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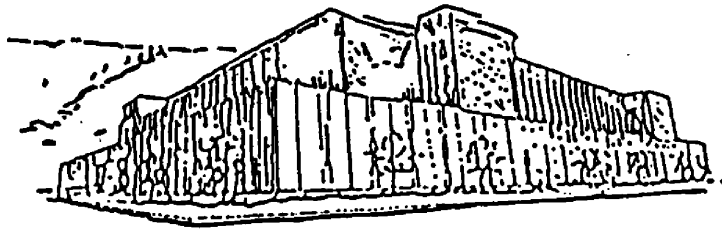
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THE CHANGING STATUS OF FACULTY WOMEN
IN PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES IN THE NORTHERN ROCKIES AND DEEP SOUTH:
1900 TO 1990

by

Jill McCorkle Vahl

B.S. The University of Tennessee, 1990

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Science

The University of Montana

1998

Approved by:



Chairperson



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The Changing Status Faculty Women in Public Universities in the Northern Rockies and Deep South: 1900 to 1990 (120 pp.)

Director: Paul B. Wilson



This study examines regional variations in the advancement of female faculty members in the Rocky Mountain Northwest and the Deep South since the turn of the century. Two methods of gathering information were used. Faculty listings in university catalogs between 1900 and 1990 provided historical facts, while a questionnaire helped establish current trends for faculty members from each of the universities studied.

Faculty listings between 1900 and 1990 revealed some variation between the two regions. In addition, women in both regions differed greatly from their male counterparts. The schools in the Rocky Mountain Northwest accepted more women as professors and instructors in the early part of the century than did the three schools in the South. Women were not well represented in the Deep South faculties until after World War II.

Responses to the questionnaire showed that female faculty in the Deep South were, on the average, younger and less experienced than those from the Rocky Mountain Northwest. This may be one reason that the women in the South are not as well represented in the higher ranks of professor and associate professor. The age difference between male and female faculty is much greater in the South than in the Northwest.

Overall, the Southern female faculty members who responded to the survey were less mobile, more likely have married with less education, and were more likely to have children than the Northwestern female faculty. There were two instances in which the women from both regions were similar. The percentage of women faculty was found to be inversely proportional to rank, although the opposite was true for the men. Finally, over fifty percent of the women from both regions said they had experienced discrimination in some form.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history of our nation, women have concerned themselves with the obvious differences in gender roles. This concern was the basis of a movement that developed in the mid-1800s among upper class women. It did not have much momentum until the latter part of the century with the coming of industrialization. During this time the mechanization of many tasks that had been the responsibility of women left them idle, which in turn left them free to focus upon societal problems and social change. This was particularly true of middle class women who began to join women's clubs and organizations in large numbers. One of the largest and most powerful was the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which set about trying to rid society of its evils.

Because of the nature of these organizations, women became more aware of their restricted place in society, otherwise known as woman's sphere. The term "woman's sphere" is often used when discussing traditional women's roles that generally kept the woman inside the house. If women wanted to work outside the home, the jobs typically available to her were those she normally did in her own home such as cooking, cleaning, sewing or childcare. Nancy Cott discussed this concept in depth in her book *The Bonds of Womanhood*. The idea of separate spheres ultimately influenced an individual's action and experience in the nineteenth century. This ideology accompanied the growth of industrialization and helped justify the shift in the structure of the family from a family economy based on agriculture to an economy of waged work. Many women's historians,

however, believe this idea of separate spheres was largely a white middle-class phenomena and that blacks, the white working class and the poor were ignored in this construct.¹

Early feminists recognized these separate spheres and set out to raise women's status within them by focusing on gender differences. Some women began to reject the male dominated society as a blatant confinement of women. They felt it necessary to break the bonds that confined them to domestic roles and to reach for greater mobility and freedom.² Many women felt the key to freedom was an education equal to that of men. Women's seminaries of the mid 1800's gradually became women's colleges. Eventually women were admitted to formerly all-male schools. However, the main curriculum for women in those early days was concentrated in language, literature and domestic science. The hard sciences remained virtually closed to women.³

In the last twenty five years, women's rights along with other women's issues have received an increasing amount of attention with the sexual revolution and near ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Still, not all of the issues of women's rights have been resolved. Despite all of the battles fought by women in the last 150 years, many women still feel they are not receiving the same considerations as men in the work force, the military, politics, or any other arena one might mention. Granted, there are a few areas in the service sector generally considered woman's domain where women are the reluctant majority. Nursing, teaching, clerical work and social work are all typically low paying women's jobs

¹ Kathleen Weiler, "Women's History and the History of Women Teachers," Journal of Education 171, no. 3, 1989: 13-15.

² Anne Firor Scott, Making the Invisible Woman Visible (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 200.

³ Jill Conway, The Female Experience in the 18th and 19th Century America: A Guide to the History of American Women (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982), xvii.

that take a backseat to the male dominated corps of doctors, lawyers, CEO's and to some extent, professors. This paper will focus upon one profession, college professors, and trace women's success in claiming their position among men in this area.

Regarding the entry of women into college, some scholars believe that the early coeducational colleges and midwestern universities that began admitting women in the mid-nineteenth century did so for economic reasons and did not encourage women to break free from their secondary roles already defined by society.⁴ In the South prior to the Civil War, it was the development of public schools and the need for teachers that aided the campaign for higher education for women.⁵ In the past private schools and academies drew heavily on teachers from the North, but with growing hostility over the slavery issue, many southerners felt the need to train southern people to teach in local schools. It was not until after the Civil War that women's colleges were founded based on the model of men's eastern colleges. Women were then able to obtain proper intellectual training to overcome their narrowly defined roles.⁶ During the 1890's a unique generation of female graduates emerged. They were determined to overcome the confines of the woman's sphere and use their education in professional roles. They rejected conventional marriage (60 to 70 percent remained single) and developed professional roles for themselves instead of using their education to simply become better wives and mothers.⁷

⁴ Sally Schwager, "Educating Women in America," in Reconstructing the Academy: Women's Education and Women's Studies, ed. Elizabeth Minnich, Jean O'Barr, and Rachel Rosenfeld (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 182.

⁵ Fletcher Melvin Green, Democracy in the Old South (Nashville, TN.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969),

⁶ Schwager, 182.

⁷ Schwager, 183.

Patricia Albjerg Graham provides interesting numbers on women's participation in higher education. In 1920 women undergraduates made up 47% of the college population in America, while in 1970 their numbers had dropped to 38%. By 1976 the numbers rebounded to 45%. As of 1930 the percent of female professors, instructors and college presidents was hovering at a record 32.5% of the total, but began to decline until 1960. These figures are interesting, but the state of the Union must be taken into consideration as it varied since the turn of the century.⁸ It was during the 1960s that the so-called "Sexual Revolution" began and women and their organizations initiated a push for equality in the workforce. They felt they should have equal representation and equal pay. This, in part, helped spur the increase of women professors in colleges and universities for three decades. In 1930 when the percent of women professors was at a record high, the Great Depression hit and virtually forced women out of the workplace. All available jobs were given to men because it was believed men needed the jobs more than women. Other historical events also affected the percentage of women professors. For instance, there were two World Wars and the Korean and Vietnam Wars that took men out of the universities, leaving the door open for women.

The low number of women in academia can be linked to quotas and money. Quotas have been present in many institutions of higher learning throughout history. They often limited female entrants by requiring higher test scores from women than from men or by allotting a select number of female dormitory rooms for certain departments or units of the school.⁹ The passage of Title IX¹⁰ in 1972 eliminated this sort of discrimination on a large

⁸ Patricia Albjerg Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education", *Signs* 3, no. 4 (Summer 1978): 764, 766.

⁹ Mariam K. Chamberlain, *Women in Academe: Progress and Prospects* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1988), 209.

scale. Among other things, schools were required by law to have the same admission standards for both men and women.

Another major factor affecting the number of women in college has been money, or women's access to it. The early women's colleges were often supported by churches and did not have the kind of funding that men's colleges had. After the Civil War there was not enough money to support schools for both genders, so co-education began to grow among the state universities. When women were finally permitted to attend universities alongside men, only the wealthier families could afford to send their daughters to school. The poor families sent only male children, believing that the males would make the most economic use of this educational investment. This did not change until the 1960s when women gained greater access to financial aid. Since then women attending universities have been more likely to be from less financially secure families than their male counterparts.¹¹ One disadvantage of financial aid was that disproportionate amounts of federal aid at the graduate level was directed toward mathematics, engineering and the natural sciences. This aid amounted to less for the social sciences and even less than that for the humanities and education. Ironically, the latter fields were the ones with a higher proportion of females.

Except for the women's colleges founded in the mid 1800's, men have generally accounted for the majority of the faculty in coed universities. To this day women are still not adequately represented on university faculties, especially in the more prestigious universities. Some studies have shown that as the prestige of a university increases, the number of women

¹⁰ Title IX passed in 1972 and went into effect in 1974. It is an amendment to the Higher Education Act of 1965, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Public Law 874 and the Eighty-first Congress to prohibit discrimination in education based on sex.

¹¹ Chamberlain, 210.

faculty actually decreases.¹² The women who are present on university faculties are generally concentrated in the lower ranks of instructor or assistant professor. How does this translate to the average state schools that have been virtually co-educational since their inception? How have the percentages of women in various fields changed over time and how have these figures changed based on the state of the Union at specific moments in this country's history? How has the concentration of women at each rank changed over time and does it differ regionally? These are but a few of the questions that this study will investigate.

Regional differences concerning women in higher education are important as well. While much information is available on women's firsts in education and various professions, very little is written concerning overall regional differences in women's higher education. Because behavior and characteristics vary by region, there is reason to believe that women's access to higher education, as students and as professors, varies as well. Does the participation of women in various fields change between regions? Does the likelihood of women becoming full professors differ among regions? These questions will be examined in this study, but further investigation may be necessary.

A. Problem Statement

Although teaching has for many years been considered a role for women, teaching at the university level has not. Aside from women's colleges founded in the mid 1800s, men have generally held the vast percentage of professorships in co-ed universities. A regional comparison of women in academia since the turn of the century will demonstrate how successfully women in various fields have come to work on an equal level with men and if their success is determined by geography. To reduce this study to a manageable size, six universities, three from each of two regions in the United

¹² *WIN News*, 1993 v19 n2, p70.

States, will be studied to compare progress made by women in higher education.

Realizing that women make up a slight majority of the population, it is important to analyze how women have been incorporated into a male dominated work force. Each year more and more women are becoming engineers, dentists, and scientists. These are a few of the specialized fields that, until recently, were considered non-traditional roles for women. Although women may never account for 50% of the workforce in all fields due to domestic choices and responsibilities, it is, nevertheless, a valid study to see just what percentage they currently occupy, how those numbers vary between regions, and how the numbers have changed over the years with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment,¹³ two world wars and an ever increasing technological society.

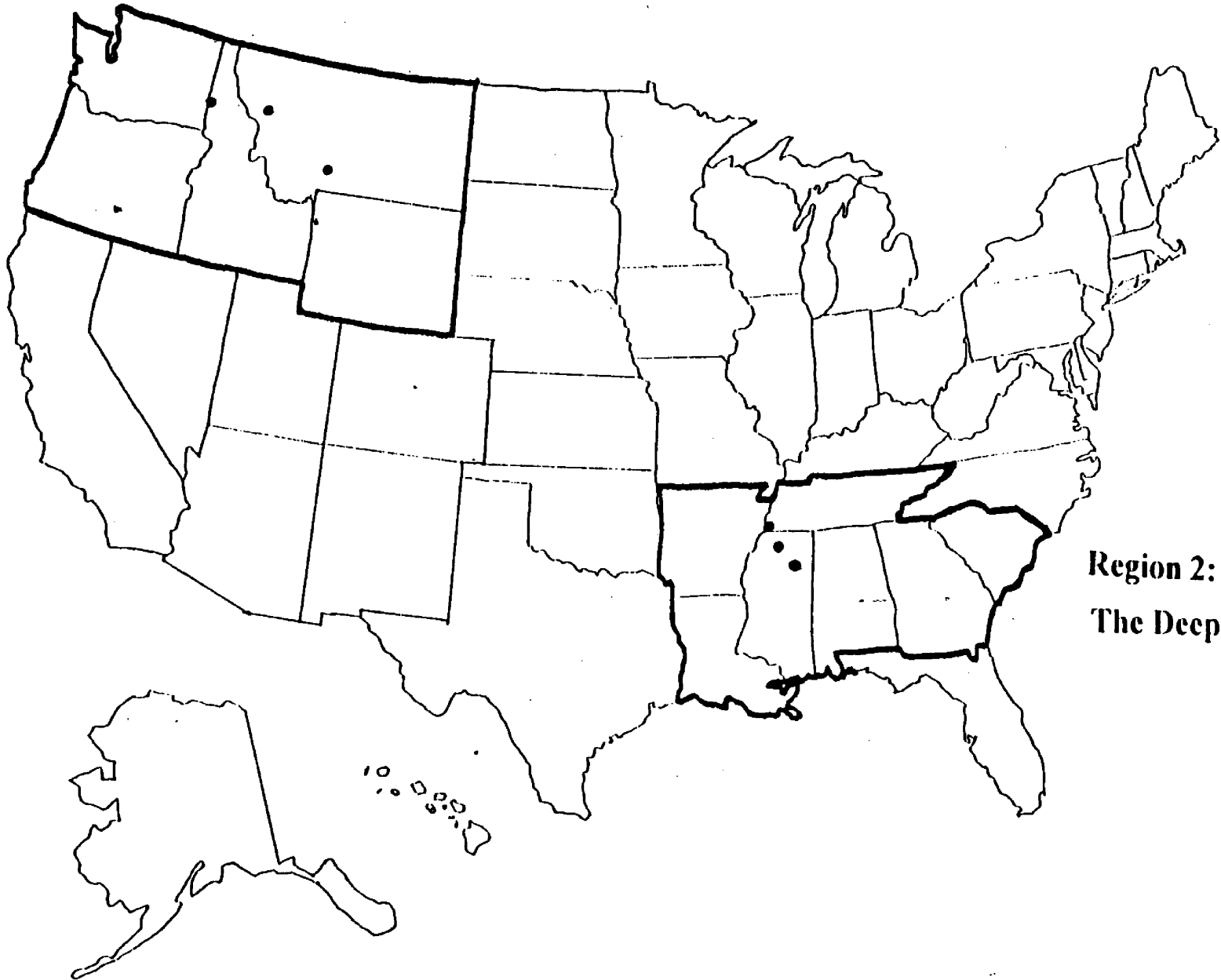
The regions of study will be the Northern Rockies region and the Deep South.¹⁴ From the Rockies, the University of Montana, Montana State University, and the University of Idaho have been chosen for study, while the Deep South will be represented by Mississippi State University, the University of Mississippi, and the University of Memphis.¹⁵ The map on the following page shows the two regions of study while the location of the individual universities used in this study are represented by black dots. These regions were chosen because of perceived differences between them. First, the religious and ethnic groups who settled these regions vary so one might assume the belief systems might also vary. For instance, the vast majority of people in the South claim to be Baptist or Methodist, while the

¹³ The passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 gave women the right to vote, although many western states had already given women that right.

¹⁴ Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, 1992 rev. ed.), 119.

¹⁵ The University of Memphis was known as West Tennessee State Teachers College until the 1930s, and Memphis State University through 1990.

**Region 1:
Rocky Mountain Northwest**



**Region 2:
The Deep South**

West is much more diverse. The Catholic and Mormon religions are strong in the West, but not well represented in the South. These religions are known to have different views on issues that could have affected the way women received an education and pursued careers. Secondly, when the Rocky Mountain region was still an untamed frontier, the South already had a number of well established universities and an extensive agricultural base. The Civil War impacted the South unlike any other area. Its people, land, and economic base were ravaged by the battles that took place throughout the region. The West, by comparison, was virtually untouched.

Ethnic groups by virtue of their religious and cultural beliefs also have an impact upon a region. For example, since 75% of the population in the colonial South was composed of Celtic elements,¹⁶ a set of shared cultural values began to prevail over time. The result was a pastoral economy based on open range herding, avoidance of sustained hard labor, belief in rural hospitality, and an acceptance of personal violence.¹⁷ While this idea is widely contested, it can be argued that these elements provided the basis of the Southern stereotype still held today. The South also has a sizable black population that cannot be found in the Northern Rockies. This large ethnic group has added elements to the Southern culture such as food and music. They are also known for their religious beliefs, largely Baptist, and their close ties to family. The Rocky Mountain region, by contrast, was built by hard labor and required a strong person to withstand the harsh climate and isolation of the area. Many groups who first settled here were from Eastern Europe and brought with them their own

¹⁶ The Celtic elements include people from the British Isles, mainly Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland.

¹⁷ Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris, The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 401.

beliefs. There was and still is a strong Native American population that cannot be left out of the mix. Regional differences such as these may be reflected in the regional differences of women in academia and may help explain women's ability to fill the same academic positions as men.

B. An Overview of the Methods

To analyze the diversification of women in higher education between the two regions, writings specific to women's history and to each region will be used along with questionnaires and university catalogs. Although many books and articles have been written on women's history and, to a lesser extent, women in higher education, very little information is available concerning the regional differences of women in higher education. This lack of regional information suggests such a study is important and perhaps overdue. Questionnaires will be distributed to female professors at each of the six selected universities to determine the degree to which women themselves feel they have been assimilated into a male dominated work place. A select number of male professors will also be asked to respond to the questionnaire so that a comparison may be made between the genders. University catalogs will be scrutinized to determine the trends in women's faculty appointments between 1900 and 1990. This will not only provide numbers and percentages, but also information on women's diversification into non-traditional fields. For instance, around the turn of the century, female professors in coed schools were generally concentrated in a few fields such as home economics, music, nursing, languages and library science. A very limited number were in mathematics, engineering or the physical or biological sciences.

An investigation of several college catalogs will show which fields have had the best representation of women, how quickly women have been accepted into non-traditional academic roles, and if their acceptance varies by region.

While women teachers have been the norm for over a century, they have not been well represented on college campuses. Historically, women were the nurturers and filled the roles of care-givers and home-makers. These skills translated into nurse, teacher and secretary once women ventured into the workforce. Of course there were always women doing work considered out of the ordinary or masculine, but they were not the norm. This study will focus on several questions: Why are women not well represented as university faculty, especially at the upper rank of full professor? Does region have an impact upon a woman's chances in academia? Does the chosen field of study affect the chances, if so, how? These are some of the questions that will be explored in this regional study of women's diversification in academia.

II. Women in America's History

This chapter will discuss women's movements and women's work in America since the Civil War. This is a good place to begin since women prior to the Civil War were not as vocal and organized in their push for equal rights. It was their work during the Civil War that made many women realize that they were capable of earning money and working outside the home. In the aftermath of this war, many changes were taking place in America, changes that proved beneficial in allowing women to move outside of their sphere. These changes will be discussed here along with the changes in women's movements and women's work in the United States.

A. Women's Movements

Throughout history there have been women who defied the roles placed upon them by society, but until the nineteenth century their struggle has not been well documented. The period between the American Revolution and the Civil War was one of great change in American society. During this time of increasing wealth, urbanization and industrialization, many middle class women were allowed the pleasure of more education and leisure time.¹⁸ For Southern women whose social lives revolved around the church, what better place to organize and try to make the world a better place? Both Baptist and Methodist churches of the South inadvertently boosted women's self worth

¹⁸ Gerda Lerner, *The Woman in American History* (Menlo Park, Ca.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1971), 29.

by allowing them some participation in fundraising and missionary work.¹⁹ Eventually women began to demand more versatility and independence.

Although women's sphere was largely considered to be in the home, the concept of "home" eventually expanded to include anywhere women and children were.²⁰ The argument that the schoolroom was a continuation of the family could be used to justify the experience of teaching for young women who would teach for a few years before marrying. By defining teaching as a kind of nurturance natural to women, it was seen as work *not really* in the public sphere.²¹

After the Civil War, women began to use the premise that theirs was the better, gentler sex with moral superiority, all of which are qualities well suited to infiltrate the man's world of power. Women who had kept the homes pure now believed it was their duty to purify the world. They claimed that the needs of society were too great for them selfishly to stay home.²² They began to address reform issues such as prohibition of alcoholic beverages, ending prostitution, improvement of prisons, pure food laws, child labor, public sewers, tax reform, public utilities, vocational training, free libraries, public transportation, parks and recreation, and the preservation of historical landmarks. Although most of the issues addressed by the women were political and economic, they almost always approached the reforms on the basis of morality.²³ More and more

¹⁹ Ibid., 199.

²⁰ Kathleen Weiler. "Women's History and the History of Women Teachers," Journal of Education 171, no.3, 1989: p. 15.

²¹ Ibid., 17.

²² Carol Hymowitz and Michaela Weissman, A History of Women in America (NY: Bantam Books, Inc., 1978), 218.

²³ Ibid., 219.

women were joining clubs, most with social agendas to fight for one or more reform issues.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was one of the largest and most popular clubs formed by women. It grew out of their desire to bring drunken men back to virtuous paths. Not only did women recognize many problems in families where alcohol had taken over, but they saw drinking as a double standard, since it was not "ladylike" for women to drink. The WCTU grew rapidly in the 1880's. Three southern states organized conventions: Louisiana in 1881, North Carolina in 1883, and Mississippi in 1889.²⁴ Soon women were developing educational programs on the psychological effects of alcohol, which provided a good beginning for health education in public schools. This contact with social problems made women want to make a change in society and in the schools. This desire for change is what eventually led them into politics.²⁵

In the early years of the women's rights movement, the push for women's education centered around the desire to have intelligent, capable mothers rearing intelligent, capable children. Most women advocates agreed that the education of women must include more than frivolous accomplishments such as etiquette and the arts.²⁶ It was not until after the Civil War, when numerous women had experienced working outside the home, that women activists began to promote the education of women for future careers.²⁷

²⁴ Lerner, 205.

²⁵ Ibid., 207.

²⁶ Patricia Smith Butcher, Education for Equality (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1989), 18.

²⁷ Ibid., 21.

Western states overall had never known legal discrimination against women at its worst. Women generally had property rights and could vote long before their sisters in the South and East. Virtual equality before the law had been part of western states' constitutions when some were admitted to the Union. In order to more rapidly populate its Western territories, the leaders of the United States knew it was in the best interest of the country to allow more freedoms to the women who had helped settle the area. That, combined with the ensuing pioneer conditions, allowed progress to be made more rapidly than in the East where society was more stratified and where religious concepts concerning women's inferiority were more difficult to cast off.

The Territory of Wyoming was the first to accept suffrage, but it came about so quietly that very little was known about the events leading up to it until the battle was over. In the late 1860's the Territory was just taking shape and was unencumbered by any existing legal impediments. Statehood was won in 1890 and Wyoming became the first full suffrage state. By this time, nineteen states had already adopted "school suffrage" which allowed widows with school age children to vote on school issues, and three other states had granted tax and bond suffrage.²⁸ While conditions did vary from state to state, the greatest area of backwardness was in the South.²⁹

Although women were fighting for suffrage across the United States with varied success, the suffrage issue in the South was complicated by the race issue. With such a large number of black women in that region, the men were reluctant to grant women the right to vote. When Jeanette Rankin of Montana, the first woman representative in

²⁸ Ibid., 179.

²⁹ Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 235.

Congress, introduced the suffrage amendment on the floor of the house, the roll call was close. The final tally was 274 to 136, exactly one vote more than the required two-thirds majority needed.³⁰ When the amendment finally passed through the Senate a year and a half later, only four of the Southern states approved it: Texas in June of 1919, Arkansas in July, followed by Kentucky and Tennessee in January and August of 1920 respectively.³¹ Tennessee's ratification was the thirty-sixth, allowing the amendment to become part of the US Constitution.

B. Women and Work

For many years in the South, women were, in the opinion of some men, similar to the slaves in that women should not go against the wishes of men. Just as Southern men thought the slaves were better off on the plantation, so too did they think women were better off in the home.³² White men believed that women, like the slaves, were not capable of living independently. When war came, however, women were forced to clothe and feed the army as well as civilians, nurse the sick, run the plantations, and supervise the slaves. Doing this type of work during the war years made women realize that they were able to do business, make their own decisions and assert themselves in various ways.

When the Civil War began, women were not readily accepted as nurses, even though there was a serious shortage of people available to fill that position. At this time

³⁰ Hymowitz and Weissman, 283.

³¹ Handbook of American Women's History, eds. Angela Howard Zophy with Frances M. Kavenik, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, vol. 696, 1990, p. 584.

³² Anne Firor Scott, Making the Invisible Woman Visible (Urbana, IL.: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 176.

in America's history, hospital nursing was seen as employment for the lower classes only, and preferably male.³³ The men in the army often preferred unskilled male nurses as opposed to skilled female nurses. However, necessity soon forced them to overcome this prejudice. This movement of women into the position of hospital nurse was aided by the recent, and much admired, role of Florence Nightingale, a respectable woman of high social standing in Britain. It was, after all, the women who eventually brought some sense of order and cleanliness to the filth and chaos in army hospitals.³⁴ What Southern women called nursing, however, might better be described as hospital work, since the work might range from simply visiting and reading to the sick to actual hands-on care of wounded soldiers.³⁵ In reality, most of the high class women served as nurses only intermittently, if at all. Those who worried about performing their Christian duty felt it was enough to send provisions or visit the wards and read the Bible. Most wanted to avoid the hardships associated with a long term commitment.³⁶

Other work was available for women of the South during the Civil War. A number were employed by the War Department and the Post Office, but the Treasury Department offered the largest number of jobs to women. These women were enlisted to sign the many Confederate banknotes by hand and help cut the sheets on which they were printed. There is some suspicion that this department work was allocated on the basis of class since most of the women receiving these positions were the elite.³⁷ However, the

³³ Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996.), 92.

³⁴ Hymowitz and Weissman, 141.

³⁵ Faust, 102.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 109.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 88.

positions at the Treasury did require elegant handwriting, so those with education clearly had an advantage.

Women without a fashionable education could find other work with the government, but were not as well paid. Seamstresses for the Clothing Bureau were abundant, sewing clothing as well as arsenal cartridges. Any type of government department work was frowned upon as it was work outside the home. Teaching was often thought to be a slightly better alternative for women who needed income during the war.³⁸

Financial necessity is what forced Southern women to take jobs outside the home. While the industry in the North made it acceptable for women there to work for wages, the South's agricultural base kept most women in the home. Teaching was one of the first occupations women turned to because it seemed most closely related to women's traditional roles as nurturers and instructors of their young. Prior to the Civil War, women accounted for a small percentage of teachers in the South, but by the end of the conflict, there were often as many women as men teaching in some states.³⁹

Women who helped settle the West were, in a sense, like the Southern women during the Civil War. They were forced into various types of work in order to survive. Many men died on the long trail west, others in the gold rush fields. Because most women did not have extended families to fall back on, they were forced to take jobs in order to survive. Although most of these women were technically 'unskilled', they soon realized they could get paid for the type of work they had already been doing in the

³⁸ Ibid., 90.

³⁹ Ibid., 82.

home for free, such as cooking and cleaning. Mining towns and military posts were hotspots for women laundresses and cooks because women were so scarce on the frontier. Some women who had helped or watched their husbands work often took over when they died. These jobs might be in banking, newspaper printing, or running a general store.⁴⁰

Not all women who came West did so with a husband, however. Women who recognized the opportunities presented by the scarcity of their sex on the frontier were able to break free of conventional society. The Homestead Act of 1862 enticed single women as well as men West with the equal opportunity to become landowners. Such laws promoting Western expansion sparked a rash of marriages for reasons other than romance. For example, the Donation Land Act of 1850 in Oregon Territory entitled a husband and wife to double the land a single man could claim.⁴¹ A wife also meant an extra pair of hands and the possibility of children who could help with the necessary improvements required on a claim. Whether the women were trailblazers seeking a new life and freedom, or reluctant travelers leaving family and friends at the husband's demand, the West offered opportunities to women that were not to be found in the East.

The number of working women grew steadily. By 1900 there were five million female wage earners in the United States, making up twenty percent of the nation's work force. Two million of these women were domestics in private homes, but factory work was also a very common job for women. Both types of employment required women to

⁴⁰ Joan Swallow Reiter, *The Women*, from the Old West series of Time-Life Books (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, Inc., 1978).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 40.

work long days for very little pay.⁴² Discrimination was rampant. Women always received less pay, often one-third to one-half less, than men even when doing the same job. Usually women were sectioned off into lower paying 'female' jobs and treated as temporary workers by the employers, unions, and the public because they often left their job when they married or became pregnant. Those women who remained for longer periods were likely to be recent immigrants, usually married but too poor to stop working.⁴³

As the white collar sector began to grow after World War I, new immigration laws became more restrictive. Without a steady stream of immigrants to fill the labor pool, businesses turned to women in order to meet their labor needs. By 1930, women were still twenty-five percent of the workforce, but had become concentrated in so-called pink-collar jobs such as office workers, saleswomen, waitresses, and hairdressers instead of factory and domestic labor.⁴⁴ When women moved into the office, however, they accepted lower pay than men and the status previously assigned to clerical workers declined. Men who originally filled these positions now became more prestigious accountants, personnel managers, and junior executives. The typewriter and telephone came to be considered to be "women's machines."⁴⁵ Things changed with the coming of the Great Depression. Women were replaced by men, usually white, who "needed the

⁴² Hymowitz and Weissman, 234.

⁴³ Ibid., 303.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 302.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 303-304.

jobs more.” Employment opportunities were so slim in 1932 that deans in many colleges were advising women graduates not to seek careers.⁴⁶

By the end of the decade, President Roosevelt developed the New Deal laws to help regulate labor. Unions began to grow and gather women, especially in the textile industry, an area where women represented the majority of workers. The Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) was designed to enforce the new labor laws, but the was defeated in the South, where a majority of the textile industry had relocated. Southern bosses ignored the New Deal laws, fired union members, evicted them from company housing and hired vigilantes to break strikes. In 1939, the TWUA represented less than ten percent of Southern mill workers. Women continued to get unequal treatment from the very unions that agreed to represent them and even as late as the 1970s, women in Southern factories were still struggling to form unions.⁴⁷

It was the Second World War that altered women’s place in the workforce more radically than any other event in the twentieth century. The six million women who took paying jobs during the war pushed the proportion of working women to thirty-six percent, up from twenty-five. Because they were desperately needed, women gained higher wages and better working conditions. It was not uncommon for women who switched from sales, office or manufacturing jobs to production in heavy industry to double their wages.⁴⁸ At this point in time public attitude appeared to change. The government and the media embarked on an unprecedented effort to encourage women to enter the work

⁴⁶ Ibid., 307.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 309.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 312.

force. This effort, if only temporary, caused a greater change in women's economic status than fifty years of feminist rhetoric.⁴⁹

Although World War II did produce unprecedented changes in women's numerical representation in the labor force, discrimination continued in professional employment, wage scales, and community services.⁵⁰ In 1951, a survey of industries showed that wherever women constituted more than fifty percent of the laborers, the industry paid a wage that fell below the national average. There was little reason to believe that any change had occurred in the assumption that women's work was worth less than men's.⁵¹ This belief is still alive today, and will be discussed in a later chapter.

Even after the War, change continued in women's employment. In an effort to win the Cold War, the National Manpower Council published a report on the importance of women to the war industry. It emphasized the extent to which a nation's strength and security depends upon its manpower resources, and noted that the more educated a woman is, the more likely she is to work.⁵² Compared to the Soviet Union, the United States had little value for women's abilities. For example, in engineering one quarter of all Soviet engineers were women compared to a mere one percent in America.⁵³

By the end of the 1960s, over forty percent of all women held jobs, although most were not executive type positions. This figure included a substantial number of middle-class women and approximately fifty percent of mothers with children of school age. By

⁴⁹ William Henry Chafe. *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 135.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁵² Rosenberg, 162.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 163.

growing up with examples of women who combined outside employment with marriage, young girls began to learn about self-reliance.⁵⁴ As late as 1980, however, half of all married women continued to work as housewives and believed that role to be more satisfying than the most likely alternatives of factory work or service jobs.⁵⁵

Chafe, 234, 235.
Ibid., 221.

III. WOMEN IN EDUCATION

Not every field of education has always welcomed the presence of women as students or faculty. The following is a discussion of the obstacles women have had to overcome in their quest for higher education and how they have managed to change deeply held beliefs of women's education. Because the changes were not always sweeping changes that occurred simultaneously across America, it is necessary to look at the regional differences in women's education also.

A. Regional Differences

As any student of geography knows, regions of the United States are used to categorize many types of information. Population density, topography, climate, income, even dialects can be mapped according to regional differences. For this study the regional information to be studied is female professors in the Northern Rocky Mountains and the Deep South. Because people's ideas and social values vary among regions, it is logical to believe that women's opportunities in education may vary also.

The West has often been viewed as the land of opportunity where anything is possible. While it is true that frontier women often had to take on typical male roles to support themselves and their families, women's total emancipation on the frontier did not come easily. Once a community was firmly established, the social conventions of the East were once again adopted. The belief that home was the only proper place for a woman was a firm conviction of many. Although women in the West were the first to gain voting and property rights, it can be said that it was in men's best interest to grant

them these rights. In Utah, for instance, the second state to give women the right to vote, the Mormon men saw women as a way to guarantee their religious freedom.⁵⁶ Because polygamy was still being widely practiced among Mormons in Utah, Mormon men believed they could control the vote since they, in essence, controlled the women. This would allow them to continue practicing their religion as they saw fit.

The same can be said for permitting women in state universities and colleges. While the West can claim to have had the majority of co-educational universities in the late 1800s, many of these institutions did not have enough qualified students to be called much more than preparatory schools. The limited pool of students left colleges competing for higher enrollments in order to gain enough funding to survive. This competition forced many of the colleges to accept students of any level, even if some had not progressed beyond high school.⁵⁷ Although women were fighting for equal education, co-education in the late nineteenth century may have been nothing more than a financial necessity that was amplified as a result of the Civil War.

“The South is by far the largest of the three primordial Anglo-American culture areas and also the most aberrant of any with respect to national norms. Indeed the South has been so distinct from the non-South in almost every observable or quantifiable feature and so fiercely jealous of its peculiarities that for some years the question of whether it could maintain political and social unity with the non-South was in serious doubt. Only during the 20th century can one argue for a decisive convergence with the rest of the nation at least in economic behavior and material culture.”⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 191.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁵⁸ Wilbur Zelinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States* rev. ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992), 122.

The plantation system of the South prior to the Civil War made the development of public school systems difficult. Plantation owners often brought in private tutors for their own children, but voluntary action of other groups or individuals helped establish “Old Field Schools” that were convenient to boys and girls in an area.⁵⁹ Illiteracy was very high among Southern men and women at this time. As late as 1900, the illiteracy rates in the South were double that of the United States’ average.⁶⁰ Even today the South as a whole remains at the bottom of the literacy scale relative to the rest of the United States.

After the Civil War the idea remained that education for the masses was a luxury, not a necessity and it was the responsibility of the individual, not the state, to provide this education. Public education in the post-Civil War South had many other strikes against it. With the destruction of the farms during the war, taxable assets were limited. Southern families were larger than the national average at this time and some eighty percent of the school-age children resided in rural areas. If this were not enough, the newly freed black population added another burden to the educational system. Then, of course, the insistence upon separate systems for the two races added even more financial and administrative problems.⁶¹

After the turn of the century, a great awareness of the need for educational reform took place in the South. However, in education, as in other arenas, this reform did not

⁵⁹ Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women’s Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*, (New York: WW Norton and Co., 1972), 185.

⁶⁰ Amy Thompson McCandless, “Progressivism and the Higher Education of Southern Women,” *The North Carolina Historical Review* 70, no.3,303.

⁶¹ Monroe Lee Billington, *The American South*, (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1971), 278.

touch everyone equally. Race, gender and class were major factors that determined the extent of reform.⁶² Because it was believed that the educational institutions were for those with wealth, educational opportunities for most Southerners were lacking and women were all but forgotten.

It was an interest in economic reform following the Civil War that spurred major developments in education in the South. Southern Progressives believed that with the introduction of industry and the diversification of agriculture, the region's poverty could be alleviated. For this to occur they had to look to the public colleges and universities for knowledge. Education at this point was seen as a means to improve society not the individual.⁶³ The ensuing effort to build an educational system with inadequate resources and in the face of indifference, apathy and outright resistance had the overtones of a religious crusade. This crusade was aided not only by northern money, but northerners who came to teach the newly freed blacks.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the problems that plagued public schooling were no different for the institutes of higher learning. The Southern colleges that began to flourish thirty years prior to the Civil War were unable to reopen immediately after the war due to poor finances and lack of both students and qualified faculty. By 1900, however, new industrialization in the South had helped improve the financial situation of both public and private institutions. Education was beginning to be valued in this region more than it ever had in the past and the campaign for women's education was gaining momentum. As institutions of higher learning began

⁶² McCandless, 302.

⁶³ Ibid., 303.

⁶⁴ Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 111.

to prosper, the number of denominational colleges that had developed in the South reflected the strong religious tone of southern society.⁶⁵

B. The Early Years: Civil War Era through World War II

While the original force behind the establishment of colleges in America was the desire to have an educated clergy,⁶⁶ it was recognized that there were other needs for educated people as well. Law, medicine, and teaching were popular fields of study even though the majority of institutions of higher learning were mainly church funded until after the Civil War.⁶⁷ Of course these fields were originally open to men only. The girls' schools at this time were largely designed for teaching the social graces, ensuring that the young women were accomplished in music, art, or French and Latin.⁶⁸ This, at least, insured literacy. As the nation grew and expanded westward, colleges were built to accommodate those who had made their homes on the prairies and beyond the Rocky Mountains. It was here on the frontier during the end of the nineteenth century that women first began to study the same curricula as men.

In the 1890s and early 1900s, as women were fighting for their right to equal education, research on sex differences began to thrive. During this time female graduate students in psychology at Columbia University and the University of Chicago developed intelligence tests confirming that the intellectual capabilities of men and women differed

⁶⁵ Billington, 285-287.

⁶⁶ Mabel Newcomer, A Century of Higher Education for Women (New York: Harper Brothers Publishers, 1959), 5.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

only slightly.⁶⁹ These tests provided some of the first evidence that education would not harm women, either mentally or physically, as was formerly maintained.

Georgia Female College is accepted by some authorities as having been of college grade and thus the first women's college in the country. Closer inspection, however, shows that the Georgia Female College and other early female colleges had lower admission standards and only offered a three-year degree while the men's colleges of the time were on a four-year degree program.⁷⁰

Higher education for women was not necessarily limited to women's institutions, however. Oberlin accepted women in its collegiate department in 1837, and the University of Iowa opened in 1855 with four of their 89 students being women.⁷¹ After the Civil War state universities opened up rapidly to women because of the growth of the public school system and the competition between institutes of higher education for students.⁷² Also, most state universities could not afford to have separate institutions for men and women so many began to admit women into their systems. In the 1870s co-education at state universities became the norm, except in the South where single sex education prevailed.⁷³ Unfortunately, the lack of public subsidies and private endowments for women's colleges made it much more expensive for parents to educate their daughters than their sons.

⁶⁹ Glenda Riley, *Inventing the American Woman* (Arlington Heights, IL.: Harlan Davidson Inc., 1986), 41.

⁷⁰ Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, vol. 2 (NY: The Science Press, 1929), 171.

⁷¹ Newcomer, 12.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 14.

⁷³ Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1985) 47.

The growth in public schools in the South meant a growth in the demand for teachers. Because women were already teaching in the women's schools, it was no great leap for them to step into the role of public school teacher.⁷⁴ In North Carolina, however, many women were interested in teaching, but there were no provisions at the schools to educate them.⁷⁵ Many Southern states soon opened public women's colleges and normal schools. Teacher training programs were popular since women who agreed to teach for two years after graduation often received free tuition.⁷⁶ Initially it was difficult for these schools to offer a four year degree program because few communities provided even the eight years of elementary education, much less the four years of high school commonly found in the Northeast. Because of this, most of the state women's institutions accepted women who had completed the schooling available in their hometowns.⁷⁷

Other problems affected these institutions for women. A large number of the female students receiving scholarships and the availability of room and board at cost caused many of the women's colleges to be constantly short of funds.⁷⁸ While this shortage of funds was a problem for both public and private institutes of higher learning, it often forced these schools to admit as many fee paying students as possible, qualified or not. While the private schools generally had students from wealthier families than the public schools, their academic backgrounds were equally poor. Organizing preparatory

⁷⁴ Newcomer, 14

⁷⁵ McCandless, 304.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 310.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 311.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 313.

schools and diluting the requirements for the baccalaureate degree were ways in which the schools tried to compensate for the educational deficiencies of their students.⁷⁹

Although these normal schools were small and inadequate, they were vital in that they provided the first systematic training to prepare women for remunerative work. While they were primarily vocation, they did provide enough general education to spark an interest in able and ambitious young women. Gradually a small group of educated and influential women was built. Many of these women were among the first group of female lawyers, doctors, and college professors.⁸⁰

Although welcomed as teachers, women were paid less than half of what their male counterparts received. Women moved into various professions during the Civil War, but teaching was the only area that required much education. Nursing could be mentioned, but this profession accounted for only .5% of the women workers.⁸¹ After the Civil War men returned to their jobs, but many women did not want to give up their paying jobs. Families needed all of the income available and for women, teaching was one of the few acceptable types of employment that remained.

As mentioned previously, reformers in the South believed that the expansion of industry and agriculture was key in rebuilding the South. In 1916 the Smith-Hughes Act expanded the teaching of improved farming and homemaking practices to the lower schools. As a consequence, the demand for teachers trained in home economics soared and home economics departments at the state and normal colleges of the South were

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 316.

⁸⁰ Scott, 114.

⁸¹ Newcomer, 17.

established.⁸² This led to improved opportunities for women of the South, as they were expected to return to their communities and teach the new techniques they had learned in food science and home-making.

The numbers and percentages of women in higher education have always fluctuated, but by 1930 the number of female professors and instructors was up to a record 32.5%.⁸³ This was followed by a sharp decline, undoubtedly as a result of the Great Depression when few could afford the luxury of a college education. Then came World War II that put men into battle and six million more women into the work force. The impact of these two momentous events on women in higher education is evidenced in the fact that between 1925 and 1945 American medical schools placed a 5% quota on female admissions.

C. The Middle Years: Post World War II through 1970 (Title IX)

The desire to regain a sense of normalcy immediately following the war helped create a particularly conservative social climate that was reflected by the baby boom. Women began to marry at a younger age. By the end of the 1950s the average woman was married before she was twenty. The number of women with three children doubled and those with four tripled.⁸⁴ Marrying at such a young age usually meant that the young women were less interested in attending college than women of previous decades. The numerous women who married young and had several children generally gave up any

⁸² McCandless, 310.

⁸³ Patricia Albjerg Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education", *Signs* 3 no. 4 (Summer 1978): 759-73.

⁸⁴ Hymowitz and Weissman, 326.

hopes of furthering their education. Although the numbers of both men and women who attended college rose, the actual proportion of women declined in relation to men. By the mid-1950s, 60% of all college women dropped out to marry before earning a degree.⁸⁵

In the 1960s, the trend changed once again. As the number of female students in the colleges and universities increased, so did the demand for female professors. While there is a tendency for the social composition of a faculty to follow that of the students, it takes only four years to replace a student body, but up to thirty years to replace a faculty.⁸⁶ Perhaps it was this slow process combined with the political tension of the decade that provided the impetus for passage of Title IX⁸⁷. Women were teaching at universities and dispersed throughout the fields of study, but some areas seemed to be more difficult to enter than others. The hard sciences had the fewest female faculty members overall. Agriculture and animal science, the biological sciences, chemistry and physics, architecture, geography, geology, and law were virtually without female representation at that time in the schools selected for this study. Wages were still unequal for men and women who performed the same jobs and women faculty were concentrated in the lower echelons. In 1970, the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) filed a complaint of sex discrimination against 300 colleges and universities. The schools were threatened with the loss of federal funding unless they began to hire

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Harold Orlans, "Affirmative Action in Higher Education," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 523 (September 1992): 144-158.

⁸⁷ See Chapter One, footnote 10, page 4 for explanation of Title IX.

and promote more women on their faculties. This same tactic was used against 1300 corporations doing business with the federal government.⁸⁸

D. The Later Years: 1970 to the Present

By the mid 1980s more women than men were attending colleges and universities as undergraduates and one half of all students obtaining master's degrees were women. As of 1989, 52% of all persons enrolled in college were women.⁸⁹ However, the rapid growth of women as students is not reflected by their presence as faculty or staff in the graduate or professional schools that trained them, even allowing for a reasonable time lag. In the academic year beginning in 1986, for example, women accounted for 20.4% of full time faculty in law schools, but women had received more than 40% of the law degrees awarded since 1978.⁹⁰

By the 1980s there had been significant gains in women's wages compared to that of men, but the wage gap was still substantial. Not only were women still being paid less for comparable work, they were still facing discrimination, had less education and less experience than men, all of which contributed to lower wages. Experience was often related to the time a woman spent at home with her children. It was observed that a two to four year break in employment due to child care could lower a woman's earning potential by thirteen percent, while a five year break would affect her earnings by nineteen percent.⁹¹ At this time there was no Family Medical Leave Act or any other

⁸⁸ Hymowitz and Weissman, 346.

⁸⁹ Pearson, Shavlik, and Touchton, Educating the Majority: Women Challenge Tradition in Higher Education (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1989), 17.

⁹⁰ Chamberlain, 213.

⁹¹ Rosenberg, 239.

type of mandated maternity leave to protect women. This lack of maternity leave has had even recent impacts on female professors, as will be seen later in the paper regarding the questionnaire.

According to the 1992-1993 Annual Report on Economic Status of the Profession, one of the most striking changes in academia in the last decade is women's representation in the professorial ranks. Their numbers have increased by over 30% with the biggest change occurring at the tenured ranks of associate and full professor. The report, however, goes on to say that the ratio of women's salaries to the salaries of men has essentially remained unchanged.⁹² Two possible explanations are offered for this discrepancy. First, women have been overwhelmingly represented in lower paid academic fields for decades. It is very likely that as their ratio in higher paid academic fields grew, so did their ratio in the lower paid fields. Therefore, when looking at women's salaries across the board, it appears that women continue to receive less pay and are likely still attracted to those same lower paying fields. Also, the study suggests that discrimination against women in higher education was not wiped out with the passage of Title IX, but is now manifested in disproportionate salaries rather than in general barriers to enter the fields. This may be the case since, as of 1990, women's salaries overall were at a fraction of men's, only 70 percent.⁹³

While in academia women currently account for more than a third of all Ph.D.s, they continue to fall behind men in their rate of tenured positions and salaries. In academia, as in fields such as law and medicine, women must work long hours to stay

⁹² Annual Report on the Economic Status of the Profession: 1992-1993, *Academe: Bulletin of American Association of University Professors* vol. 72 #2 (March/April 1993), 12.

⁹³ Rosenberg, 247.

ahead, as do men. This means less time for family and domestic responsibilities.

Unfortunately, the vast majority of these responsibilities still fall upon women. Work in the home is still considered “women’s work.” Men are actually doing less housework now than they did in 1960, and, because of work and other demands, women are also.⁹⁴

To suggest, however, that all discrimination on the basis of sex was wiped out with the passage of Title IX is ludicrous. One cannot control human behavior and beliefs simply by passing laws. It takes time for people to become accustomed to change. Even today, twenty-five years after the passage of a law to prohibit sex discrimination, discrimination still exists. A large percentage of both female and male respondents to the questionnaire used in this study have indicated that they have encountered some form of discrimination. This will be discussed in a later chapter.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 249.

IV. WOMEN IN ACADEMIA FROM 1900 TO THE PRESENT: REGIONAL VARIATIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to determine regional variations among female faculty members from each of the two regions chosen for study. To accomplish this goal the percentage of female faculty members from each of the six schools will be analyzed using faculty listings from the university catalogs for every decade since 1900. Also, the change in the concentration of women in each discipline over the same time period will be studied. The figures will be tabulated by region and by university so that comparisons may be made both intra-regionally and inter-regionally.

A. Methodology

As stated in the introduction, university catalogs from each of the selected universities were the major source of information used in determining women's concentration among the ranks, their diversification into each field of study, and how both have changed over time. Using data for every year since the turn of the century would not have been feasible because the amount of information produced would have been huge. Therefore, this study focused on data for every tenth year since 1900. The first step was to gather catalogs for each decade since 1900 from each of the six universities. Those from the University of Montana and Montana State University were the easiest to locate, since both were held in the archives of the Mansfield Library at the University of Montana. The earliest catalogs with faculty listings from each of these two schools were dated 1903. These were used to represent the turn of the century. For the University of Idaho listings, a trip to the school's library was necessary to copy the

faculty listings from the catalogs held in the archives there. Unfortunately, the earliest edition available was dated 1916. However, the background information listed with each faculty member did indicate how long each person had been at the university. That was helpful in identifying some faculty for previous years.

Because the universities in the Deep South were not within driving distance, other means of gathering the necessary information had to be found. David McCorkle⁹⁵ undertook the task of gathering and photocopying the relevant catalogs from the University of Memphis.⁹⁶ For someone who had not been around a college campus for nearly thirty years, it was more troublesome than one might believe. Fortunately, he encountered Cathy Evans, the public service clerk for the library at the University of Memphis. She was kind enough to offer her assistance in locating and copying the necessary information. Ms. Evans also offered her services should additional data be needed in the future.

Although the information available on faculty members at this university was as informative as that gathered for the schools in the Northern Rockies, the earliest listing for faculty was in 1912 when the University of Memphis was known as the West Tennessee State Normal School. This particular catalog did not give faculty ranks, only the names of the faculty members and the subject or subjects that each taught. This posed a problem for comparing the ranks of female faculty, but because there were so few faculty at this time, the actual impact upon the study was minimal.

⁹⁵ David McCorkle is my father. He works in the area, which made it easy for him to gather the information.

⁹⁶ The University of Memphis was known as Memphis State University from the 1940s until the early 1990s.

Information from the University of Mississippi and Mississippi State University was gathered with the help of librarians from each of the universities, although another family member who was attending Mississippi State at the time did collect half of the catalog information from that school.⁹⁷ Because of the size of the faculty listings from the latter half of the century, a university librarian was asked to collect and copy the remaining information. Betty Self proved to be a very helpful and knowledgeable librarian. In addition to the requested information, she suggested other sources available at Mississippi State that might support my study. While the catalogs were available since 1900, the names in that edition contained only the first and middle initials along with the last name, not the full name. At first that appeared to be a problem when trying to decipher male from female, but a cross-reference with the 1910 catalog proved that the majority were in fact males. The conclusion that all of the faculty in 1900 were likely to have been men was reached because no women were listed as teaching faculty in the 1910 catalog and the four listed in 1920 were instructors. Also, other catalogs for this time period frequently listed women as 'Miss' or 'Mrs.'" Absence of these titles supported the previous conclusion.

From the University of Mississippi, librarian Sharon Schreiber was contacted. Not only did she send the relevant faculty listings since 1900, but she went so far as to note on the 1990 list which faculty were male and which were female for the names that might not be indicative of one particular sex. That was a small problem for many of the listings because here in the United States the use of certain names for one gender

⁹⁷ My cousin Tom Brooks was a graduate student at Mississippi State University and helped gather some of the information.

sometimes changes over time. For instance, in the early to mid part of the century, names such as Marion, Leslie and Lynn were often used for men, but today those names are more common for women. The same problem arises in more recent years with names like Jamie and Kelly. In the earliest listings a few unfamiliar names appeared, names that have since fallen out of use and were not easily identified as male or female, but reference to a name dictionary was useful in identifying some names and at what point in history certain names were popular for a particular gender. Another problem with names occurred in the listings for the last few decades. Since then more and more faculty have had foreign sounding names that were often difficult to distinguish as male or female. Fortunately, for recent listings, a visit to the website for each university via the internet proved useful. Many departments at each of the schools provided pictures of the faculty, while others indicated the sex of an individual through written information. Deciphering male from female in this manner was a frustrating procedure, but in the end the actual number of faculty whose names were not readily identified were very few and, because of the large number of total faculty, did not significantly impact the study one way or another.

For every decade the listings provided by each university did indicate the field of study for every faculty member. That was vital for this study, however, since a problem arose in later years as concerns the specialization within some fields of study. For instance, textiles should go in which category? Should it be in the home economics department or in agriculture? Does child and family development also fall into the home economics department as it appears in some university catalogs or psychology? What

about psychological education? Should plant pathology be included with biology or agriculture?

Because of this specialization and the possible overlapping of two or more fields, the hope was to simplify the listings so that the names of each field would be consistent throughout the years and more easily compared. Ultimately, the information was organized as follows: *Agriculture and Animal Science* include agricultural engineering, range management, agronomy, horticulture, plant physiology, plant pathology, agricultural economics, soil science and weed science; *Anthropology* includes all cultural studies such as Asian or Native American studies; *Biological Sciences* include biology, botany, microbiology, biochemistry, ecology, zoology, and entomology; *Communications* encompasses journalism, speech, and radio and television; *Fine Arts* include all art, film, drama, and dance; *Forestry* also contains wildlife, fish and game, and recreation management; *Geography and Geology* are combined since they were often taught together in the early years and since very few women appear in either discipline, separating the fields is not a necessity; *Home Economics* includes textiles and apparel, consumer and family resource management. The remaining categories appeared to be self-explanatory.

B. Results:

This section will discuss the success rate of female faculty members at the selected universities since the turn of the century. The percentage of women at each rank along with the percentage of women in each field will be analyzed for each school and

for each region so that comparisons can be drawn. Initially, the differences within each region will be discussed, then the two regions will be compared. Are the differences between the two regions more significant than the differences within each region? Does a pattern develop over time for one or both regions? Can the peaks and valleys of women's employment in higher education be related to events occurring in the United States at any particular time? These are a few questions to be analyzed here.

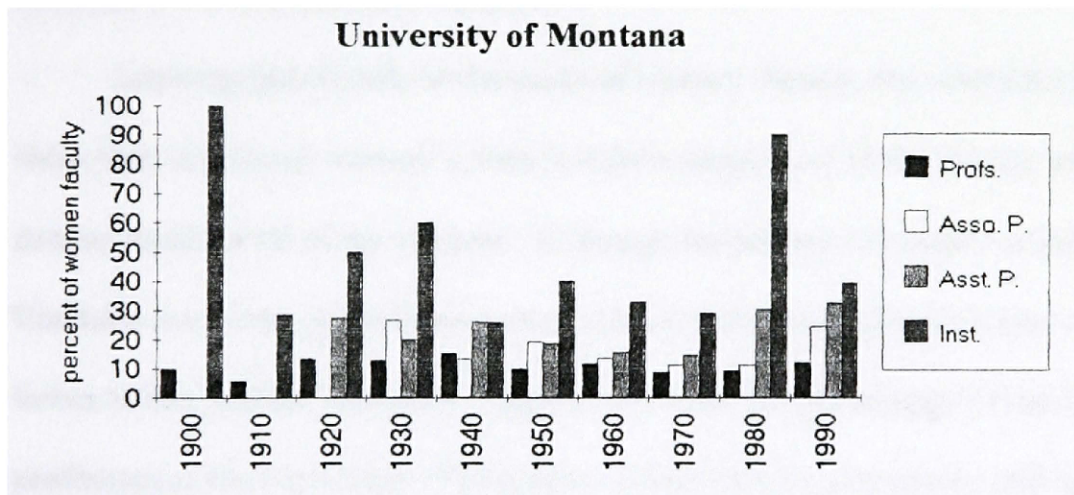
1. The Rocky Mountain Northwest, 1900-1990

a. Ranks of Female Faculty

The three schools selected from this region, University of Montana, Montana State University and University of Idaho, have all employed female professors since the turn of the century, although not always at every level (see Tables 1a, 1b, and 1c below). While there are marked differences in the success rates of female faculty members at each school, a general pattern does appear. For all three schools, women appear to have started the century with a strong showing as faculty members, but their proportion began to decline by 1930 with the coming of the Great Depression. It was not until the 1960s that women began to recover some lost ground and their percentage of the faculty began to rise. As of 1990, however, women faculty at the three universities had yet to surpass the higher percentages of earlier years. Each bar graph below, shown beneath its corresponding table, provides a better picture of how the composition of the female faculties at each of the three universities in this region actually changed over time.

Table 1a: Percent of Female Faculty in Schools of the Rocky Mountain Region

University of Montana		Professors		Aso. Profs.		Ast. Profs.		Instructors		Ast. P. or>		Inst. or>	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
1990	42	12.0	23	24.5	34	32.7	13	39.4	99	18.1	112	19.3	
1980	23	9.3	21	11.4	35	30.4	10	90.1	79	14.4	89	15.9	
1970	16	8.8	12	11.3	19	14.6	26	28.9	47	11.3	73	14.4	
1960	13	11.7	8	13.6	14	15.6	19	32.8	35	13.5	54	17.0	
1950	7	9.9	5	19.2	11	18.6	30	40.0	23	14.7	53	22.9	
1940	8	15.1	2	13.3	6	26.1	8	25.8	16	17.6	24	19.7	
1930	6	12.8	4	26.7	3	20.0	14	60.1	13	16.9	27	27.0	
1920	4	13.3	0	0	6	27.3	8	50.0	10	18.9	18	26.1	
1910	1	5.9	0	0	0	0	2	28.6	1	4.8	3	10.7	
1900	1	10	0	0	0	0	4	100	1	10.0	5	35.7	

Graph 1a: University of Montana - percent of women faculty, 1900 - 1990

A question prompted by Graph 1a is what caused the severe drop in women faculty at the University of Montana between 1900 and 1910? None of the other schools show such a sharp decline at any point since 1900. The most obvious explanation is that the universities were very small during the early part of the century. Therefore, a few women leaving the school or a few men being added to the faculty would have more of an impact on a small faculty of thirty than it would on a faculty numbering several

hundred. In 1903 there were fourteen members of the faculty at the University of Montana, five of them were women. By 1910 the faculty had doubled, but only three women remained on the list of faculty.⁹⁸ Perhaps this is sufficient explanation for the decline since it is an anomaly for the region. As Table 1a above shows, 1910 was the lowest period of employment for the women of the University of Montana with only 10.7% of the faculty being women with the rank of instructor or higher. Only 4.8% were women with the rank of assistant professor or higher. The largest percentage of women faculty at this university since the turn of the century was in 1900 when women accounted for 35.7% of faculty. There were, however, only fourteen faculty members at this time, five of them were women.⁹⁹

Looking specifically at the ranks of women faculty, the tables for each university show that in general, women's rank and their proportion of the faculty are inversely proportional for all of the schools. Although the percent of women at each level does fluctuate over time, women have always been and continue to be concentrated in the lower levels, mainly instructor. Only in 1940 did the percentage of female assistant professors at the University of Montana surpass that of instructors, and then only by three tenths of one percent. As assistant professors women have only risen above 30% in the last two decades while the next highest level, associate professor, has seen women exceed 20% in only two decades, 1990 and 1930. Female full professors at the University of Montana reached their peak in 1940 when they accounted for 15.1% of the

⁹⁸ Bulletin of the University of Montana, 1903-04, June 1904, no. 23. Bulletin of the University of Montana, May 1912, 18th register, p. 6-14.

⁹⁹ University of Montana Register 1903-1904. Entered August 21, 1901 at Missoula, Montana. Bulletin of University of Montana no. 23, June 1904.

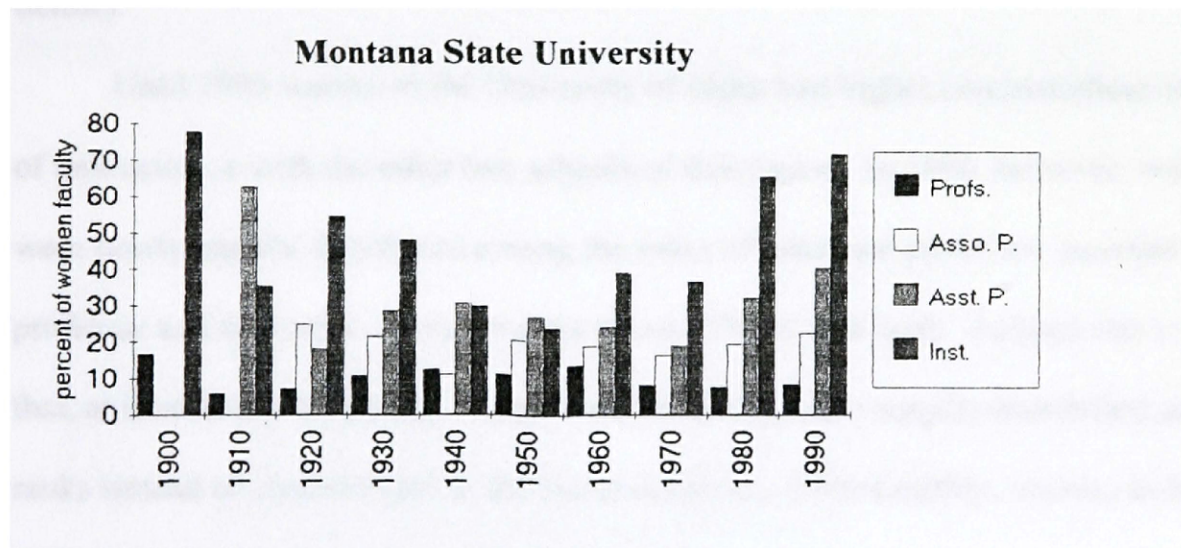
faculty. Perhaps this is related to the Second World War. The men were away fighting in the war, so women had to step in and fill the spots left vacant. While the percentage of female professors has been rising since 1970, their percentage was still surprisingly low in 1990 at only 12%. This is surprising, not only for a country that encountered the Sexual Revolution three decades ago, but also for a Western state that, throughout history, has allowed women opportunities that were elsewhere thought to be suitable only for men.

Montana State University has generally had a slightly higher percent of women faculty than the University of Montana, with the lowest period of employment for women coming in 1970 as shown below in Table 1b. At this time women made up only 17.5% of all faculty with the rank of instructor or higher. That is the only decade in which the total percentage of female faculty fell below 20%. Graph 1b below shows a full picture of the changes in women faculty members at Montana State University since 1900. Again, the turn of the century appears to have been favorable for female faculty members in Montana. In 1900 women accounted for a full 40% of all faculty members at the Bozeman facility.¹⁰⁰ Since then, the percent of female faculty has never surpassed 30%. Of course, as a school grows and requires more faculty, it takes a much larger number of women to make up a significant percent. In 1900, for instance, there were only twenty faculty members

¹⁰⁰ Montana State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, 8th annual catalog, 1899 - 1900.

Table 1b: Percent of Female Faculty in Schools of the Rocky Mountain Region

Montana State University												
	Professors		Aso. Profs.		Ast. Profs.		Instructors		Ast. P. or>		Inst. or>	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
1990	18	8.4	42	22.4	82	40.4	33	71.7	142	23.5	175	26.9
1980	17	7.7	32	19.4	60	32.1	38	65.5	109	19.0	147	23.1
1970	11	8.1	21	16.4	34	18.9	22	36.7	66	14.9	88	17.5
1960	12	13.6	13	18.8	34	24.1	35	38.9	59	19.8	94	24.2
1950	6	11.1	9	20.5	20	27.0	16	23.9	35	20.3	51	21.3
1940	5	12.5	1	11.1	8	30.8	9	30.0	14	18.7	23	21.9
1930	3	10.7	3	21.4	6	28.6	13	48.1	12	19.0	25	27.8
1920	2	7.4	1	25.0	4	18.2	12	54.5	7	13.5	19	25.3
1910	1	5.9	0	0	5	62.5	6	35.3	6	24.0	12	28.6
1900	2	16.7	0	0	0	0	7	77.8	2	16.7	9	40.0

Graph 1b: Montana State University - percent of women faculty, 1900 - 1990

at Montana State, eight of them women, or 40%. In 1990, the faculty numbered 655, with 176 of them women, or 26.9%.¹⁰¹ This faculty would have to have had about ninety more women faculty members to make up 40% in 1990. Obviously, it is easier to attain a larger proportion of female faculty when there are fewer total faculty members.

¹⁰¹ Undergraduate Catalog of Montana State University at Bozeman, vol. xlii (May 1988) no. 2, pp. 219-234.

The concentration of female faculty at the University of Idaho¹⁰² has been slightly lower overall than at the other two institutions. Table 1c below shows that at no time between 1900 and 1990, did women exceed 20% of the total faculty. Fewer women were found in 1950 and 1960 when just under 10% of the faculty were women. This corresponds to the baby boomer years when women were dropping out of college at a very high rate. They were more likely to stay home and be full time mothers as opposed to career women. The largest figure was again in the early part of the century when women were nearly 20% of the total.¹⁰³ From that point the numbers began a steady decline, hitting the low point in 1960, but have been increasing ever since (see Graph 1c below).

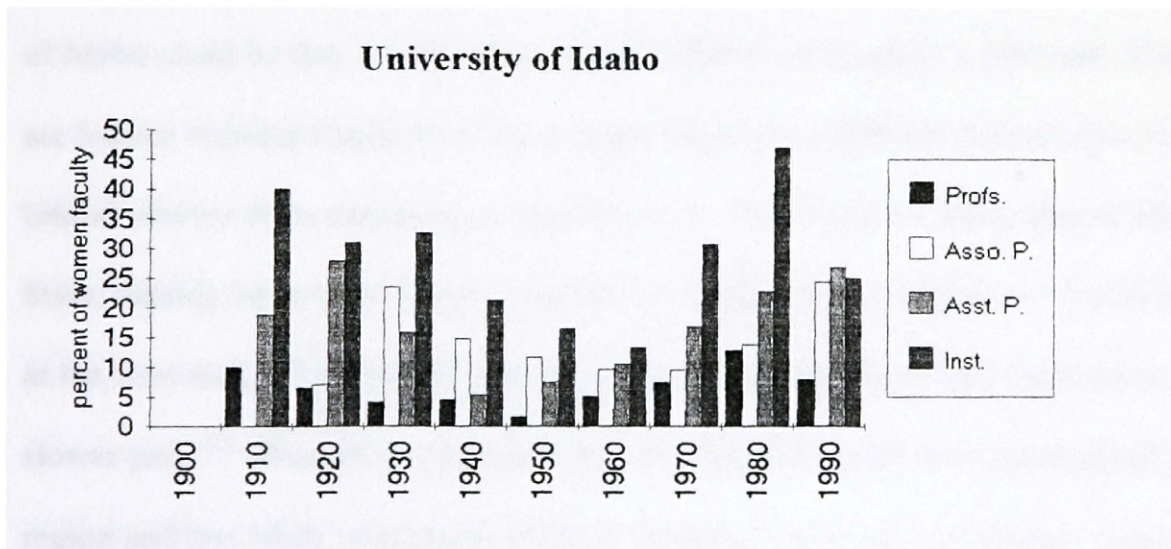
Until 1990 women at the University of Idaho had higher concentrations in the rank of instructor, as with the other two schools of this region. In 1990, however, women were nearly equally distributed among the ranks of associate professor, assistant professor and instructor, accounting for about 25% in each rank. Perhaps this is a sign that, at least at this university, women are becoming more equally distributed among the ranks instead of concentrated in the lower echelons. Unfortunately, women as full professors were a mere 7.9% in the same year.

¹⁰² It should be pointed out that faculty listed as affiliates, or working off campus, were not included in this study because of the large number of faculty in this category and because of the desire to use faculty at one location only.

¹⁰³ University of Idaho Annual Catalog, vol. XII May 1917, no. 2., p. 11-23.

Table 1c: Percent of Female Faculty in Schools of the Rocky Mountain Region

University of Idaho		Professors		Aso. Profs.		Ast. Profs.		Instructors		Ast. P. or>		Inst. or>	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
1990	22	7.9	42	24.3	44	26.8	6	25.0	108	17.6	114	18.1	
1980	24	12.8	26	13.7	40	22.7	15	46.9	90	16.2	105	17.9	
1970	15	7.4	14	9.5	24	16.8	15	30.6	53	10.8	68	12.5	
1960	5	5.2	7	9.6	11	10.5	12	13.3	23	8.4	35	9.6	
1950	1	1.6	7	11.7	6	7.5	15	16.5	14	6.9	29	9.9	
1940	2	4.5	4	14.8	3	5.3	16	21.3	9	7.0	25	12.3	
1930	2	4.1	4	23.5	6	15.8	12	32.6	15	11.5	27	18.0	
1920	2	6.5	1	7.1	7	28.0	9	31.0	10	14.3	19	19.2	
1910	3	10.0	0	0	3	18.8	8	40.0	6	18.2	14	19.3	
1900		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A	

Graph 1c: University of Idaho - percent of women faculty, 1900 - 1990

The line graph below (see Graph 2¹⁰⁴) shows the changes in women faculty with the rank of instructor or higher at all three universities in the Rocky Mountain Northwest since 1900. The earlier years show women as a much higher proportion of the faculty

¹⁰⁴ Information for the University of Idaho 1900 school year not available.

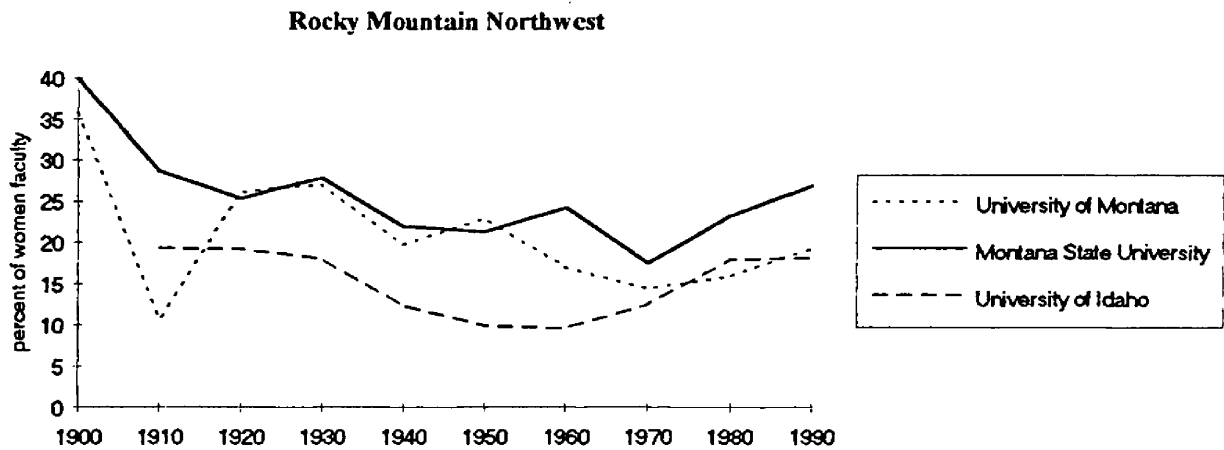
than in more recent decades. This is perhaps because around the turn of the century, this region was still in its infancy and likely needed all of the available educators, male or female. Happenstance provided an opportunity for women here not found in other regions of the United States. While all appear to have begun the century with a relatively high proportion of women, the University of Idaho, for the most part, has had a significantly lower proportion of women than the other two schools in that region. One possible explanation could be that it is a technical school so women would not be as abundant in many of the disciplines as they are in schools that are more oriented toward the humanities. However, Montana State University is a technical school, yet overall it has had a higher proportion of female faculty members than the other two.

Another possible explanation for the relative shortage of women at the University of Idaho could be that it is the only school in the study located in that state. Perhaps there are hidden regional characteristics or certain policies within the school system itself that inhibit women from advancing as quickly at the University of Idaho than at Montana State, making them more likely to search for employment elsewhere. The tenured faculty at the University of Idaho may also be younger, causing the faculty turnover to move at a slower pace.¹⁰⁵ Women at Montana State University may be more entrenched in the region and less likely to relocate for their spouses, better pay or for other reasons, thereby having a better opportunity to advance. While a pattern is not easily discernible, it does

¹⁰⁵ The age issue is addressed in the following chapter. Men at the University of Idaho who responded to the survey were slightly younger than men from the other two universities in this region, while the women there were, on the average, older than the women from the Montana universities.

appear that the percentage of women as a whole has been growing since 1970 at all three universities, although the University of Idaho has maintained this trend since 1950.

Graph 2: Percent of Women Faculty in the Rocky Mountain Northwest, 1900 - 1990



It is puzzling that a technical school such as Montana State would have a significantly higher proportion of female faculty than the University of Montana which is generally known as the liberal arts school of the state. Because women are usually not found in large numbers in the fields of engineering, agriculture and architecture, but are concentrated in the liberal arts and humanities, it seems reasonable to believe that women would be more prevalent in a liberal arts school. This is not the case here, however. In relation to the University of Montana, Montana State has had an equal or greater representation of women faculty since the turn of the century. This can be seen in Graph 2 above.

b. Fields of Study

With all three universities, women faculty were concentrated in a few fields during most of the century. For almost every decade since 1900, women have generally made up the majority of the faculty in the fields of home economics, nursing and library science. A significant portion were in art, foreign languages, English, and health and physical education. Note that these fields are traditionally on the low end of the pay scale. On the opposite end of the spectrum, the fields of physics, chemistry, engineering, geology and geography, forestry, and the biological sciences rarely had a female faculty member between 1900 and 1990. Women still account for less than 10% of the faculty in most of these fields today.

The low percentage of women in the hard sciences may be because in the early years of women's education, home economics, nursing, and education were considered part of woman's sphere, and a natural role for women, while the hard sciences were often thought to be too much of a strain for the female mind to comprehend. That women are designed by nature to be nurturers may help explain why women, given the options in education today, are still concentrated in the fields mentioned above, the very fields that involve nurturing, care-giving, and home-making. However, the fact that women were accepted into these fields at an early point in history may be part of the reason that they continue to be well represented in these same fields today.

While all three schools show some variation of women within each field, there are some fields that tend to follow a similar pattern for all three universities. For example, at the University of Montana in 1990, no women were found among the faculty in physics

(0/6), computer science (0/9), geography (0/7), or zoology (0/12). At Montana State the same was true for communications (0/15), engineering (0/67), geology (0/6), physics (0/19) and veterinary science (0/6). At the University of Idaho geology (0/20), geography (0/6) and physics (0/10) all lacked women faculty, while forestry and zoology could each claim one woman out of twenty-two faculty members. The field with the most variation between the three schools was health and physical education. At Montana State women accounted for thirty-four of the forty-five faculty members, or 75.5%. At the University of Montana in this same field only 25.0% of the faculty were women (four of sixteen) and at the University of Idaho there were three women out of ten faculty members, or 30.0%.

Table 2 below ranks the percentages of women by field according to 1990 information. From this it is evident that, in many fields, women faculty were not present for several decades. Even as late as 1990, women have not made much progress in many of the hard sciences such as the biological sciences, chemistry, and physics or engineering, forestry, and geography and geology. Three possible explanations for the lack of women in these fields may be 1.) there is a bias against women that keeps them from being selected as faculty, 2.) women are chosen as faculty, but are somehow forced out in a short amount of time because of discrimination or lack of qualifications, or 3.) women do not choose to teach in these fields in the same numbers that they do in the humanities because they either get paid more by working in the private sector or they simply do not get degrees in these fields as often as they do in the humanities.

Table 2: Rocky Mountain Northwest – percent of female faculty by year

	1990	1980	1970	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900
Nursing	100	100	100	97.4	100	100	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Library Sc.	58.3	59.6	40	88.2	90	100	100	100	100	100
Health/PE	57.7	39.2	41.5	35.7	25	42.9	38.9	50	50	N/A
Education	37	25	10.7	13.2	14.8	25	36.4	0	0	0
Psychology	35.2	14.9	15.8	15	14.32	0	0	0	0	0
Fine Arts	32.1	20.3	18.6	20.8	38.5	33.3	57.1	60	100	100
Sociology	28.9	31.5	24.1	22.2	15.4	0	33.3	N/A	N/A	N/A
Languages	28.4	28.8	41.2	27.6	34.8	34.8	47.6	72.7	50	0
Pharmacy	26.9	11.8	0	16.7	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
Music	24.6	27.3	15.4	19	23.7	39.1	45	52.9	14.3	66.7
Law	23.7	9.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
English	22.7	23.1	27.4	22	28.8	20	40	39.1	37.5	50
Phil/Rel.	20.8	9.4	4.3	8.3	0	0	50	0	0	N/A
Business	16.4	12.5	12.8	13	16.2	14.3	14.3	36.4	0	N/A
History/Poli.Sc.	15.5	5.7	3.5	0	11.5	0	11.1	20	28.6	33.3
Anthropology	14.3	28.6	25	18.2	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Architecture	13.3	13.2	4.2	9.1	0	0	33.3	0	N/A	N/A
Chemistry	11.9	10	1.6	0	2.8	0	0	0	11.1	0
Communication	11.8	16.7	4.2	15.2	0	0	28.6	0	N/A	N/A
Math/Statistics	11.3	8.6	7.5	11.6	16.1	7.1	8.3	12.5	16.7	100
Computer Sc.	10.7	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Biological Sc.	8.7	3.9	1.7	5	4.8	2.4	6.5	0	5.9	0
Forestry/Wild.	8.7	1.1	2	0	4.5	6.3	6.7	0	0	N/A
Ag/Animal Sc.	8.2	3.4	2.9	1	2.9	0	0	0	7.1	0
Vet. Sc.	7.1	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
Engineering	3.7	2.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Geog./Geol.	3.2	1.7	2.2	6.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Physics	0	3	2.9	4.5	0	0	0	0	0	0

It is quite possible that the absence of women in these fields may be partly by choice, and not solely because of discrimination in the hard sciences. Women were better represented in certain fields in the earlier part of the century, and it seems they have continued to choose these female dominant fields to study and teach. The issue of discrimination will be discussed further in the next chapter when the questionnaires are analyzed. In that chapter some of the women faculty members will be given the opportunity to discuss what it is like to be in the minority as a faculty member.

It is important to note that some of the fields listed below are not available at all three of the selected universities. Engineering , agriculture, architecture, and veterinary science are not offered at the University of Montana, but it is the only university of the three to have a school of pharmacy. Law may be studied at the University of Montana or the University of Idaho, but not at Montana State.

2. The Deep South, 1900-1990

a. Ranks of Female Faculty

As noted earlier the three universities of study in this region are the University of Mississippi, Mississippi State University and the University of Memphis. Overall, these schools are significantly different in their content of female faculty than those chosen in the Northern Rockies. Rank and proportion of female faculty, however, continue to be inversely proportional in these schools as they were in the other region.

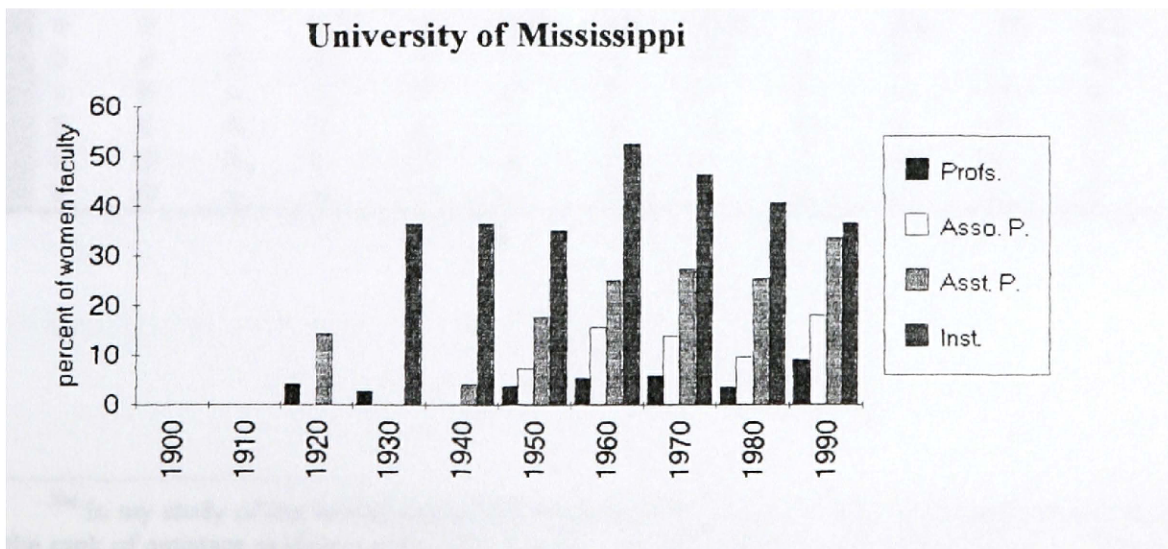
The University of Mississippi, for example, did not have a single female faculty member until 1920 when there were two, one professor in education and an assistant professor in home economics (see Table 3a below). At this university women would not account for more than 10% of its faculty until the 1940s and even then they would be highly concentrated in the lower ranks. Although there were no female instructors listed until 1930, they have maintained a high proportion, over 35%, ever since. As assistant professors women did not fare well until 1950 when they were 17.6% of the faculty at that rank, but during each of the last four decades they have accounted for more than 25% of the faculty at this level. In 1990 women were one-third of the assistant professors

at the University of Mississippi. Women did not make a showing as associate professors until 1950 and, as of 1990, had yet to surpass the 20% mark. As full professors women at the University of Mississippi have a long way to go. Their highest showing was in 1990 with only 9% of the total professorships. The dismal history of women faculty at the University of Mississippi can be seen below in Graph 3a.

Table 3a: Percent of Women Faculty in Schools of the Deep South Region

University of Mississippi												
	Professors		Aso. Profs.		Ast. Profs.		Instructors		Ast. P. or >		Inst. or >	
Year	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
1990	16	9.0	28	18.0	63	33.5	29	36.5	107	20.1	136	24.1
1980	6	3.6	13	9.6	46	25.3	33	40.7	65	13.4	98	17.3
1970	10	5.8	16	13.9	53	27.2	43	46.2	79	16.4	122	21.3
1960	6	5.4	12	15.6	25	25.0	23	52.3	43	14.9	66	19.8
1950	3	3.8	3	7.3	13	17.6	28	35.0	19	8.6	47	17.2
1940	0	0	0	0	1	4.2	8	36.4	1	1.2	9	9.2
1930	1	2.8	0	0	0	0	4	36.4	1	1.8	5	7.6
1920	1	4.2	0	0	1	14.3	0	0	2	6.0	2	5.7
1910	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1900	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Graph 3a: University of Mississippi - Percent of Women Faculty, 1900 - 1990

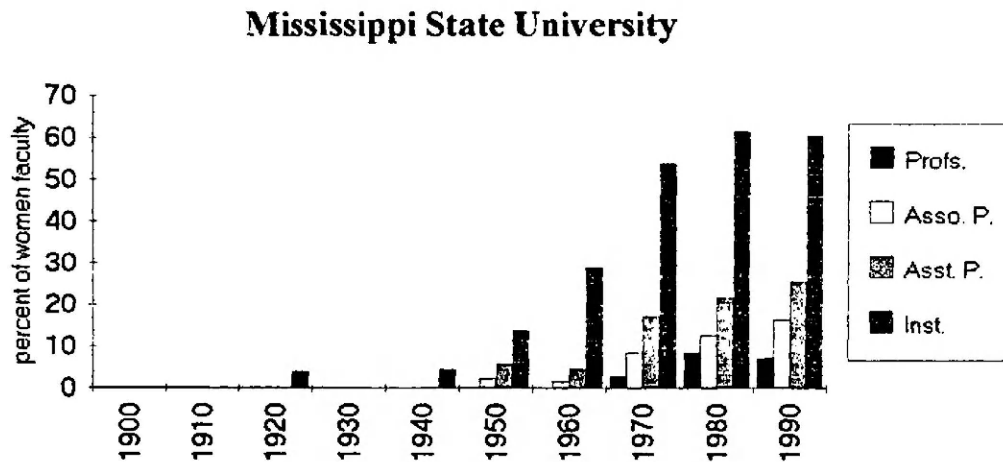


The table and graph below show the scarcity of women faculty at Mississippi State University. It is surprising that Mississippi State waited until 1920 to put a woman faculty member on the payroll. In that year four of its instructors were women. Of the 135 faculty members in 1940, only one was a woman, an instructor in business. No woman would be ranked as high as an assistant professor at this university until 1950 and surprisingly, no women were listed as full professor until 1970.¹⁰⁶ Also at Mississippi State women with the rank of assistant professor or higher did not account for 10% of the faculty until the 1970s. Even though this university is noted for its agriculture and engineering schools, one would think that women would appear more often among the faculty in areas such as English, art or foreign language.

Table 3b: Percent of Women Faculty in Schools of the Deep South Region

Mississippi State University													
	Professors		Aso. Profs.		Ast. Profs.		Instructors		Ast. P. or >		Inst. or >		
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
1990	32	7.3	43	16.5	71	25.6	46	60.5	146	14.9	192	18.2	
1980	29	8.5	32	12.6	52	21.8	45	61.6	113	13.5	158	17.4	
1970	6	2.8	14	8.4	36	17.3	64	53.8	56	9.5	120	16.9	
1960	0	0	7	1.6	4	4.7	22	28.9	11	4.0	33	9.3	
1950	0	0	1	2.3	4	5.8	10	13.9	5	2.8	15	6.0	
1940	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4.5	0	0	1	0.7	
1930	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1920	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	16	0	0	4	5.2	
1910	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1900	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

¹⁰⁶ In my study of the faculty listings at Mississippi State, no woman's name appeared in the listings with the rank of assistant professor until 1950 and no woman's name was listed with the rank of professor.

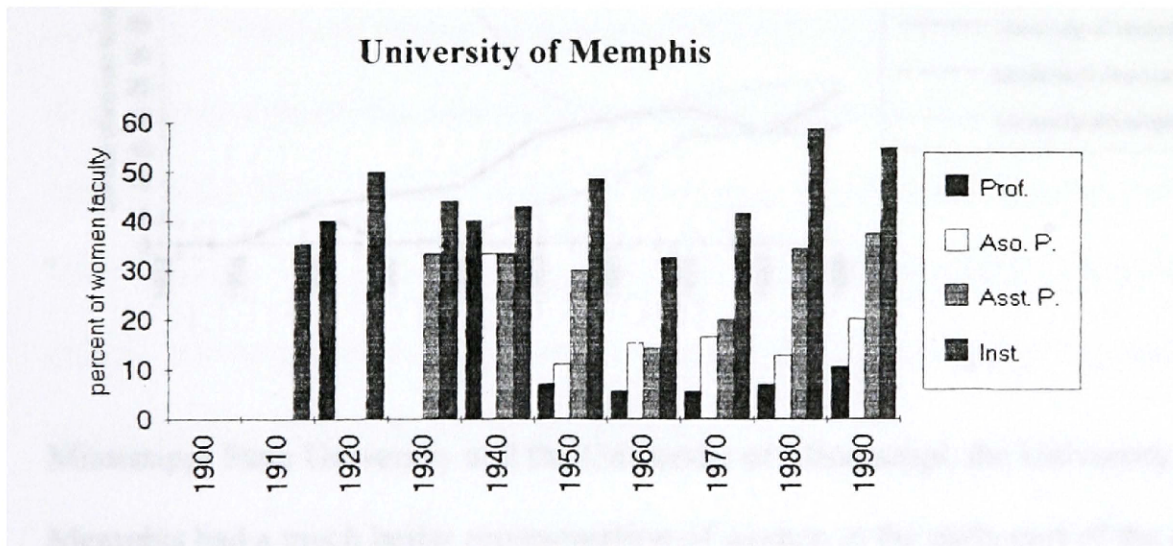
Graph 3b: Mississippi State University - Percent of Women Faculty, 1900 - 1990

The University of Memphis did have a larger percent of women faculty members than the other two universities of the region, although that may be because its origins were that of a normal school. As shown in Table 3c below, women accounted for 30.0 to 40.0% of the faculty between 1910 and 1940. The vast majority were simply instructors or teachers without rank, however. By 1950, after this school had become Memphis State College, the total percentage of women faculty was just under 25.0%. Those who ranked as assistant professor, associate professor and full professor comprised 18.0% of the faculty. By 1960 this figure had dropped to 12.5%, but then began to grow steadily the following decade. It was not until 1990 that the percentage of female faculty surpassed the 1950 level. The table and graph below show the true picture of women's progress at the University of Memphis.

Table 3c: Percent of Women Faculty in Schools of the Deep South Region

University of Memphis*													
	Professors		Aso. Profs.		Ast. Profs.		Instructors		Ast. P. or >		Inst. or >		
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
1990	27	10.5	43	20.1	94	37.6	33	55	164	22.7	197	25.2	
1980	15	7.0	24	12.8	101	34.4	56	58.9	140	20.2	196	24.9	
1970	7	5.6	22	16.5	42	19.9	77	41.6	71	15.1	148	22.6	
1960	2	5.7	6	15.4	10	14.3	25	32.5	18	12.5	43	19.5	
1950	1	7.1	4	11.1	6	30.0	17	48.6	11	18.6	28	24.3	
1940	4	40.0	2	33.3	2	33.3	6	42.9	8	36.4	14	38.9	
1930	0	0	0	0	2	33.3	11	44	2	28.6	13	40.6	
1920	2	40.0	0	0	0	0	5	50	2	33.3	7	43.8	
1910	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	33.3	0	0	6	33.3	
1900		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A	

*ranks not given in 1940, 1930 and 1910. Based upon ranks at previous schools and time at this institution.

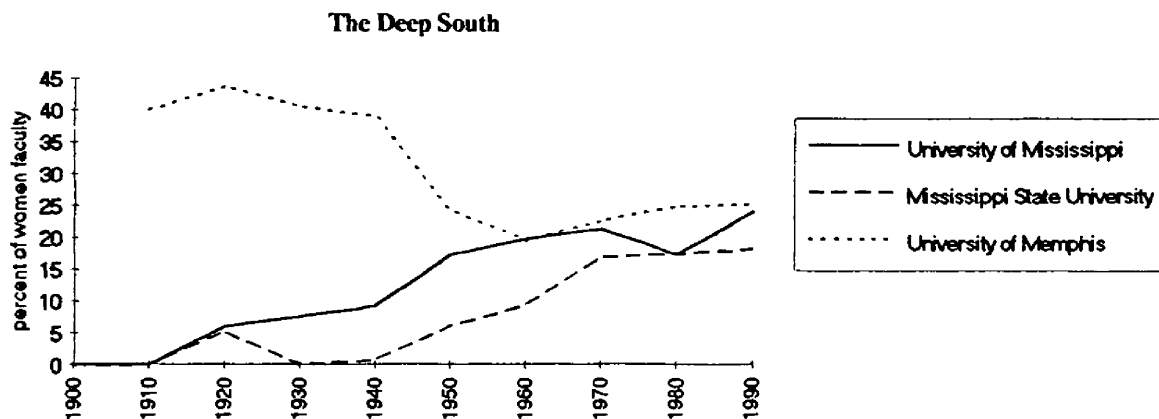
Graph 3c: University of Memphis - Percent of Women Faculty, 1900 - 1990

The University of Mississippi's 1990 figures for women were similar to those of the University of Memphis (24.1% for the former, 25.2% for the latter), but the Mississippi State faculty was still less than one-fifth female (18.2%). This consistently low number of female faculty members could be because Mississippi State is an agricultural and engineering school. As mentioned with regard to the schools in the

Rocky Mountain Northwest, these two fields do not attract women in large numbers as do the arts and humanities. In 1990, the agriculture and engineering departments at Mississippi State had 266 faculty members combined, which accounted for nearly 25% of the entire faculty. Only ten of the 266 faculty members were women, however.

The line graph below (see Graph 4)¹⁰⁷ may give a better comparison of women faculty at the three universities. While women were off to a slow start at

Graph 4: The Percent of Women Faculty in the Deep South, 1900 - 1990



Mississippi State University and the University of Mississippi, the University of Memphis had a much better representation of women in the early part of the century. As mentioned, this is probably because this university had its origins as a normal school, or a teachers' school. Because women were easily accepted as teachers, it can be assumed that they were more easily accepted as instructors at a normal school than they would have been at a regular university. It is also possible that this disparity could be a

¹⁰⁷ 1900 information for the University of Memphis is unavailable.

difference between the hiring practices or beliefs of two states since the University of Memphis is the only school in this region that lies in a different state. Because this school did not list its faculty by rank in the early years, their ranks were derived based on each faculty member's rank at previous institutions. This, too, could account for a discrepancy in ranks, but the percentage of female faculty would remain the same.

The slow, but relatively steady, growth of women faculty at the two universities in Mississippi is evidence that women have found a foothold as faculty members. As the older, tenured positions are gradually eliminated women will likely be taking over more and more faculty positions, but that does take time. The story is different for the University of Memphis. The percent of women here reached its peak in the first four decades then saw a rapid decline between 1940 and 1950. Perhaps this is related to the change in the school that took place around the same time. In 1940 the school was known as the State Teachers College of Memphis. By 1950 it had become Memphis State College. Although there was a small decline in women faculty the following decade, the numbers have increased ever since and have managed to stay ahead of the other two schools despite the earlier decline.

b. Fields of Study

As with the selected universities in the Rockies, those in the South also had women making up the vast majority of faculty in nursing, library science and home economics. Aside from these obvious fields, the languages and arts in these Southern universities have had significantly high concentrations of women since women began

teaching, but because women were so few in these schools until the 1950s, most fields were without female representation for the first half of the century. Since then, women have established themselves in these Southern universities in almost every field except forestry, yet they still account for less than 10% of the total faculty in agriculture, animal science, chemistry, engineering, and physics (See Table 4 below).

Table 4: The Deep South -- percent of female faculty by field per year

	1990	1980	1970	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900
Nursing	100	88.9	98.5	100	100	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Library Sc.	73	75.8	77.8	100	100	100	100	N/A	N/A	N/A
English	47.6	34.7	40.5	34.4	19.6	9.5	27.3	9.1	0	0
Languages	35.5	37.5	45.6	23.1	45	38.5	45.5	25	30	0
Education	34.4	27.4	24	22.9	6.1	10	16.7	30	0	0
Fine Arts	33.7	29.1	27.8	20	20	20	33.3	50	33.3	0
Computer Sc.	30.8	15.4	14.3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Communication	26.3	29.5	27.9	21.1	14.3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sociology	26.2	27.8	32.6	15.4	9.1	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anthropology	25	20.8	44	33.3	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Music	23.5	25.3	17	28	20	57.1	0	0	50	0
Psychology	23	22.3	16.1	28.6	25.5	0	0	0	0	0
Health/PE	20	22.2	33.8	26.5	23.8	15.4	16.7	25	0	0
Math	20	19.5	23.5	30	29.6	0	7.1	0	0	0
Law	19	6	0	7.7	5.9	0	0	0	N/A	N/A
Business	18.8	12.1	18.5	8.2	12.7	4	16.4	0	0	0
Pharmacy	14.5	6	9.1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
History/Poli.Sc.	11.2	6.6	9	11.4	8.8	7.1	7.1	0	0	0
Architecture	11.1	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Geog./Geol.	10.9	4.4	8.1	9.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Biological Sc.	10.2	9.5	9.7	11.3	13.2	0	0	9.1	0	0
Phil./Rel.	8.7	11.8	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Physics	6.8	5.3	3.4	0	7.1	12.5	0	0	0	0
Vet. Sc.	6.8	11.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Engineering	4.1	1.5	1.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ag/Animal Sc.	3.2	3.9	1.3	2.3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chemistry	1.5	5.4	4.6	6.1	17.2	0	0	0	0	0
Forestry/Wild.	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Between the three universities the percentage of women within each field was very similar. Some of the highs and lows are the same for all three schools. For example,

women faculty were absent at the University of Mississippi in 1990 in the departments of chemistry (0/20), philosophy and religion (0/8), and very sparse in engineering (1/35). They were over 50% in the fields of home economics (87.5% or 7/8), library science (74% or 20/26), and education (53.5% or 22/41). Mississippi State had no women on the faculties of geography and geology (0/11) or forestry and wildlife (0/58). Women were under five percent of the agriculture and animal science department (5/155 or 3.2%), biological sciences (2/45 or 4.4%), and chemistry (1/30 or 3.3%). The highest proportion of women were found in home economics (100% or 19/19), library science (75% or 18/24), foreign languages (52.4% or 11/21), and English (50% or 16/32). The University of Memphis lacked women in only two categories in 1990. They were chemistry (0/15) and physics (0/12). Engineering, with its department of sixty, had only had two female faculty members (3.3%). As expected the highest concentration of women were again found in home economics (11/11), nursing (11/11), library science (16/24 or 66.7%), and English (36/68 or 52.9%).

Looking at all three universities combined, geography, geology, history, political science, pharmacy, and the biological sciences have only recently passed the ten percent mark for women. As of 1990, only four areas of study, aside from nursing and library science, claimed a faculty with more than 30% women. Those were English with 47.6%, foreign languages with 35.5%, education with 34.4% and computer science which was 30.8% women. This number in computer science is surprising since it is a field with comparatively high salaries. Most research for this study indicates that women are more likely to be concentrated in relatively lower paying areas such as the humanities.

C. Conclusions: Rocky Mountain Northwest vs. the Deep South

Because the number of tables and percentages can be overwhelming, it is necessary to summarize the results of the previous sections and make comparisons. Here a summary of women faculty from each region will be given along with a comparison of women in different fields. From this it can be determined to what extent women faculty vary by region and how far they have come since the turn of the century.

While the schools in the Rocky Mountain Northwest had a substantial portion of female faculty in the early part of the century, the figures gradually declined at all three universities until mid-century. For the first three decades, women were the majority in the arts, health and physical education, and foreign languages. English, math, history and political science had a larger percentage of women in the decades prior to the Great Depression than they do today.

The picture is somewhat different for two of the selected universities in the Deep South. While the two universities in Mississippi began the century with no women faculty, there has been a gradual, yet generally steady, rise over the last several decades. The anomaly of the University of Memphis has been explained by its early years as a normal school where women in the South were *expected* to go. It has followed the general pattern of the schools in the Rocky Mountain Northwest with the highest proportion of women coming in the early part of the century followed by a sharp decline mid-century, then a general increase since 1960.

While all six universities in 1990 had women accounting for 20% or more of the total faculty, the most striking difference between the two regions was the slow start

women had in the South. This difference may be evidence that specific regional characteristics mentioned in earlier sections of this text did indeed play a part in defining women's success in academia. It could be mentioned also that, in the South, the push for co-education was not met with the same fervor as it was elsewhere in the United States. Not only were old beliefs difficult to overcome, but in this region there were a number of successful, respectable women's colleges where many women preferred to be.

The figures presented in the previous sections do support the hypothesis that regional characteristics have played and still do play a vital role in women's opportunities as university professors. That could explain the presence of women professors since the turn of the century in the schools chosen in the Northern Rocky Mountains when two of the three Southern universities had no significant female representation for several decades into the twentieth century. It is unusual that not one woman was listed as a full professor at Mississippi State University until 1970, even though this university and others in the South had been established longer than any of the three in the Northern Rockies. This study could hardly have used data prior to 1900 because there were so few universities in the Rocky Mountain Northwest before that time that are still established today. The Deep South, however, could lay claim to numerous colleges and universities before the states in the opposing region were even part of the Union.

The concentration of women faculty in various fields of study gives another view of women's success in higher education. While the percentages of women in each field varied over time, in general, both regions show higher concentrations of women in many

of the same fields. The same holds true for the fields that have few women. For example, the hard sciences in both regions have the fewest women present on their faculties. Earlier research has shown that women are less likely to be present as faculty in fields that fall into the category of hard sciences. Tables 2 and 4 above show how well women have succeeded in various fields in the two regions.

An examination of the hard sciences would require the following groups: agriculture/animal science, biological sciences, chemistry, geography and geology¹⁰⁸, and physics. In agriculture and animal science women have been a small number in both regions, never surpassing 10% of the faculty in that field. Only on two occasions do their numbers exceed 5%. It should be pointed out that some areas of home economics, such as nutrition and textiles, do have some ties to the field of agriculture. Perhaps if these fields were analyzed more closely, we would find that women are actually better represented in agriculture than originally thought. Women have been slightly more successful in the biological sciences, at least in the Deep South region where they have hovered around 10% since 1950. The Northern Rockies were less successful in including women in ranks of faculty in this category.

Chemistry departments in the Rocky Mountain Northwest have seen a rise in the number of women faculty since 1960 when there were none, but they have been decreasing in the Deep South since 1950 when they had a record high of 17.2% of women teaching in that field. Geography and geology in the Rockies have surprisingly low numbers of women, all in the single digits, while the South is not much better with

¹⁰⁸ Geography falls between the hard and soft sciences. It is only included with the hard sciences here because it is grouped with geology.

only slightly higher figures. Women of both regions have fared as well in physics as they have in any of the other hard sciences. In the Northern Rockies only three decades show women as faculty members in physics and all were below 5%. The South had women on the physics faculty 50% of the time, but only in one decade did the figure surpass 10%.

Since there are only three universities selected within each region, analyzing the diversification of women within each field of study may not have provided results accurate enough to make generalizations about an entire region. Variations within universities, even universities in the same state, are difficult to interpret. For example, as discussed previously, some schools are considered to be technical, or more focused on agriculture and engineering, than schools that are labeled liberal arts schools. This undoubtedly has an effect on the ratio of women professors in any university, regardless of region. Another factor to take into consideration is the professional schools within each university. Presence of law schools, nursing, pharmacy, and business programs are likely to have some impact upon the number of women who teach at a specific university. Women are very likely to be prominent professors in nursing programs, but what about law schools? Both regions in this study had very few women teaching in the law schools until 1990, although the South did have at least one woman on the faculty as early as 1950. For the Northern Rockies that did not occur until 1980.

Again, the question is why are women not well represented in these fields? Have they been omitted purposefully or do women simply not develop much of an interest in the hard sciences? Different women would have different answers, but while these are relatively high paying fields, women accounted for over 30% of the 1990 faculty in

computer science in the Deep South. This appears to be one of the fastest growing and better paid fields to enter. So, if men are deliberately trying to keep women out of the prestigious, higher paying fields, why are there so many in computer science? A possible explanation could be linked to the fact that the greatest development in computer science took place after the passage of Title IX. Perhaps this relatively new field did not have a built in bias against women as other fields may have. Also, because it is a fairly new field and rapidly growing, there are few long term tenured faculty present to delay the entrance of women faculty members. As a new field of study, it has been virtually wide-open for women.

Pharmacy and law, other highly paid prestigious fields, have also seen a growth in women faculty in the last two decades. While these few specialty fields are experiencing growth of women faculty, the highest concentrations of women, however, are in virtually the same lower paid, less prestigious fields regardless of region. It has been put forth that the fields with more women are less prestigious because as women enter, the prestige of a field actually declines. This was mentioned earlier in the paper with “pink-collar” workers (p. 21).

V. Survey of Current Attitudes Regarding Female College Faculty

While the previous chapter gave a regional and historical account of women's success as university faculty, this chapter will discuss what is happening currently among the women faculty at each of the selected universities and within each region. Topics such as marital status and the number of children will be compared between the sexes and the regions. The purpose here is to determine the degree to which women faculty in the 1990s differ from men and if these differences vary between the two regions.

In this chapter both men's and women's attitudes regarding women's status in academia will be analyzed. In addition to this faculty demographics will be studied to better compare the regions. This will provide current trends of women in academia and help determine if women in each region are becoming more alike or if in fact these trends are perhaps a product of the region itself.

A. Methodology

In order to ascertain the differences between the women of each region and how they compare to the men, a questionnaire was developed and sent initially via e-mail to both female and male faculty members at each university. An attempt was made to contact those without an e-mail address via regular mail, although acquiring accurate campus addresses from each university's website was not easy. Those at the University of Montana without an e-mail address were more easily contacted by regular mail since campus addresses were available in the university phone book.

Since male faculty outnumbered women faculty at least three to one on all six campuses, the questionnaire was sent via e-mail to all women listed and an equal number of men. Using the most recent faculty list available, if men outnumbered women four to one, then every fourth man on the list was selected. If the ratio was three to one, then every third man received a questionnaire.

Although mail questionnaires are standard for many types of research, it was decided that e-mail would be used to conduct the largest portion of research for this study. The reasoning was that while e-mail is a relatively new and unexplored method of distributing surveys, it does provide a quick and inexpensive form of distribution compared to standard mail. With the frequency of e-mail and internet usage on the rise, more and more people are being exposed to the world of computer technology. Practically every business, local and global, has a website and the trend keeps growing.

Many universities have found that a website is an inexpensive way to advertise the school and reach prospective students. It was certainly useful in this study to have information about other universities within arm's reach. A large number of faculty have found e-mail to be an excellent way of contacting students, passing along grades or other class information, and contacting colleagues out of the area. Although e-mail has been around for some time, its usage has only recently skyrocketed along with easy access to the internet. Because respondents are able to answer the questions and return the responses right from their computers, there was the possibility that the response rate with e-mail would be better than regular mail. Potential problems were the lack of privacy on the internet and the lack of anonymity. Because each questionnaire returned would

include the e-mail address of the respondent, there was no way to keep the respondents anonymous.

E-mail responses were saved on a disk according to the university and assigned a number. Any mention of the respondent's name was eliminated at that point. Within each university section, individual respondents were coded for their responses to each question. If a subject chose to answer more elaborately than a simple 'yes' or 'no', room was allocated for his or her explanation. These types of responses were helpful in gleaning the actual attitudes of faculty from each region.

A copy of the cover letter and questionnaire is presented on the following pages. Approval was granted by the Internal Review Board (IRB) at the University of Montana for use of this questionnaire. Carrie Gajdosik was the IRB Chair.

Cover letter for questionnaire

Hello. I am Jill Vahl, a graduate student in geography at the University of Montana. My areas of specialization are cultural and historical geography. I am currently working on my thesis and I need your help to make it a success. My study is a comparison of female professors between the Rocky Mountain Northwest and the Deep South. The emphasis is on the concentration of women in each field and at each rank since the turn of the century. Faculty data from six schools will be analyzed to determine regional differences in the opportunities and advancement of female faculty members and how this has changed over time. Completion of this study is set for April 1997.

The following is a brief questionnaire to aid in my research. Although my focus is on women, both men and women faculty will be receiving the questionnaire so that I may get an idea of where women of each region currently stand in relation to men. I hope this will set the stage for future studies. To respond, you may select 'message' and 'reply' (on many systems). That will allow you to type your answers directly into the questionnaire then return it to me by e-mail. You may also choose to print the questionnaire on paper then type your responses in more of a paragraph form as a new e-mail message before returning it. It is not necessary to answer with a simple 'yes' or 'no' if you feel you need to elaborate on some of the questions.

Your timely response will be very helpful and, of course, all responses will be kept confidential. I sincerely appreciate your time and cooperation. If you would like more information about this study, please let me know. Thank you.

Jill Vahl

Diversification of Women in Academia: 1900 - 1990
University of Montana Geography Department
Thesis Questionnaire

- 1a. Male or Female?
- b. Age?

- 2a. In what state do you currently reside?
- b. In what state did you live prior to beginning your college education?

- 3a. Where and when did you receive your bachelor's degree?
- b. Your master's degree?
- c. Your doctorate?
- d. Other advanced degrees?

- 4a. In what discipline did you receive your bachelor's?
- b. Your master's?
- c. Your doctorate?
- d. Other advanced degrees?

5. What are your areas of academic specialization?

- 6a. Are you or were you ever married?
- b. If so, how much of your education had you completed at that time?
- c. Have you ever relocated because of educational or job opportunities available to you?
- d. Have you ever relocated because of educational or job opportunities available to your spouse?

If you do not have children, please move on to question 8.

- 7a. How many children?
- b. Did having children present any obstacles in terms of advancing in your profession?

8. What is your current rank or position (full professor, assistant prof., etc.)?

9. How long at each rank or position? Please specify all schools and positions.

10. What was your starting salary at each position?

- 11a. What portion of your job is allocated to research?
- b. As a university faculty member, have you ever taken time off to do research? If so, when and for how long?

- 12a. Please list any university appointments such as dean or chair that you have received.
- b. How long were you a faculty member prior to receiving these appointments?

13. Have you ever perceived any discrimination in your career regarding salary, promotions, etc.?
- If so, please explain.

B. Response Rates

1. The total response rates

The Rocky Mountain Northwest:

The University of Montana: 183 sent and received¹⁰⁹, 102 women and 81 men; 50 women responded (49.02%); 39 men responded (48.15%); total response rate - 48.63%.

Montana State University: 240 sent, 114 women and 126 men; 40 of the women responded (35.09%); 44 of the men responded (34.92%); total response rate - 35.0%.

The University of Idaho: 232 sent and received, 100 women and 132 men; 57 of the women responded (57%); 40 of the men responded (30.3%); the total response rate - 41.81%.

Totals: 655 questionnaires sent and received; 316 women and 339 men; 147 women replied, 123 men.

The Deep South:

The University of Mississippi: 180 sent and received, 90 women and 90 men; 45 of women responded (50%); 27 of men responded (30%); total response rate - 40.0%.

Mississippi State University: 271 sent and received, 96 women and 175 men; 26 of women responded (27.08%); 56 of the men (32%); total response rate - 30.26%.

The University of Memphis: 252 sent and received, 111 women and 141 men; 31 of the women responded (27.93%); 54 of the men (38.3%); total response rate - 33.73%.

Totals: 703 questionnaires sent and received; 297 women and 406 men; 102 women replied, 137 men.

¹⁰⁹ Sent and received in this context means that the questionnaire was not returned for incorrect address, therefore it is assumed that the questionnaire was received by the subject.

2. E-mail response rates

E-mail addresses along with current lists of faculty were available on the homepage of each of the chosen universities. For those few who did not have an e-mail address, an attempt was made to contact as many as possible by mail. Along with the questionnaire was enclosed a cover letter stating the purpose of the study and a proposed due date. The questionnaires were sent to Mississippi State University and the University of Memphis first, but the e-mail responses were being returned so quickly that time was allowed in between the mailings to the other universities so that the data could be sorted. While the majority of the e-mail responses were received within forty-eight hours of being sent, a follow up letter and questionnaire were sent, again via e-mail, to those not responding within three weeks. The follow up letter, however, produced a much lower rate of response than did the initial questionnaire.

Although the success of e-mail as a method of research has not been fully tested or discussed in literature, it was a much quicker, simpler and less expensive way to send a questionnaire than regular mail. A number of those who chose not to respond to the questionnaire were kind enough to send a reply via e-mail saying that they chose not to respond based on the lack of privacy provided by the internet. Others simply responded by saying that they do not answer questionnaires, although most sent best wishes for the research.

The day of the week that the e-mail questionnaire was sent and received seems to have had an effect on the immediate response rate. The two universities with the lowest twenty-four hour response (see Table 5 below), the University of Montana and

Mississippi State University, received their e-mail questionnaires on a Thursday. The other four universities received them earlier in the week. Possibly by the end of the week the faculty members are too busy to respond immediately to such a questionnaire. Although, the day two figure for Mississippi State does not support that assumption. A possible explanation for the lower response rate from the University of Montana could be that several of those who received the questionnaire via e-mail chose to respond by campus mail. This service insured the anonymity of the individual yet involved no out-of-pocket expense for the respondent. Overall, the figures notably declined throughout the weekend with very few replies being sent. The response rate for the first seven days is given in Table 5 below. While replies were being received for weeks after the questionnaire was sent, the overwhelming majority came within the first few days. The totals show what percentage of all e-mail replies received were received within the first seven days.

Table 5: E-mail response time (of all e-mail replies, percent responding in first seven days)

	Montana	Montana St.	U. Idaho	Mississippi	Miss. State	U. Memphis
Day 1	48.7	72.5	72.2	75.0	37.7	70.9
Day 2	4.0	7.5	7.2	6.9	34.1	5.8
Day 3	4.0	2.5	3.1	2.8	0	0
Day 4	7.9	1.3	0	0	7.1	2.3
Day 5	5.3	0	1.0	0	3.5	2.3
Day 6	2.6	5.0	2.1	0	4.7	0
Day 7	5.3	3.8	0	2.8	3.5	4.7
Totals	77.8	92.6	85.6	87.5	90.6	86.0

Table 6 below shows the total e-mail response rate by both men and women from each university. The two lowest response rates by women are from the Deep South.

Perhaps they chose not to answer because of some perceived bias in the questionnaire since the study originated in the Rocky Mountain Northwest, although the percentage of responses from Montana State is not much higher. For men the lowest response rates were about equally distributed between the University of Idaho, the University of Mississippi and Mississippi State. It is surprising that no real pattern develops. Because the study is about women, one might think that women would have a much greater tendency to respond, but the replies from men exceeded those from women at half of the universities and at the University of Montana the response rates were very close. The following section contains the regional breakdown of each question.

Table 6: E-mail response rate

	Montana	Montana St.	U. Idaho	Mississippi	Miss. State	U. Memphis
Women	48.27	33.03	56.12	50.00	28.57	28.57
Men	47.30	35.29	31.01	31.40	31.98	38.85
Totals	47.83	34.21	41.85	40.90	30.80	34.84

C. Survey Results

1a. Male or Female?

1b. Age?

The first part of this question was addressed above under the response rate for each university. The total breakdown of replies is: women 249, men 260, total 509. Women accounted for 48.9% of replies, while 51.1% were men. Of the women who received a questionnaire, 40.6% responded and 34.9% of the men did so. Age was included to help determine if one gender was more likely to be new junior faculty as

opposed to well-entrenched faculty. Responses to the question of age were averaged by gender within each university. The breakdown was as follows:

Northern Rocky Mountains:

University of Montana: women - 42.51; men - 47.5
 Montana State University: women - 43.97; men - 48.76
 University of Idaho: women - 46.66; men - 47.08
 Overall average: women - 44.38; men - 47.78

The Deep South:

University of Mississippi: women - 43.86; men - 50.37
 Mississippi State University: women - 43.12; men - 46.65
 University of Memphis: women - 45.86; men - 48.61
 Overall average: women - 44.28; men - 48.54

In general, the male respondents of the Northern Rockies were more than three years older than their female counterparts, while the men in the Deep South were, on the average, four years older than the women. Two universities had a large variation on the average age. At the University of Idaho the average age of men and women respondents were nearly the same, while at the University of Mississippi, men averaged six and a half years older than the women.

2a. In what state do you currently reside?

2b. In what state did you live prior to beginning your college education?

Inclusion of these two questions was necessary so as to understand the mobility of each respondent. Those who spent their childhood in one region then relocated to another in adulthood might bring with them certain beliefs common to the region in which they grew up. Also, those who moved around frequently might carry with them different ideas altogether. There was also the chance that respondents of one region or one gender might be more likely to remain in the same state or region in which they lived

prior to beginning their college education. The results were categorized as 1.) same state 2.) same region 3.) like region 4.) other region 5.) foreign country and 6.) no response.

For the Rocky Mountain Northwest those states included in the same region are Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming. The like region is the Rocky Mountain Southwest and includes California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico.¹¹⁰ While the largest percentage of respondents from all three universities were from outside the region (76.9% of women and 78.2% of men), both men and women at the University of Idaho were more likely to be from other states in the same region than from Idaho itself (see Table 7 below). The opposite is true for both universities in Montana. In Montana 15.5% of the women were from Montana (15% at Montana State and 16% at the University of Montana), but only 5.3% of the women at the University of Idaho were from that state. In contrast 19.3% of the women at Idaho were from the same region, while only 5% from Montana State and 8% from the University of Montana were from the same region. The men who replied did not follow this same pattern. Those from the University of Idaho were similar to the women in that only 5% were from Idaho while 25% were from the same region. Of those at Montana State, 9% said they were from Montana, but only one claimed to be from another state within the region. Figures were equally distributed at the University of Montana between those who were from that state and those who were from elsewhere in the region. Both groups accounted for 12.8% of the total. Those who had resided in a foreign country prior to beginning their education were also 12.8% of the total. The results are laid out in Table 7 below.

¹¹⁰ These eleven states combined constitute the region generally considered The West.

Table 7: Regional Affiliation of Faculty from the Rocky Mountain Northwest*

	U Mont women	U Mont men	Mont State women	Mont State men	U Idaho women	U Idaho men
same state	16	12.8	15	9	5.3	5
same region	8	12.8	5	2.3	19.3	25
like region	12	28.2	22.5	18.2	15.8	20
other region	54	28.2	45	56.8	50.9	40
foreign	4	12.8	10	9	5.3	5
unknown	6	5.1	2.5	4.5	3.5	5

*figures shown are percentages

Although the Deep South as a region does not generally encompass entire states, for the purpose of this study the following states were considered to be part of the Deep South: Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. States considered to be part of the “like region” or the rest of the South are Texas, Oklahoma, Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida.¹¹¹ Here again the largest percentage of respondents fell into the category labeled “other region”. For the women who replied, however, the figures are quite different (see Table 8 below). Those at the University of Mississippi who said they were actually from that state accounted for 24.4%, but only 11.1% were from other states within the region. Mississippi State figures were similar in that 23.1% were from Mississippi and 15.4% were from the same region. The University of Memphis is more like those universities in the Rocky Mountain Northwest in their figures for women. Of the women 16.1% were from Tennessee, but only 6.5% were from the Deep South. Again the men follow a

¹¹¹ Depending on which reference used, some of these states may or may not be considered part of the South, although most all would agree that each of these states have areas of Southern influence. For the purpose of this study the entire state must be considered.

different pattern. At the University of Mississippi 11.1% of the men are from Mississippi, 7.4% from within the region. Mississippi State has a higher proportion with 17.9% being from the state and 14.3% from elsewhere in the region. The University of Memphis is the lowest with only 5.6% from Tennessee and 7.4% from within the region.

Table 8: Regional Affiliation of Faculty from the Deep South*

	UMiss women	UMiss. men	Miss. State women	Miss. State men	Memphis women	Memphis men
same state	24.4	11.1	23.1	17.9	16.1	5.6
same region	11.1	7.4	15.4	14.3	6.5	7.4
like region	17.9	11.1	15.4	17.9	32.2	18.5
other region	40	55.6	38.5	39.3	35.5	55.5
foreign	0	11.1	7.7	7.1	6.5	7.4
unknown	6.7	3.7	0	3.6	3.2	5.6

*figures shown are percentages

While a clear pattern does not develop within or between the regions, one thing is certain. Women from the Southern universities have a greater tendency than the other groups to remain within their state. However, the fact that both genders within both regions are much more likely to relocate from outside the region of study does say something about university faculty. In that profession it appears that one must be extremely mobile in order to succeed. In the questionnaire both men and women commented upon this. Many have taught in more than one university system in order to find the best opportunity.

3a. Where and when did you receive your bachelor's degree?

b. Your master's degree?

c. Your doctorate?

d. Other advanced degrees?

These questions also relate to mobility within and between regions and the same regional designations will be used as in the previous question. The question of “when” was intended to determine if one gender was more likely to take time between degrees or if faculty from one region was more likely to do the same, but because this question was not always answered, it was difficult to derive any true meaning from those who did respond. Also, the question was not phrased correctly for those who did respond by indicating the year the degree was obtained. Not all degrees take the same amount of time to obtain and not all people finish graduate school in the same amount of time. One factor to keep in mind is that a number of faculty received more than one bachelor’s degree and several received advanced degrees in more than one subject, so the figures may not match the total number of respondents.

Rocky Mountain Northwest: The women who responded from this region received a combined total of 362 degrees. The majority of those degrees were obtained at universities from outside of the region. The percentages are as follows: 61.1% of the bachelor’s degrees, 54.8% of the master’s, and 50.46% of the doctorates were from schools in the “other region” category, while 13.5% of the bachelor’s, 20.6% of the master’s, and 21.1% of the doctorates came from the “like region.” Those receiving degrees from universities within the same state in which they currently teach and within the same region were a smaller, yet more equal, percentage. For example, 8.7% of the bachelor’s degrees were from the same state versus 9.5% from the same region. Nearly twelve percent (11.9) of the master’s degrees were from within the same state versus 8.7% from other states within the same region. Doctorates were equally distributed

between the same state and same region categories with 11.93% from each. Table 9 below shows a clearer picture of the distribution.

Table 9: Rocky Mountain Northwest Women - Percent of degrees obtained by regional category

	same state	same region	like region	other region	foreign country	unknown
bachelor's	8.7	9.5	13.5	61.1	6.4	0.8
master's	11.9	8.7	20.6	54.8	4	0
doctorate	11.9	11.9	21.1	50.5	4.6	0
other	0	0	1	0	0	0

Men from this region were also much more likely to have obtained their degrees from universities in the “other region” category. Of the degrees obtained by men, 43.9% of the bachelor’s, 46.0% of the master’s, and 47.3% of the doctorates were from the “other region” category. These figures are nearly double that from the next closest category, “like region.” In this category bachelor’s accounted for 25.2% of the degrees, while 22.0% of the master’s and 23.2% of the doctorates were in this category. Table 10 below shows the breakdown for all the categories.

Table 10: Rocky Mountain Northwest Men - Percent of degrees obtained by regional category

	same state	same region	like region	other region	foreign country	unknown
bachelor's	6.5	14	25.2	43.9	7.5	2.8
master's	11	15	22	46	6	0
doctorate	7.1	20.5	23.2	47.32	1.8	0
other	0	0	0	0	0	0

The Deep South: Women from this region were more likely to have received their degrees from universities in the “other region” category, but the distribution

between “same state,” “same region,” and “like region” were much more evenly distributed than the figures for the women of the Rocky Mountain Northwest. The percentage of degrees from the “other region” category are: bachelor’s - 41.1%, master’s - 35.8%, and doctorate - 33.3%. The remaining bachelor’s degrees were nearly evenly distributed with 17.7% obtained in the same state, 15.7% in the same region, and 17.7% in the “like region” category. The table below shows the actual distribution between all categories.

Table 11: The Deep South Women - Percent of degrees obtained by regional category

	same state	same region	like region	other region	foreign country	unknown
bachelor's	17.7	15.7	17.7	41.2	2.9	4.9
master's	22.1	9.5	23.2	35.8	4.2	5.3
doctorate	19.8	16.5	24.7	33.3	1.2	4.9
other	50	0	0	0	0	50

For the men in this region, about half of all the degrees were obtained from a university in the “other region” category (49.6% of the bachelor’s, 52.9% of the master’s, and 50.8% of the doctorates). Here, as with the women of this region, the categories of same state, same region, and like region had more of an equal distribution, with those from an unknown region being the smallest category. See Table 12 below for actual percentages in each category.

Table 12: The Deep South Men - Percent of degrees obtained by regional category

	same state	same region	like region	other region	foreign country	unknown
bachelor's	14.9	12.8	14.2	49.7	6.4	2.1
master's	11.8	14.3	16.8	52.9	3.4	0.8
doctorate	8.3	15.9	18.9	50.8	4.6	0.8
other	0	0	0	0	0	0

Looking at a breakdown of men and women from each region, no real pattern emerges to distinguish the two regions or the genders. All were much more likely to have obtained their degrees from universities in the “other region” category, but the women of the Rocky Mountain Northwest had the highest percentages in this category (all over 50%) while the women in the Deep South had the lowest (33.3% to 41.2%). The women of the Deep South were much more likely to have obtained their degrees from a university within the state in which they currently teach than the women of the Rocky Mountain Northwest or the men from either region. This may indicate that the women of the Deep South are less mobile than the women from the Rockies and even less so than the men.

4a. In what discipline did you receive your bachelor's?

b. Your master's?

c. Your doctorate?

d. Other advanced degrees?

These questions were necessary to determine women's current concentrations within each field of study for each region. A partial breakdown is included in Tables 2 and 4 in the previous chapter, but Tables 13 and 14 below show the percentage of degrees obtained by both women and men who responded to the questionnaire from each

region in each field. Because of the large number of fields available, the percentages in most are not very large, but a few do stand out in both regions.

Rocky Mountain Northwest: For women in this region, the largest portion of respondents obtained their bachelor's degree in English (12.5%), biological sciences (11.0%), home economics (10.3%), education (7.4%), and history/political science (7.4%). More master's degrees were in home economics (9.2%), English and education (each with 8.5%), math/statistics (6.9%), and nursing, library science, psychology, and biological sciences (each with 6.2%). Doctorates were concentrated in education (14.3%), biological sciences (10.5%), psychology and English (6.7% each).

Men from this region obtained more bachelor's degrees in engineering (14.0%), agriculture/animal science (13.2%), math/statistics (12.3%), and biological sciences and physics (7.9% each). More master's degrees were from similar fields: Agriculture/animal science (14.1%), engineering (12.1%), biological sciences (10.1%), geography/geology (6.1%). Doctorates were also concentrated in agriculture/animal science, engineering, and biological sciences (13.9%, 13.0%, and 11.1% respectively). Physics accounted for an additional 6.5% of the doctorates.

While biological sciences was the only discipline that appeared consistently for both men and women, this may be that the women were more eager to discuss the problems of being in a male dominated field. These problems, however, will be discussed in a later question.

Table 13: Rocky Mountain Northwest: Percentage of degrees within each field

	Bachelor's		Master's		Doctorate	
	women	men	women	men	women	men
Nursing	6.6	0	6.2	0	1.9	0
Home Ec.	10.3	0	9.2	1	5.7	0
Library Sc.	0	0	6.2	1	0	0
Health/PE	1.5	1.8	3.1	1	1.9	0
Education	7.4	0.9	8.5	5.1	14.3	5.6
Psychology	6.6	4.4	6.2	4	6.7	3.7
Fine Arts	3.7	0.9	5.4	1	0	0
Sociology	1.5	2.6	2.3	3	3.8	4.6
Foreign Lang.	5.9	0.9	3.8	4	4.8	2.8
Pharmacy	0	1.8	0	2	0	1.9
Music	2.2	1.8	3.1	2	2.9	1.9
Law	0	0	0	0	5.7	0.9
English	12.5	3.5	8.5	2	6.7	1.9
Philosophy/Rel.	0.7	1.8	0	0	0	1.9
Business	2.9	2.6	5.4	4	5.7	2.8
History/Poli. Sc.	7.4	4.4	3.1	5.1	4.8	1.9
Anthropology	0.7	2.6	0	3	0	2.8
Architecture	0.7	0	0.8	0	0	0
Chemistry	2.2	3.5	0	0	0	2.8
Communications	1.5	0.9	3.1	2	3.8	0.9
Math/Stats.	6.6	12.3	6.9	5.1	5.7	5.6
Computer Sc.	2.2	0	0.8	2	1	1.9
Biological Sc.	11	7.9	6.2	10.1	10.5	11.1
Forestry/Wild.	0	5.3	2.3	5.1	2.9	5.6
Ag/Animal Sc.	2.2	13.2	3.8	14.1	4.8	13.9
Vet. Sc.	0	0	0	0	0	0.9
Engineering	1.5	14	2.3	12.1	4.8	13
Geog./Geol.	0.7	6.1	2.3	6.1	1	5.6
Physics	0.7	7.9	0.8	4	1	6.5
General St.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0.7	0	0	0	0	0

The Deep South: Women in this region who responded to the questionnaire were concentrated in business, education, psychology, and English. While these are all fields that are fairly popular with women, it is unusual that all four disciplines had the highest concentrations of women receiving their bachelor's, master's and doctorates. Business was the most popular with 11.3% of the respondents receiving their bachelor in this field,

12.6% receiving their master's, and 15.2% receiving their doctorate. Education and psychology were next with 10.4% of the women obtaining their bachelor's degrees and 8.4% with a master's in each of these disciplines. English was the fourth most popular field with 9.4% of the bachelor's, 6.3% of the master's, and 6.3% of the doctorates.

Table 14: The Deep South: Percentage of degrees within each field

	Bachelors		Master's		Doctorate	
	women	men	women	men	women	men
Nursing	2.8	0	4.2	0	0	0
Home Ec.	2.8	0	5.3	0	2.5	0
Library Sc.	0	0	4.2	0	0	0
Health/PE	4.7	1.4	5.3	1.7	3.8	0.8
Education	10.4	3.6	8.4	4.3	13.9	6.3
Psychology	10.4	5.0	8.4	3.4	11.4	0.8
Fine Arts	3.8	2.9	5.3	2.6	0	0
Sociology	3.8	5.8	3.2	5.2	3.8	4.7
Foreign Lang.	3.8	0	3.2	0.9	5.1	0
Pharmacy	0.9	2.9	1.1	2.6	3.8	2.3
Music	0.9	2.2	1.1	2.6	1.3	2.3
Law	0	0	0	0	5.1	0.8
English	9.4	1.4	6.3	1.7	6.3	1.6
Philosophy/Rel.	1.9	2.9	1.1	3.4	1.3	2.3
Business	11.3	12.2	12.6	15.5	15.2	14.8
History/Poli Sc.	6.6	7.9	5.3	5.2	5.1	6.3
Anthropology	1.9	0	2.1	0	1.3	0
Architecture	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chemistry	2.8	8.6	0	5.2	1.3	10.2
Communications	3.8	3.6	4.2	3.4	2.5	3.1
Math/Stats	2.8	5.0	3.2	4.3	1.3	3.9
Computer Sc.	1.9	0	2.1	0.9	2.5	0.8
Biological Sc.	7.5	4.3	5.3	2.6	3.8	3.1
Forestry/Wild.	0.9	3.6	2.1	5.2	2.5	3.9
Ag/Animal Sc.	1.9	6.5	2.1	9.5	3.8	7.8
Vet. Sc.	0	0	0	0.9	0	0.8
Engineering	0.9	15.8	1.1	14.7	1.3	14.8
Geog./Geol.	0	2.2	1.1	2.6	0	2.3
Physics	0.9	2.2	1.1	0.9	1.3	1.6
General St.	0.9	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	1.1	0.9	0	0

Engineering, agriculture/animal science, chemistry, and business were popular among the men responding to the questionnaire. The four most populated fields for the bachelor's degrees were engineering (15.8%), business (12.2%), chemistry (8.6%), and history/political science (7.9%). Master's degrees were concentrated in business (15.5%), engineering (14.7%), and agriculture/animal science (9.5%). Those receiving their doctorates were more likely to be in business and engineering (each with 14.8%), chemistry (10.2%), and agriculture/animal science (7.8%).

Business was the only discipline to be equally popular for both men and women in the Deep South. It should be noted, however, that among those teaching business, many had received advanced degrees in business education. Had the questions been answered differently, education may have been a much more popular field. With agriculture being such a popular field for men, it is surprising that more did not respond from the department of biological sciences since it is closely tied to agriculture. The table above gives the breakdown of respondents within each field.

The fields with the largest percentage of degrees varied between the regions and by gender. Bachelor's degrees for women in the Rocky Mountain Northwest, for example, were concentrated in English (12.5%), the biological sciences (11%) and home economics (10.3%). Their master's degrees were more likely to be in home economics (9.2%), education (8.5%) and English (8.5%). Doctorates for women in this region followed a similar pattern with education (14.3%) and the biological sciences (10.5%) being the most popular. In the Deep South women were more likely to get their bachelor's degree in business (11.3%), education (10.4%) and psychology (10.4%).

Their master's degrees and doctorates were both highly concentrated in the same fields.

Men of the Rocky Mountain Northwest obtained more bachelor's degrees in engineering (14%), agriculture/animal science (13.2%) and mathematics/statistics (12.3%). Agriculture and engineering continued to be the most favored fields for the male respondents when pursuing a graduate degree, but the biological sciences received a high percentage also with 10.1% of the master's and 11.1% of the doctorates. Their peers in the Deep South were more likely to get a bachelor's degree in engineering (15.8%), business (12.2%) and chemistry (8.6%), with engineering and business being the most favored for graduate degrees. While engineering is popular for men in both regions, it is unusual that in the Deep South business has an equally high concentration of both men and women.

5. What are your areas of academic specialization?

This question was to support question 4 and to help determine which fields were likely to overlap. It seems that fields such as forestry, agriculture and the biological sciences were the most likely to have overlapping specialized fields. This would have made it more difficult to categorize had question four not been asked. Specialized fields among the liberal arts were much easier to define. For example, a history professor might have specialized in Russian history while a professor in art might have been more focused toward ceramics. Categories such as educational psychology could go in either discipline, but, for this study, the person was categorized based on the discipline in which he or she received the highest degree.

6a. Are you or were you ever married?

b. If so, how much of your education had you completed at that time?

This question was to determine if men or women were more likely to be or have been married and if it varied by region. Were faculty of one region more likely to complete more of their education before marriage?

Rocky Mountain Northwest: Of those women who replied, 15% had never been married, but of the 85 % who were or had been married, most (64.6%) had completed some portion of their graduate work before deciding to marry. Only 3.5% were married before beginning their college education. Approximately 16% had completed some of the bachelor's, while 16.8% had completed all of their undergraduate work. The highest figures were those who had completed their master's degree (23.9%) and their doctorate (23%). Six percent married while working on the master's and 8% did so while working on the doctorate. Men from the same universities appeared to follow a similar pattern of marriage. Six percent married prior to beginning their college education while 10.6% had completed some of the bachelor's. Over one-fifth (21.2%) postponed marriage until completion of the master's degree and nearly the same amount (23.1%) waited to finish their doctoral work. Those who married during graduate school were 7.7% during the master's and 4.8% during the doctorate. Only 6.3% of those who responded had never been married.

The Deep South: Of those women who replied, 84.4 % were or had been married, leaving 15.6% having never been married. The women of the South did marry at a younger age than their sisters in the Northwest. Just over 6% married before beginning

any of their higher education. Seventeen percent had completed some of their undergraduate work while 22% married after completing their bachelor's degree and 21% waited to finish the master's. Only 12% had obtained a doctorate at the time of marriage. This is a striking contrast to the 23% from Montana and Idaho. The pattern of earlier marriages is also seen with the men of the South. Thirty percent were married after the bachelor's degree, 14% after the master's and 16.5% waited to complete their doctorate, while 7.3% had never married. For the women professors in the South, over 45% were married by the time they completed their undergraduate work. Only 36% of the women in the Rockies were married at this same point in their education. Table 15 below shows how men and women of each region compare.

Table 15: Amount of education completed prior to marriage*

	West - women	West - men	South - women	South - men
None	3.5	6.3	6.2	6.3
Some Bachelor's	15.9	10.6	17.3	12.6
Bachelor's	16.8	23.1	22.2	29.9
Some Master's	6.2	7.7	8.6	7.9
Master's	23.9	21.2	21	14.2
Some Doctorate	8	4.8	6.2	9.4
Doctorate	23	23.1	12.3	16.5
Unknown	3.5	1.9	6.2	2.4
Never married	15	6.3	15.6	7.3

*figures are percentage of each gender in each region

For those women faculty who had never married, it is surprising that the figures are about the same in both regions. Given the higher rate of earlier marriages in the South, in relation to education, one would think that perhaps women of the South would also have a higher tendency to marry. Of course, as discussed in Question 2 above, a

large number of faculty members do have their origins in other regions. This could have had an effect on the percentage of those never married.

6c. Have you ever relocated because of educational or job opportunities available to you?

d. Have you ever relocated because of educational or job opportunities available to your spouse?

Who was more likely to control the relocation, men or women? While the responses to this question were fairly thorough, it may have been less confusing to have worded it another way. Perhaps including “While married” at the beginning of parts c and d would have cleared up any misunderstanding.

Rocky Mountain Northwest: Most respondents indicated that they had moved prior to marriage to attend the college of their choice or because of other educational or job opportunities. While married, however, the female professors were more than twice as likely to relocate because of opportunities available to their spouse. Forty-nine percent of the women indicated that they had moved at one point because of their spouse, but only 22.3% of the men said they had done the same for their wife. Several explanations may be offered as to why this is so.

For one, some men did indicate that they had wives who either did not work outside the home or were able to take their work with them in the event of a move. Also, even in this time of equal opportunity for the genders, it is still true that males continue to command higher salaries than their female counterparts. This allows men, as a whole, to have better financial prospects than their wives. Therefore, men ultimately control the relocation of the family. Women are also more likely to either work part-time or not at

all if there are children in the family, another reason the husband's salary tends to be the primary income. Also, the male respondents were, on the average, older than the women who replied to the questionnaire. This might indicate that the wives were also older and less likely to have pursued a career. Therefore, the question is not applicable. There was no reason to relocate because of the wife.

The Deep South: Men in the South were less likely to relocate because of the wife's opportunities. Only 13.4% admitted moving because of their wives, but the figures were relatively the same for the women of each region. Why would there be such a difference between the men of each region? Again, they were, on the average, older than the women who responded. Remember, the men as a whole have been faculty members considerably longer than the women. Possibly the women in the South have a longer history of being stay-at-home mothers and did not have a career that might bring about a move. The tradition of women staying home with the children instead of choosing a career has been stronger in the South than other regions.

7a. How many children?

b. Did having children present any obstacles in terms of advancing in your profession?

Rocky Mountain Northwest: Sixty-five percent of the married women had children (54.9% of the total). No one indicated having children without ever being married. Of the men, 81.7% of those married had children, or 76.6% of the total respondents.

The Deep South: Seventy-five percent of the married women who replied had children. That figure was 63.5% of the total. Of the married men from this region, 78.7% had children, or 73% of the total.

Marriage as used in this context means that they either are or had been married at one time. Many believed that having children, while not necessarily an obstacle, did require time. This would be so for anyone in any profession. The more time one spends with the family, the less time is available to spend on a career. Perhaps the figures of those married and those with children could be compared to averages in other professions to determine if the career of a university professor does somehow prevent or postpone family life.

8. What is your current rank or position?

Rocky Mountain Northwest: Of the women, 20.3% were full professors, 35.3% were associate professors, 41.4% were listed as assistant professors, and 3.5% were instructors. The men who responded were largely full professors, 45.9%, while 31.5% were associate professors and 21.6% were assistant professors.

The Deep South: Women of this region who responded to the survey accounted for 18.8% of full professors, 28.1% of associate professors, 44.8% of assistant professors, and 7.3% of instructors. One percent were lecturers. The men who replied were largely full professors, 48.9%. Another 32.1% were associates, and 16.8% were assistant professors. None who replied were instructors or lecturers.

9. How long at each rank or position?

The responses to this question were inconsistent, consequently its impact cannot be measured here. The purpose was to determine if women or men advanced through the ranks at a faster pace and if there were any differences between the two regions. Given the lower average age of the female respondents and the low numbers of women in the higher ranks, this question may not be phrased properly. In order to have a true comparison it may be better to compare female professors with male professors, associate professors with associate professors and so on.

10. What was your starting salary at each position?

As expected many people were hesitant to answer this question since it is a sensitive issue. Because of the scanty response, analysis of this particular question was omitted. Using a salary range may have provided a better response rate, but a good comparison between the genders still could not have been made because of the variation within each range. Also, the value of money would have had to have been taken into account for different time frames. Perhaps the best way to have approached this question would have been to ask if the individual believed his or her salary was on par with others in that field. While that would not have provided figures for comparison, it would have provided a better measure for perception.

11a. What portion of your job is allocated to research?

b. As a university faculty member, have you ever taken time off to do research? If so, when and for how long?

The second portion of this question did not gather the types of responses expected. Many were unsure if the time off meant paid time or unpaid leave, if summers should be included, and if the time for research had to be associated with university work or if research funded by soft money could be included.

Rocky Mountain Northwest: Although the types of responses to the second part of the question varied too much to be accurately measured, responses to the first part of the question are laid out in Table 16 below.

Table 16: Rocky Mountain Northwest - Time allocated for research

percent of time spent on research	women		men	
	number	percent	number	percent
90% to 100%	4	2.9	2	1.7
75% to 89%	3	2.2	10	8.5
50% to 74%	12	8.8	19	16.2
40% to 49%	8	5.9	22	18.8
30% to 39%	26	19.1	14	12.0
20% to 29%	33	24.3	23	19.7
10% to 19%	13	9.6	11	9.4
less than 10%	14	10.3	5	4.3
varies	6	4.4	2	1.7
own time	3	2.2	2	1.7
not required	8	5.9	1	0.9
no response	6	4.4	6	5.1
Totals:	136	100	117	100

The amount of time spent on research varied by individuals within each field. A number of factors could have been behind this variation. Depending on rank and tenure, a person might be required to do more or less research in relation to the time spent in class. Also, holding a chair or other distinguished position may alter a person's time allocated to research. One female University of Montana assistant professor said there

was no normal allocation for research in her department, but it must be done. Usually she has given up income from teaching summer school in order to do research. Another in fine arts says there is no allocated time for research, but it is expected, although not rewarded by a decrease in course load or an increase in money.

A male assistant professor in the hard sciences said he has taken no time off for research, but has paid himself a summer salary through grants and contracts. Another said he has spent almost every summer on research without remuneration. Many said they have used summers to fulfill research expectations because the course load was not lightened during the regular school year.

The Deep South: Responses to question 11a can be found in Table 17 below.

Table 17: The Deep South: Time allocated for research

percent of time spent on research	men		women	
	number	percent	number	percent
90% to 100%:	3	3.1	3	2.2
75% to 89%:	4	4.1	9	6.7
50% to 74%:	11	11.2	27	20.0
40% to 49%:	11	11.2	14	10.4
30% to 39%:	11	11.2	13	9.6
20% to 29%:	11	11.2	21	15.6
10% to 19%:	6	6.1	11	8.1
less than 10%:	6	6.1	5	3.7
varies:	5	5.1	8	5.9
own time:	6	6.1	9	6.7
not required:	14	14.3	3	2.2
no response:	10	10.2	12	8.9
Totals:	98	99.9	135	100

While most everyone answered this question, the types of responses did vary for the second portion of the question. Some included sabbatical time, others just mentioned

unpaid summers when they did work on their own time. Still others mentioned the times when their research was funded by soft money outside of the university system. Because of these variations, it would be impossible to have a standard measurement. Both men and women who have been faculty for some time and likely have tenure were more likely to indicate having taken one or more sabbaticals during their university careers. A number have taken time off without pay in order to advance research. Overall, those in the hard sciences appeared to be more likely to be involved in research outside of the university, yet they were also the ones with the highest allocation of research.

12a. Please list any university appointments such as dean or chair you have received.

b. How long were you a faculty member prior to receiving these appointments?

Rocky Mountain Northwest: Not surprising was the percentage of faculty who received appointments such as dean or chair of a department. Twenty-eight percent of the men had been a chair or assistant chair at one point, but only 13.5% of the women had held that position. Only 5.4% of the men listed dean as one of their appointments and 3.8% of the women.

The Deep South: Of the women 9.4% said they had been chair or assistant chair at some point in their career. For men 28.5% said they had held that position. Four percent of the women listed dean as one of their appointments, while 10.2% of the men did so.

13. Have you ever perceived any discrimination in your career regarding salary, promotions, etc.? If so, please explain.

While a number of reasons were given by those who claimed to have experienced some form of discrimination, salary discrepancies were at the top of the list for women of both regions while men were as likely to believe they were passed over for a job because a woman was needed to bring about “equity.” Many other men who said “yes” to this question admitted the discrimination was directly related to salary compaction or inversion. New, inexperienced faculty were being paid as much as or more than those who had been at the university for many years. A male professor in Montana summed it up like this: “The longer you are there and the harder you work, the more you are discriminated against.” A few women who were seasoned professors admitted being affected by this trend also.

It is important to note that the figures below for “gender” have somewhat of a different meaning for the men than for the women. The men who gave this reason did so based on events related to affirmative action and so-called equity. These men witnessed women being put in positions for which they were not qualified for the sole purpose of achieving some sort of balance between the genders in a certain field. Some of these men were told directly in job interviews that the university (not necessarily the one at which they currently work) needed to hire a woman for the job. Others have seen positions they had applied for withdrawn when too few women applied for the job. For women “gender” here refers to perceived inconsistencies in treatment and being told to expect or do certain things because of their sex. “Salary discrepancies” and “lack or delay of promotions” were also perceived to be gender based, but because of their specificity, these reasons were given categories on their own.

The Rocky Mountain Northwest: Of those responding, 53.4% of the women claimed to have experienced discrimination in some form as opposed to 28.8% of the men. A total of eighty-three women and thirty-four men from this region said they had experienced some form of discrimination. The table below shows the percentage of women and men in this region who gave a specific reason for their claim to discrimination.

**Table 18: Rocky Mountain Northwest:
Percent for each type of discrimination**

Type of discrimination	Women	Men
Involved in lawsuit	6.0	0
Salary discrepancies	28.9	0
Salary inversions	0	23.5
Lack or delay of promotions	9.6	8.8
Age	2.4	0
Religion	1.2	0
Race/ethnicity	0	5.9
Gender	8.4	26.5
Lack of maternity leave	4.8	0
Work harder to be recognized	3.6	0
Field devalued with women	7.2	0
Other	16.9	23.5
Yes, no details	10.8	11.8

The Deep South: Almost twice as many women claimed to have experienced some form of discrimination compared to men. Over half of all the female faculty from the South (51.0%), as opposed to 33.6% of the men, said they had encountered discrimination in some form. Of those who responded, fifty women and fifty men from this region said they had experienced discrimination. The table below shows the percent of women and men for each reason given.

For women of both regions, salary discrepancies were the main cause of concern. Most who cited this reason gave examples of men in the same department with the same rank and time on the job who received \$1500 to \$2000 or more annually than did the women. Other women said that although the annual salaries were equal, theirs was based on twelve months work while the men's were based on nine months.

**Table 19: The Deep South:
Percent for each type of discrimination**

Type of discrimination	Women	Men
Involved in lawsuit	8.0	0
Salary discrepancies	38.0	0
Salary inversions	0	14.0
Lack or delay of promotions	14.0	8.0
Age	2.0	6.0
Religion	0	0
Race/ethnicity	4.0	8.0
Gender	10.0	46.0
Lack of maternity leave	0	0
Work harder to be recognized	8.0	0
Field devalued with women	2.0	0
Other	12.0	8.0
Yes, no details	2.0	10.0

The men of the two regions were more likely to cite "gender" as a reason for discrimination, but the men from the Rocky Mountain Northwest were as nearly equally distributed between "salary inversion" and "other," while the men of the South were overwhelmingly affected by affirmative action and quotas. The men from the schools of the South are undoubtedly being made to pay for the years of omitting women from their faculties.

Overall, a few respondents, both men and women, did not wish to discuss the details of the discrimination, but many of the women admitted much of the discrimination was not overt. Female faculty members, they said, were expected to be more flexible and compassionate than men. Because a significant number of the female faculty were unmarried when they began to teach, they were expected to accept more responsibility. For example, extra committee positions and overnight assignments were not considered to be a problem because the single women had no one at home requiring their spare time. Also, being a single female was a disadvantage when it came time for a raise, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. Because such women did not have families to raise, the perception was that they did not need the money as badly as family men. Most of the women who cited this example of discrimination admitted that it was much worse years ago than it is today.

A significant number of women admitted feeling that they had to work twice as hard as the men in order to have their work recognized. While a few women felt their salaries were not comparable to the men's, a surprising number of women said that because of affirmative action, they are often in a much better position than their male co-workers. They confessed that the advantage was theirs in the hiring practices and initial salaries they received. Men commented on this also, but often went on to say that the salary advantage did not always continue in the form of equal raises. On the other hand, a few men proposed that women with less than outstanding credentials have been put into positions that they do not deserve in order to promote "equity" on campus. This can injure the reputation of all women in academia when the unqualified one does not meet

the goals of the position. "Equity" raises are common also, giving women larger raises so that their salaries will be on par with men.

An astonishing number of women feel the university system is still male dominated in its thinking for a number of reasons. One most often mentioned was that the universities had no formal maternity leave available to women. Many indicated that they tried to plan the birth of their children during the summer in order to have time to spend with their newborns. Others said they were able to take a semester away from teaching, but all who mentioned childbirth said the lack of maternity leave was a real problem for female professors. Several women indicated that the university system nationwide is discriminatory in its policy for faculty advancement, saying it has a male bias, but no one fully explained why they believe this to be so.

Some women in the male dominated fields mentioned being made to feel inadequate by male counterparts. A few said its as if everyone is expecting you to fail, knowing that you cannot cut it among the men. This hostile environment prevents a person from working at her full potential, often forcing her to leave the university and sometimes the profession. Other women in the mostly male fields said the difficult part was succeeding in graduate school. The male students were often not accepting of women in their midst, but once in the university system as a faculty member, the rest of the faculty were supportive. One male, in a field that has seen very few female professors, admitted that prior to 1990, women were not entering that field, but since then there has been a push to get women on board, qualified or not. This is likely the result of quotas and government interference. However, this hurts women and the

department in the long run. If men with the same credentials applied for the same position, they would not stand a chance.

Reverse discrimination is rampant. Although less than 30% of the male respondents from the universities in the Rocky Mountain Northwest said they had encountered some form of discrimination, most of them did mention that times are tough for white men. Many had been told point blank in job interviews that they were certainly qualified, but the university needed to hire women. Others have seen job openings at universities withdrawn when enough women failed to apply. Some men admit that affirmative action is a “no win” situation. Women get the short end of the stick regardless. When they are hired into a virtually all-male field there is often the belief that the job is theirs only because of their gender. This can set the tone for the woman’s work environment, making it tough on the women, qualified or not.

A few women from both regions mentioned that a field of study gets “devalued” once it becomes overpopulated with women. This was shown previously (p. 21) with the “pink collar” workers in the service sector. In the South, however, women were just over 30% of the computer science faculty. That figure is significant, greater than most other fields, but the field of computer science has not been devalued because of it. That is one of the highest paying fields right out of college and one of the most plentiful. Perhaps the possibilities for women in this field are greater because this is a relatively new field, growing since the 1970s, after the inception of Title IX and affirmative action. It may be possible that the devaluation of fields upon the entry of numerous women was an event of the past, or it may take a larger portion of women (over 50%) for a field to become

devalued. This was the case with specific industry jobs in the 1940s and 50s as mentioned in Chapter 2.

D. Survey Conclusions

Synthesizing the information gleaned from the questionnaire responses shows that women from the Southern universities are somewhat different from women of the universities in the Rocky Mountain Northwest and the women and men of each region vary greatly also.¹¹² To begin with women faculty of the Deep South are slightly younger than their counterparts in the Rocky Mountain Northwest and the age difference between the genders is slightly greater in the Southern universities. Also, the percentage of women faculty from both regions is inversely proportional to their rank while the opposite is true for the men. Even so, women from the Deep South were not as well represented in the two highest ranks as the women from the Rocky Mountain Northwest. This combined with the younger age may suggest that the women in these Southern universities have fewer years of teaching experience than their counterparts in the Rockies.¹¹³ The bar graphs shown earlier also attest to this because in two of the three Southern schools, women only began teaching in significant numbers well after the Second World War.

Perhaps overall the Deep South is more traditional or conservative than the Rocky Mountain Northwest, even though college campuses are generally considered to be very

¹¹² Keep in mind that these conclusions are based solely on the responses received from the questionnaire. How well these assumptions can be carried over to the entire faculty has not been determined. The process of e-mail itself could have a built in bias making the respondents more similar than the rest of the faculty.

¹¹³ In this study reference to the 'Rockies' implies the Rocky Mountain Northwest region.

liberal. For instance, as opposed to the women of the Rocky Mountain Northwest, the women faculty of the Deep South were much more likely to have been from the state in which they currently work or to be from another state within that region. They were less likely than any other group to have moved there from a region outside of the South. Women from both regions, however, were more likely than the men to have been from the state in which they currently teach. Women from both regions were also as likely to have relocated based upon their husband's opportunities, but the men from the Southern universities were half as likely as the men in the opposing region to relocate because of an opportunity available to their wife. This means that the women from the Deep South are less mobile than their sisters in the Rockies.

Other reasons for less mobility are that the women who responded from the South married with less education than the women of the Rockies, although the total marriage rate was the same. For the Deep South, 45% of those who were married did so by the time they completed their bachelor's degree (40% of the men in the same region had married at this point). This is in contrast to 36% of the women in the Rocky Mountain Northwest (and 49% of the men). Marriage is likely to inhibit a person's mobility more so than single life because of responsibilities within the home. Therefore, people who postpone marriage until all of their higher education is complete and a career is started are more likely to have the opportunity to move outside of their home state.

The presence of children is another factor separating the women of the two regions. Of those from the Deep South who were or had been married, 75% had children. Only 65% of the women in the Rocky Mountain Northwest had children. This

too affects mobility and supports the claim that the Deep South is still a relatively conservative region.

One surprising admission based upon what the respondents said is related to the discrimination issue. From the Deep South, 51.0% of the women said they had experienced some form of discrimination compared to 53.4% from the Rocky Mountain Northwest. Of the men, 33.6% from the former region admitted to being discriminated against in one way or another versus 28.8% of the men from the latter region. This is surprising because based upon the other questions, the Deep South has consistently had more disparity between the genders than the Rockies. A possible explanation is that the universities in the Deep South recognize that the women there have not had the same opportunities as the men so they are trying harder to rectify the situation. This may also explain why a higher proportion of men in that region have experienced discrimination than the men in the Rocky Mountain Northwest. Reverse discrimination may be more of a problem in the Deep South than in the other region. If that explanation is not adequate, there is the possibility that the stereotypical Southern lady does not like to make a fuss and draw attention to herself. Instead of complaining about inequality perhaps she is more likely than the women of the 'liberal' West to work quietly toward her goals and accept what she achieves.

These are only possible explanations for the differences between the regions, but more work could be done. The information gathered in this study supports the conclusion that the regions are different and so are the people who reside within them. There are other questions to be asked and other ways to ask the ones in this questionnaire. Question 5 on marriage could have been broken down to include the

number of times married, how long each time, how much education completed prior to each marriage, and living together instead of marriage. Question 7 may have been improved by asking, "At what point in your career or education did you have each child and what impacts did that have on your career?" Question 10 regarding salary at each rank may have been improved by giving a range, but the time frame would still have had to have been known for the figures to mean anything. It could have been phrased more generally such as, "Do you believe your salary at each rank was commiserate with that of your peers?" Perhaps that would have been more telling than actual dollars. For the purposes of this study, however, the questionnaire was kept simple since it was being conducted largely by e-mail. It was believed that a lengthy survey would have produced less response.

VI. Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to determine the extent of regional influences upon the faculty, primarily female faculty, from universities in two regions. Three medium sized universities from each of the regions were chosen for this research. At the onset of this study it was believed by the writer that a region's history and its cultural characteristics might play a part in the advancement of women faculty and could have an impact upon their distribution in certain disciplines. University catalogs from the selected universities were used to determine the number and distribution of women faculty since the turn of the century and to make a comparison between the two regions. In addition to this a questionnaire was used to gather information about current attitudes and backgrounds of the faculty in these universities.

Because some background was needed on women's early work and education, Chapter 2 focused on women in America's history. It was not until the Civil War that a significant portion of women began to realize that they were capable of doing the work of a man. Although many knew they were able to earn money outside of the home, they often began their work as unpaid club members who sought to rid the nation of its social evils, namely drunkenness and prostitution. Health and education programs had their roots in these clubs also. While these types of clubs were predominant in the more urban areas, that did not mean women in less socialized places were confined to their homes. Women who helped settle the West could sometimes be found doing laundry and cooking in mining towns and military posts, not to mention farming their own land.

The history of women in America must also include women in education. That was the purpose of Chapter 3. While women have for many decades been accepted as teachers, they were not always welcome in schools of higher education. Even as students women were not always free to study the same subjects as their male counterparts. In the present decade, some women faculty believe that women are still not readily accepted into every field of study.

Chapter 4 used the university catalogs to study regional variations of women in academia since 1900. The change in the concentration of women faculty since the turn of the century was analyzed along with their concentration in each field. From this a comparison of the two regions could be made and possible reasons for the changes could be determined. Some of the changes appeared to coincide with national events such as the Great Depression in the 1930s and the Women's Movement in the sixties and seventies. While female educators in the West were at their peak during the first part of the century, the decline after the Depression may be related to the lack of job opportunities in the 1930s. As stated earlier, the scarcity of jobs led employers to replace working women with men because men were seen as the breadwinner and in greater need of work than any woman. Women were believed to have extended family or someone else to support them when facing financial hardships. After the Great Depression many women went to work in the factories to help the military, then during the Baby Boomer years, women had a tendency to stay home and take care of the children. It wasn't until the 1960s that women's fight for equality gathered steam. The fruits of their labor may

be seen in Graph 2 in Chapter 4 that shows a steady increase in women faculty at all three universities since 1970.

It was at this point in 1970, that the percentage of women faculty began to rise in the Rocky Mountain Northwest as well as in the Deep South. Although the percentage of women at each rank did vary within each university, tenure and the growth of the universities must be taken into account. While the number of faculty has been continually growing, it does take time to filter out tenured faculty. Also, if women were just beginning to study the hard sciences in large numbers in the sixties and seventies, the pool of qualified women candidates for new positions would be rather small. Therefore, although the proportion of women faculty has been on the rise, it is a slow process that could potentially take decades.

Because the South has historically been considered the last bastion of change, it may be surmised that this region's opposition to change is in part responsible for the initial lack of acceptance of women in academia, especially at the higher ranks. While women faculty in the West were at their peak in the early part of the century, the women in the South were, for the most part, invisible. As shown by the graphs and tables in Chapter 4, women in this region did not begin to appear in any significant numbers until mid-century. Perhaps the old-fashioned attitudes of the Deep South have a stronger foothold than one might expect. After all, the Southern states, as a whole, were the last to give women the right to vote and it was Mississippi that belatedly ratified the Nineteenth Amendment in 1986.

An analysis of the questionnaire appeared in Chapter 5. This section shed light on the current trends and belief systems in the universities and helped to show how far women in both regions have come. According to the survey questions, women in the Deep South were younger overall than their counterparts in the Rocky Mountain Northwest, were more likely to have been from the state in which they currently work or from another state within that region, and were less likely to have moved there from a region outside of the South. Women in the South married at a younger age and were more likely to have children than their counterparts in the West. This data may indicate that women in the South have less mobility than the women in the Rocky Mountain Northwest, but how much of this is directly related to regional influences remains to be seen.

Despite all of the differences there are some similarities between the women from both regions. The percentage of women faculty from both regions, for example, is inversely proportional to their rank, while the opposite is true for the men. Women from both regions were more likely than the men to be from the state in which they currently teach and were equally likely to have relocated because of their husband's opportunities. Men in the South, however, were half as likely as men in the Rockies to have relocated because of their wives.

The question of discrimination provided another similarity between the women in both regions. Judging from other responses and the history of women in higher education in each of the regions, it is surprising that the women from the South did not have many more experiences with discrimination than the women in the West. Those women who

admitted to having encountered discrimination were very similar, 51% from the Rocky Mountain Northwest and 53% from the Deep South. While discrimination was encountered at some point by half of the women in each region and about one-third of the men, salaries and promotions seemed to be a sore subject as well. These were often mentioned as the reason for the perceived discrimination. Whether it was a woman receiving a smaller salary than a male hired at the same time with similar qualifications, or a man losing a promotion to a woman because a quota had to be filled, the pay and promotion inequities were a sore subject for men and women in both regions.

Although there was no general agreement on the status of women in either region or in any field, there seemed to be a general consensus that success as a university professor requires a person to give up much of their personal time, often for little monetary compensation. As with any job the amount of time one puts into it, the better their chances of being successful. Some chose to put their families first and postpone advancement, while others postponed having a family in order to succeed in their career.

Overall, the information gathered in this study supports the conclusion that the regions are different, as are the people who reside within them. While all public college campuses are generally considered to be liberal, it must be acknowledged that all are not the same and that region does have an affect on the people who teach there. The previous chapters discussed how women of the two regions were stereotyped in different ways, the working woman of the Wild West and the demure Southern Belle. Although we have come a long way since then, the results of this study show that there was some truth in those stereotypes and perhaps there still is.

While this study does shed some light on the regional differences of women faculty in higher education, much more could be done. Out of necessity the number of schools chosen from each region had to be limited for this study, but a broader sample taken from each region would be more telling. Also, the inclusion of private schools and universities of varying sizes might provide a better picture of the success of women faculty in each of the regions. For future study one might wish to categorize schools based on their designation as a technical or liberal arts school. Another direction might involve a comparison of professional schools only, such as business, pharmacy, law, and engineering. By doing this one could determine where women were concentrated. Are they more likely to be teaching in two-year junior colleges for less pay or in private female institutes, or is there a difference at all?

Another way to expand on this study would be to have a more extensive questionnaire and perhaps conduct personal interviews, although one would need a liason in every area in order to reach a significant portion of faculty from several universities. This would require a substantial amount of time, however. By using universities from every region of the United States, a more realistic picture could be formed. Regardless of the survey area and university categorization used, future study of this subject is needed in order to arrive at a true picture of women's success in academia.

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