

## ARE WE CRACKING THE IVORY CEILING?

### WOMEN AND MINORITIES IN PHILOSOPHY

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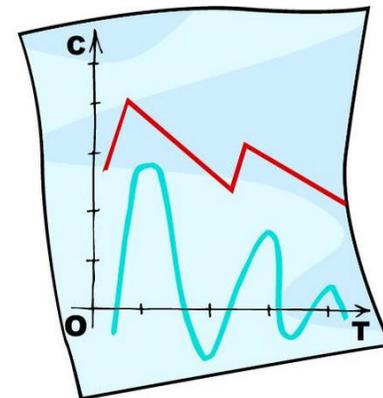
## Outline

1. Goals?
2. Data (all US/UK based)
3. Identifying the hurdles
  - a. Native differences in ability
  - b. Explicit discrimination
  - c. Structural barriers (briefly!)
  - d. Implicit bias
  - e. Stereotype Threat/Solo Status
  - f. Micro-messages
  - g. Active Bystanders
4. Strategies for change??

## What are our goals?

- There are many reasons why one might believe that proportional representation of women and minorities in philosophy is a worthy goal.
  - It would be more just and fair than the disparities we have now.
  - It will improve our ability to gain knowledge develop good theories.

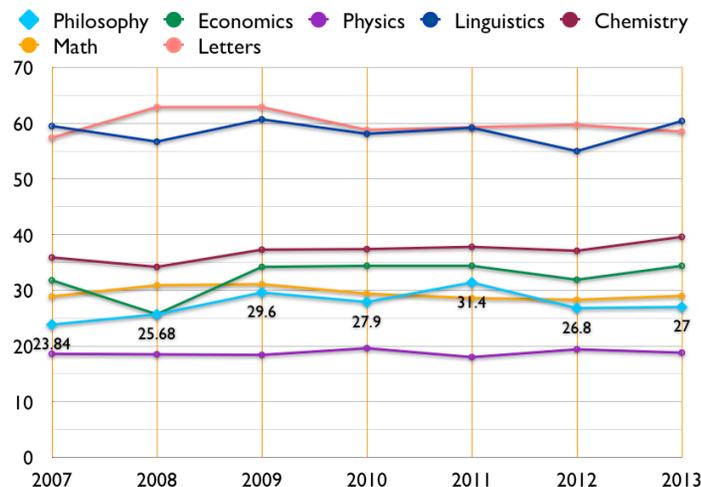
## 1. Data...or “The Philosophy Exception”



## Data Collection

- Failure to collect and analyze data undermines progress towards justice.
- It is impossible to address disparities in the representation of women and minorities in a field without having an understanding of *where* the disparities occur and *why*.
- Even to develop good hypotheses, we need data. But data is not systematically collected in the US, or the UK, or in most parts of Europe.

## Survey of Earned Doctorates % Women



8/23/13

(c) Sally Haslanger 2013

## DIGEST of EDUCATION STATISTICS

2011 Tables and Figures | All Years of Tables and Figures | Most Recent Full Issue of the Digest

Table 270. Full-time and part-time faculty and instructional staff in degree-granting institutions, by race/ethnicity, sex, and program area: Fall 1998 and fall 2003

Program area	Number (in thousands)		Percentage distribution, fall 2003													
	Fall 1998	Fall 2003	White		Black		Hispanic		Asian/Pacific Islander		American Indian/Alaska Native		Other			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		
<b>Full-time faculty and instructional staff</b>	<b>560 (4.8)</b>	<b>682 (#)</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>49.6 (0.39)</b>	<b>30.7 (0.36)</b>	<b>2.9 (0.15)</b>	<b>2.7 (0.13)</b>	<b>2.0 (0.09)</b>	<b>1.5 (0.08)</b>	<b>6.3 (0.15)</b>	<b>2.8 (0.15)</b>	<b>0.8 (0.08)</b>	<b>0.6 (0.07)</b>			
Agriculture and home economics	10 (0.4)	17 (0.8)	100.0	58.9 (3.03)	28.9 (2.72)	# (*)	1.8 (0.73)	1.2 (0.46)	1.3 (0.52)	3.6 (1.13)	2.8 (0.86)	# (*)	0.6 (0.35)			
Natural sciences	111 (2.1)	151 (2.5)	100.0	57.3 (1.12)	20.3 (0.80)	2.5 (0.31)	1.5 (0.22)	2.0 (0.20)	0.9 (0.15)	11.2 (0.65)	3.3 (0.35)	0.6 (0.16)	0.3 (0.09)			
Biological sciences	40 (1.3)	59 (1.7)	100.0	55.4 (1.69)	21.6 (1.30)	2.2 (0.48)	1.2 (0.28)	1.9 (0.39)	1.2 (0.31)	11.1 (1.13)	4.8 (0.67)	0.3 (0.17)	0.3 (0.12)			
Physical sciences	27 (0.8)	36 (1.3)	100.0	68.9 (2.03)	12.8 (1.90)	2.6 (0.59)	0.7 (0.31)	1.4 (0.29)	0.6 (0.19)	9.4 (1.05)	3.0 (0.64)	0.4 (0.33)	# (*)			
Mathematics	26 (1.0)	32 (1.3)	100.0	52.2 (2.15)	22.7 (1.84)	3.8 (0.67)	2.6 (0.67)	2.8 (0.67)	0.7 (0.28)	11.7 (1.41)	1.8 (0.67)	1.2 (0.56)	0.3 (0.18)			
Computer sciences	17 (0.9)	24 (1.2)	100.0	51.0 (2.74)	25.1 (2.15)	1.5 (0.59)	2.0 (0.58)	2.3 (0.52)	0.9 (0.31)	13.5 (1.69)	2.0 (0.66)	1.1 (0.48)	0.6 (0.36)			
Social sciences	58 (1.3)	70 (1.0)	100.0	52.2 (1.46)	29.0 (1.23)	3.7 (0.45)	4.1 (0.81)	2.6 (0.36)	1.7 (0.35)	3.4 (0.58)	1.9 (0.48)	0.9 (0.25)	0.6 (0.15)			
Economics	9 (0.6)	12 (0.7)	100.0	62.3 (3.46)	18.0 (3.09)	3.5 (0.92)	# (*)	3.1 (1.13)	# (*)	8.9 (2.18)	3.2 (2.24)	# (*)	# (*)			
Political science	8 (0.5)	10 (0.7)	100.0	67.1 (3.74)	16.8 (2.99)	2.8 (1.19)	3.2 (1.62)	5.1 (1.57)	# (*)	2.9 (1.31)	# (*)	# (*)	# (*)			
Psychology	20 (0.7)	25 (1.1)	100.0	46.3 (2.33)	37.8 (2.16)	3.4 (1.01)	5.0 (1.99)	1.6 (0.42)	2.7 (0.70)	1.1 (0.49)	1.2 (0.39)	0.6 (0.34)	# (*)			
Sociology	9 (0.4)	9 (0.6)	100.0	49.9 (3.72)	30.1 (3.42)	3.9 (1.69)	8.0 (2.43)	3.0 (0.97)	1.4 (0.92)	1.1 (0.89)	1.3 (0.75)	# (*)	# (*)			
Other social sciences	13 (0.6)	14 (0.9)	100.0	45.2 (3.59)	30.5 (3.09)	4.8 (1.33)	3.9 (1.28)	1.9 (0.80)	2.4 (0.71)	4.7 (1.50)	3.7 (1.22)	1.9 (0.75)	1.1 (0.54)			
Humanities	81 (1.8)	90 (2.4)	100.0	47.3 (1.40)	35.0 (1.33)	2.4 (0.43)	2.6 (0.39)	2.2 (0.24)	2.9 (0.31)	2.9 (0.48)	2.9 (0.54)	0.9 (0.23)	0.9 (0.25)			
English and literature	40 (1.2)	39 (1.5)	100.0	38.8 (1.90)	46.0 (2.10)	2.1 (0.45)	4.5 (0.70)	1.3 (0.27)	1.9 (0.50)	0.8 (0.34)	2.7 (0.87)	0.5 (0.18)	1.4 (0.39)			
Foreign languages	15 (0.8)	20 (1.0)	100.0	36.2 (1.86)	36.7 (2.07)	2.7 (0.89)	0.9 (0.46)	5.1 (0.75)	8.3 (1.07)	4.0 (1.13)	4.5 (1.05)	0.7 (0.43)	0.8 (0.44)			
History	14 (0.6)	18 (1.0)	100.0	59.4 (2.90)	23.0 (2.12)	2.7 (0.80)	2.4 (0.94)	1.9 (0.71)	1.2 (0.52)	5.0 (1.49)	3.2 (0.91)	1.0 (0.45)	# (*)			
Philosophy	12 (0.8)	13 (1.0)	100.0	72.3 (3.55)	16.6 (2.33)	2.3 (1.11)	# (*)	1.0 (0.35)	# (*)	4.0 (1.49)	# (*)	2.0 (1.20)	# (*)			

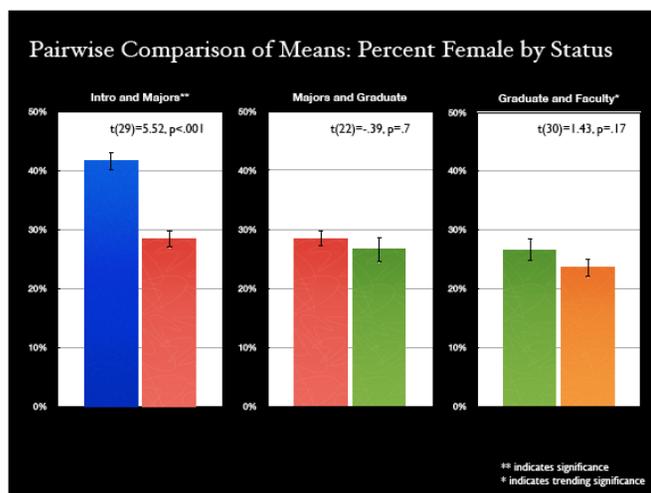
## Racial Minorities in Philosophy

- Our best data (2013) suggests that currently in the United States there are **156 blacks in philosophy**, 20% are Ph.D. students, 20% are in tenure-track positions, 50% are tenured.
- Among these there are **55 black women**. **30% are Ph.D students**; **35% hold tenured positions**.
- Assuming that there are ~13,000 full-time philosophy instructors in the United States, the representation of scholars of color is plausibly worse than in *any other field in the academy*, including physics and engineering.
- In 2011, only 50 out of all 14,000 professors in Britain were black; none were black philosophers.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2011/may/27/only-50-black-british-professors?intcmp=239>

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/mortarboard/2011/may/27/black-professor-shortage-failure-to-nurture-talent>

## Pipeline leaks ?



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## Georgia State Study (2012)

- Women in introductory philosophy courses (n=700) generally
  - found the course less enjoyable, and the material less interesting and relevant to their lives, than their male counterparts;
  - felt they had less in common with philosophy majors or instructors and felt less able and likely to succeed in philosophy;
  - reported being less likely to enroll in more advanced philosophy courses or major in the discipline, and
  - were likelier to *disagree* that the syllabus included a fair proportion of women authors.
- However: Women were no more likely to report that class conversations were aggressive, or to anticipate lower grades.

Study by Eddy Nahmias, presented at SPP 2013 and [blogged by Tania Lombrozo](#) 6/17/2013; reported in [Inside Higher Ed](#) 6/28/2013

## Co-Citation Data ([Healy 2013](#))

- KH considered citation data in four journals (*Noûs*, *Journal of Philosophy*, *Mind*, *Philosophical Review*) between 1993-2013.
- This includes 2,200 articles, that cite 34,00 other items (not unique items, but citation instances).
- Questions: What are the 500 most cited articles (in the data set), and how are they linked?
- Of the top 500 citations, 19 are by women (15 women total). That is 3.6% of the total. Christine Korsgaard has 3 items in the most cited list (this is more than any other woman.) 6.3% of the 500 are by David Lewis.
- There are no women at all in the 101-200 range.

## Healy map

Co-citation Networks in Philosophy Blog Post

- <http://kieranhealy.org/philcites/>

Dynamic Map:

- <http://kieranhealy.org/philcites/>

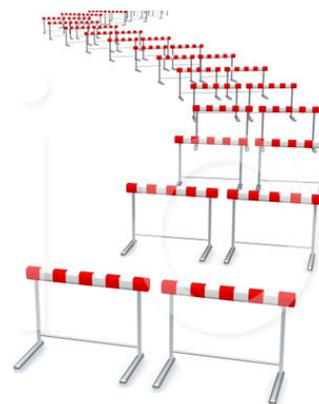
“Lewis and the Women”

- <http://kieranhealy.org/blog/archives/2013/06/19/lewis-and-the-women/>

Here is a complete list of items in the data that were written by women.

Rank	Cites	Item	Typically Cited In
47	34	Millikan R 1984 Language Thought Oth	Nous, JP
75	28	Korsgaard C 1996 Sources Normativity	PR, JP
82	27	Edgington D 1995 Mind Mind,	PR
262	14	Foot P 1978 Virtues Vices Other	PR, Mind
288	13	Herman B 1993 Practice Moral Judgm	PR, JP
288	13	Maddy P 1990 Realism Math	PR, Mind
324	12	Baker L 2000 Persons Bodies Const	PR, Mind
363	11	Cartwright N 1983 How Laws Physics Lie	Nous, Mind
363	11	Sher G 1991 Bounds Logic	PR, Mind
363	11	Anscombe G 1957 Intention	Nous, Mind
363	11	Hurley S 1998 Consciousness Action	PR, Mind
363	11	Korsgaard C 1986 J Philos	Mind, Nous
363	11	Korsgaard C 1997 Ethics Practical Rea	PR, Nous
363	11	Haslanger S 1989 Analysis	PR, Mind
435	10	Paul L 2000 J Philos	PR, JP
435	10	Millikan R 1989 J Philos	PR, Mind
435	10	Foot P 2001 Natural Goodness	Mind, Nous
435	10	Zagzebski L 1991 Dilemma Freedom Resp	Nous, PR
435	10	Thomson J 1983 J Philos	PR, JP

## 2. Identifying the Hurdles



### a. Native Differences in Ability



### Native differences in ability: STEM

- Mean scores between males and females on tests of analytical reasoning and math are very close and *are converging*.\*
  - Upper tail m/f ratio in 1970's: 13:1
  - Upper tail m/f ratio in 2005: 3:1
- Professionals in STEM fields are not mainly those on the upper tail of the bell curve.\*
- Even controlling for mathematical ability, less than half as many women as men pursue STEM careers.\*
- For understanding mathematical concepts there is no sex difference at any age level.\*\*
- Individual performance is always a result of complex physical and contextual factors.

\* [Beyond Bias and Barriers. NAS/NAE/IM 2006](#), p. 2-8. \*\* *Ibid.* p. 2-10.

## b. ~~Outright Discrimination~~ & c. Structural Barriers



## Structural Barriers

- Structural barriers exist when rules, traditions, customs, impose unfair burdens on one group. They need not be intentional.
  - Tenure clock during prime childbearing years.
  - Maternity leave but no paternity (aka parental) leave.
  - Department meetings or seminars held in the evening.
  - “Caregiving” expectations: making coffee, bringing food, managing emotional climate.
    - Includes caregiving of students, disproportionate advising work.
  - Differential expectations for dress, speech, rule-following.

## d. Implicit Bias

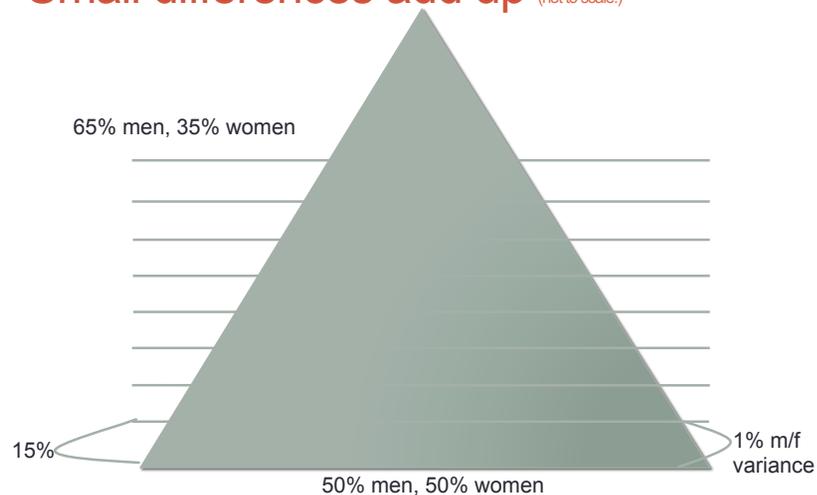


## Implicit Bias

- Implicit bias is bias that occurs **unconsciously, unintentionally**.
- Implicit bias can have systematic and cumulative damaging effects.
  - Consider a setting with a 8 layer hierarchy and equal men and women at the bottom level. With 15% promotion rate through each level and **only 1% variance** in m/f promotion rates. The result is that only 35% of women reach the highest level.\*

\* Male-female differences: A computer simulation. Martell, Richard F.; Lane, David M.; Emrich, Cynthia *American Psychologist*, Vol 51(2), Feb 1996, 157-158

## Small differences add up (not to scale!)



## Schemas

- The best explanation of implicit bias is that it arises from reliance on **problematic schemas**.
- A **schema** is a simplified process for organizing information about a kind
  - Guides and prioritizes our perceptions and beliefs
  - Guides our attention, memory, expectations, predictions
  - Supplies missing context (explanatory, interpretive)
  - Guides our actions, responses, affect
- Schemas are mostly unconscious, but can become conscious.

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## Schemas are widely shared

- Research shows that we all – regardless of gender or race – perceive and treat people based on schemas associated with their social group.
  - Both men and women hold them about gender
  - Both whites and people of color hold them about race
- People are typically not aware of them, but with effort can become aware of them and change them.
- Implicit association test:  
<https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/>

Fiske (2002). *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 11, 123-128.

## Schemas play a significant role when there is:

- The response is quick, rushed, or given insufficient time for consideration.
- Full attention is not given to the task.
- Decisions are not held accountable.
- The individual being evaluated is a member of a group that is a significant minority in the field, with the tipping point somewhere around 25-30%.
- The evaluator is unaware of common errors concerning reasoning about the group so does not correct for them.

## Schemas and Evaluation

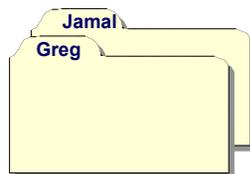
- Applicants with African American-sounding names had to send **15** resumes to get a callback, compared to **10** for applicants with white-sounding names.

- White names counted as an additional **8** years of experience.
- The higher the resume quality, the greater the gap in callback rate.

Bertrand & Mullainathan (2004) *Poverty Action Lab*, 3, 1-27.

- When evaluating identical application packages, male and female university psychology professors preferred 2:1 to hire “Brian” (or “Barack”?) over “Karen.”

Steinpreis, Anders, & Ritzke (1999) *Sex Roles*, 41, 509.



## Gender Schemas in Recommendations

for Successful Medical School Faculty Applicants

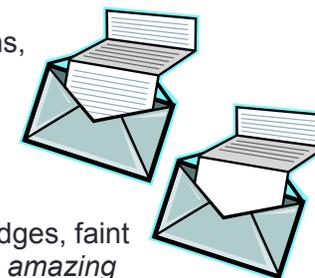
### Letters for men:

- Longer
- More references to CV, Publications, Patients, Colleagues

### Letters for women:

- Shorter
- More references to personal life
- More “doubt raisers,” including hedges, faint praise, and irrelevancies (e.g., “*It’s amazing how much she’s accomplished.*” “*It appears her health is stable.*” “*She is close to my wife.*”)

Trix & Psenka (2003) *Discourse & Society*, 14(2): 191-220, 2003.



## Shifting Standards

- Race and gender stereotypes/schemas often lead to different standards of assessment.
  - Women and minorities are more easily judged *competent* (she’s good...for a woman);
  - But standards for *excellence* are set higher than for men and whites (but is she *really* good?).

Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997

## When Schemas conflict....

- Disappear the difficult cases, by ignoring them or forcing them out. (Or as in military, rule them out by fiat.)
- Find ways to pretend that false assumptions of the schemas are preserved. (Successful women philosophers aren’t *really* women, or they aren’t *really* doing philosophy.)
- Allow exceptions to the rule (tokenism), but maintain barriers to limit access. (Of course we would hire another woman, if we could find one like Sally.)
- Change the schemas.

## e. Stereotype Threat



## What is Stereotype Threat?

- Stereotype threat occurs when individuals are stereotyped as poor performers in a domain and their performance may seem to confirm the negative stereotype.
  - Performance decreases on **computational** and **recall** tasks (etc).
  - Conscious awareness of the threat is not necessary for effects.
  - Threat can be activated with little or no explicit mention of stereotyped group, if the stereotype is culturally ubiquitous or if there are implicit cues.
  - Solo status can trigger and exacerbate the effects.

## Stereotype threat and solo status

- Stereotype threat is **situational**: performance decreases **ONLY** in settings where the stereotype is activated.
- Precise explanation of stereotype threat is contested, but all accounts suggest that time and energy consuming meta-cognition is responsible.
  - Anxiety
  - Self-monitoring

[Thomson, Mischa and Denise Sekaquaptewa. 2002. "When Being Different is Detrimental..." \*Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy\* 2\(1\): 183-203.](#)

## Strategies to Reduce Stereotype Threat (a selection)

1. **Remove cues** that trigger worries about stereotypes.
2. Create a **critical mass**.
3. Create fair tests and present them as fair and **servicing a learning purpose**.
4. Improve **cross-group** interactions.
5. Present and recruit **positive role models** from diverse groups.
6. Promote a **growth mindset** about intelligence.
7. Support students' sense of **belonging**.
7. Use **value-affirmations** to reduce stress and threat.

Compiled by Greg Walton, Geoff Cohen and Claude Steele (May 2012)  
[http://www.stanford.edu/~gwalton/home/Welcome\\_files/StrategiesToReduceStereotypeThreat.pdf](http://www.stanford.edu/~gwalton/home/Welcome_files/StrategiesToReduceStereotypeThreat.pdf)

## Belonging Uncertainty

- People commonly question their belonging in new social and academic settings.
  - Especially when they are targeted by stigma and negative stereotypes.
- This uncertainty ambiguates the meaning of negative social events.
- Social Belonging Intervention (1 hour in freshman year) reduced Black-White achievement gap by half over 3 years.

(Walton & Cohen, 2007)

## f. Micro-Messages



## What is a Micro-message?

A micro-message is a behavior that has a meaning beyond what is explicitly expressed. It sends a message. They are:

*“small events, which are often ephemeral and hard to prove: events that are covert, often unintentional, frequently unrecognized by the perpetrator.”\**

Micro-messages can be positive or negative.

- Positive micro-messages – **micro-affirmations** – are affirming and inclusive.
- Negative micro-messages – **micro-aggressions** – are devaluing and impairing. They send the message that “you don’t belong here.”

## Micro-inequities

Examples:

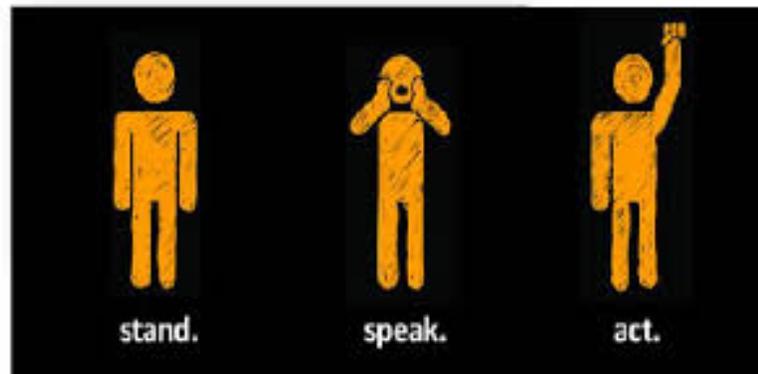
- Eye contact, open/closed body language, expressions of interest, subtle affirmations and withdrawals.
- Allocation of space, invitations, job assignments, offers of help or collaboration.
- Topics of conversation, choice of time/place/content of collective activities.
- They may be **verbal or not**.
- They may be **significant or not**.
- They may be **intentional or not**.

The meaning of our actions and speech is not entirely up to us!

## Why do Micro-messages matter?

- Small things add up!
  - Accumulation of negative micro-messages causes increasing dissatisfaction with work/study environment over time.
- It is difficult to complain about subtle messages.
  - Those who complain seem to be “whining.”
  - The wrong is hard to prove.
  - Common reply is to “toughen up.”
- The problem isn’t just about how the message is received (how it feels) but what it does.
  - Devaluation and exclusion are wrongful discrimination.
  - Bystanders also get the message whether the target feels bad or not.

## g. Bystanders



## Active Bystanders

- Active bystanders can make a significant difference in the face of micro-inequities.
- **A norm or value is only as strong as what occurs in the breach of that norm.**
- Bystanders may help – or make things worse – if there is a breach.
  - A white bystander who reacts negatively to a racist comment may signal to non-white employees that there are allies in the organization.
  - The *silence* of bystanders in such a situation can leave minority employees with the experience of a hostile environment and all that this entails.

## Example

*José recalled his mentor’s advice about networking, so when he was at a holiday party and saw two colleagues talking to a senior Vice President, he went over to say hello. The VP responded, “Thanks, I’ll take another white wine, please.”*

*His colleagues said nothing.*

LaRoche, G. & Scully, M. 2008. Do active bystanders have a role in making diverse organizations more inclusive? Panel presentation at the annual meeting of the Academy of Management, Anaheim, CA. Discussed in Mary Rowe and Maureen Scully, “Bystander Training in Organizations.” *Journal of the International Ombudsman Association*, 2009, 2 (1).

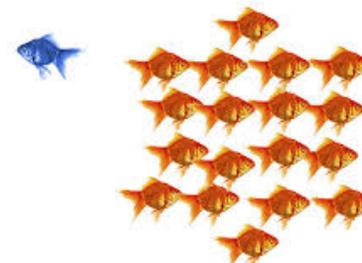
## Alternative Responses?

What might an active bystander have said?

- “I could use more white wine, too. Let’s find a waiter.”
- “You should talk to Jose about our new accounts. I’ll try to find a waiter.”
- “Good idea. Jose, would you join us for a glass of wine, too? Let’s flag the waiter for more glasses. So, have you met Jose? He’s a key player in new accounts.”
- Your response....?

Notice that the last two responses not only pivot the prejudiced assumption but bundle in a micro-affirmation.

## Strategies for Change



## Recommendations (1)

### Challenge the myth of non-bias

- Even individuals who are strongly egalitarian may still rely on problematic schemas.
- Confidence in your own fairness may prevent you from being as fair as you aim to be.
  - If you assume you are always fair, then it is tempting to conclude that others’ weaknesses must be their own fault.
- Become conscious of your own biases.

## Recommendations (2)

### Be VERY attentive to climate

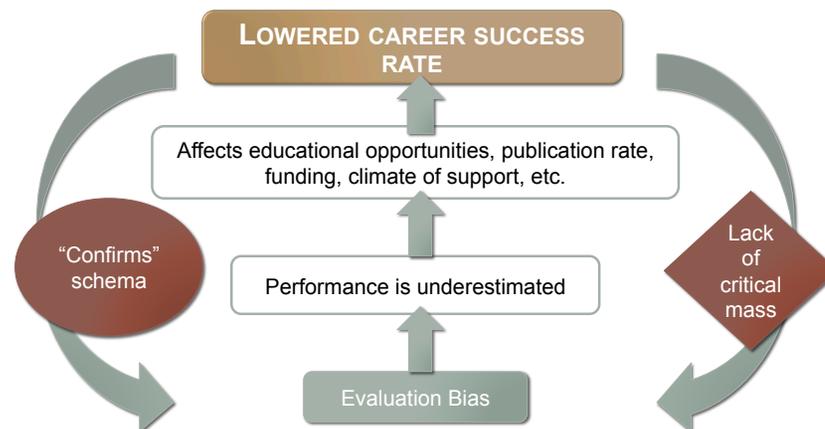
- Be reflective about potential micro-inequities; use micro-affirmations
- Reduce threat conditions that trigger stereotype threat
- Develop active bystander skills
- **Create a Departmental Climate Committee**
  - Include students and faculty
  - Seek assistance from university equity officers

## Recommendations (3)

### Create systems of accountability

- In grading (anonymize papers and exams?)
- In curriculum development
- In teaching evaluations
- In grad student admissions
- In faculty recruitment
- In the promotion process

## Accumulation of disadvantage feedback loop



## What recommendations would you suggest?

- What are the main issues in this department?
- How would you recommend they be addressed?

*Thank you for your attention*

And special thanks to:

*Samantha Brennan      Hazel Sive  
Thomas F. DeFrantz      Abigail Stewart  
Deborah K. Fitzgerald      JoAnne Yates*

for their contributions.

*For full references to the research cited, please go to:*

<https://stellar.mit.edu/S/project/equityissues/materials.html>

or

<http://www.portal.advance.vt.edu/index.php/categories/resources/reading-lists>

And select: [Faculty Recruitment Workshop, Articles by Topic](#)

Or choose from several annotated bibliographies.



The End