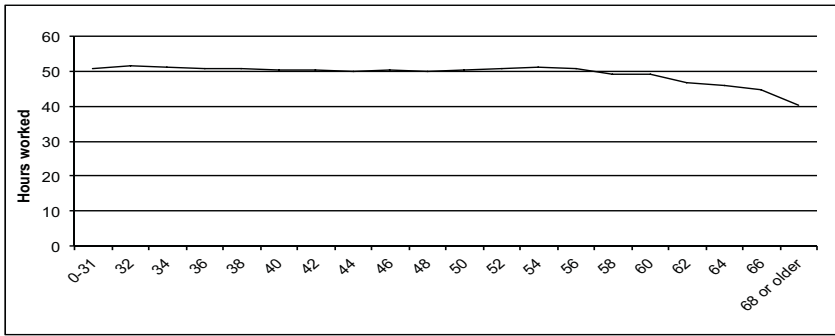


FIGURE 5.3 Average Hours Worked Weekly by Science and Social Science Tenure-Track Faculty, by Age

Source: Survey of Doctorate Recipients, National Science Foundation, 2003; Marc Goulden, Mary Ann Mason, Karie Frasch, and the Center for American Progress, "Staying Competitive: Patching America's Leaky Pipeline in the Sciences," Berkeley Center on Health, Economic, and Family Security, University of California, Berkeley, 2009, figure 11, http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2009/11/women_and_sciences.html.

N = 9,275

(albeit not tenured), and I can tell you that no one is removing me unless (1) I'm dead or (2) they've got either a court order, or a bulldozer."⁴⁴

What factors might determine which academics retire earlier or later, and how big a role does gender play? Previous chapters have described noteworthy gender differences, so there is little reason to suspect that retirement should be any different. We know that female academics are less likely to have children than their male colleagues; in turn, academics with dependents are far less likely to have plans to retire.⁴⁵ Compared with men, female professors are more likely to hold second-tier jobs, and academics in positions in which their primary responsibility is teaching expect to retire earlier than their colleagues at research universities.⁴⁶ In addition, it is possible that salary inequities may affect gender differences in retirement timing, given that lower-paid academics are more likely to have retirement plans.⁴⁷ Finally, if work-family issues are salient before and during academic careers, they may also be consequential near the end. In particular, sociologists James Raymo and Megan Sweeney showed that workers in their fifties report a stronger preference for early retirement when perceived work-family conflict is high.⁴⁸ This could explain why women faculty members might retire earlier than do men.

Our SDR analysis examines faculty who are of retirement age, between fifty-six and seventy-five years old.⁴⁹ To our surprise, gender has no effect whatsoever on faculty retirement rates; men retire neither earlier nor later than do women. Marriage and parenthood both influence the chances of retirement and do so equally for men and women. Compared with their colleagues who have never

been married, married faculty have 79 percent higher odds of retirement. The obvious interpretation is that married faculty members retire to spend more time with their spouses, but this isn't entirely clear cut: separated and divorced faculty are also more likely to be retired than are their never married colleagues, by a margin of 58 percent. One possibility is that divorced faculty members have live-in partners.⁵⁰ In general, nonmarital cohabitation has been common among the formerly married.⁵¹ Still, we would expect separated and divorced faculty to have retirement rates closer to those of faculty who have never been married.

Children make retirement less likely. The 6 percent of retirement-age faculty who still have minor children at home are 43 percent less likely to retire in comparison with their childless colleagues. Moreover, faculty parents whose adult children have left home are 28 percent less likely to retire than are childless faculty. The interpretation is straightforward: children cost money, so faculty parents stay on in their jobs to support their families (or to build up savings that had been depleted in caring for children). Financial need is presumably greatest for the small number of retirement-age faculty who still have children at home—this is why they have lower retirement rates in comparison with faculty whose children have already left the nest. Presumably the retirement-age faculty who still have minor children at home are mostly men; recall figure 4.1, which showed continued male fertility twenty or more years after men were hired on as assistant professors at the University of California. Finally, the low retirement rates for faculty parents provide strong evidence against the notion that these faculty retire earlier in order to spend time with their grandchildren.

Retirement appears to be the only major career transition in academia in which gender makes no difference.⁵² This comes as a surprise to us: women are less likely to get tenure-track jobs, are less likely to gain tenure, are less likely to be promoted, and make less money. Perhaps retirement is different because it represents the professional transition most likely to be under the total control of the faculty member herself. Dual-career constraints are unlikely to be an issue by the time retirement rolls around. Hiring or promotion committees aren't involved. There's no longer any need to care for young children. Although family does make a difference, men and women are affected equally. As we have seen, this is rarely the case in higher education.

Conclusion

Faculty members typically have long careers. Getting a foot in the academic door is a pivotal moment in the academic life course—and, we have shown, the point at which many women scholars fall by the wayside—but it is only the start of many years in the profession. Most studies of gender equity in the academy have

not unreasonably focused on these early career years. Yet more challenges lie ahead for faculty members.

Midcareer is the time in an academic career when family considerations finally take a backseat to professional development. Most faculty who will ever get married have probably already done so. Subsequent to tenure, faculty have been in their jobs for a number of years, so dual-career conflict is usually less problematic than it is for recent Ph.D. recipients seeking their first jobs. Children are likely older, so they don't provide the same sort of challenge that they do for new mothers struggling simultaneously to get tenure and care for infants or toddlers.

Yet female faculty continue to lag behind their male colleagues in various ways. They are less likely to get promoted to the rank of full professor, an inequity that cannot be explained by family formation. Instead, recent research suggests that women sometimes languish in the associate ranks because they take on far more university service than do their male colleagues. Women, especially married women and mothers, are less likely than men to rise to the top of the heap to become college presidents. Female professors make far less money than do their male colleagues, and this inequity is exacerbated by children. Each child in the family incrementally decreases female wages but has no effect on male faculty's salaries.

One bit of good news is the salutary effects of marriage in the midcareer years. Marriage substantially increases the chances of promotion to full professor for both men and women. Both sexes also enjoy higher salaries when married, although men predictably receive much greater financial benefits from marriage than do women. These results are fully consistent with the broader scholarly literature on marriage. Marriage has benefits for men and women in all careers, and academics do not seem to be any different in their midcareer years.

Academic retirement is the only major transition or outcome explored in this book that doesn't seem to be gendered. Male and female faculty retire later than most Americans and at equal rates. Family considerations affect all retirement-age faculty in predictable ways. Married faculty retire sooner, presumably to spend time with their spouses, while faculty parents retire later, presumably because children are expensive.