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Crucial Decisions: Women Graduate Students in Israel

By

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Chapter I

Introduction

On the surface, it seems that women are no longer excluded from academia and that the social changes in the last century made women 'equal among equals' in the academic institutions. Although it is true that women students today consist of more than half of the undergraduate students, the higher one goes in the academic level the smaller the proportion of women one finds.

Until the nineteenth century, women were not admitted to the universities at all, and only in 1837 did women first gained entry to academia in the United States (Chamberlin 1988). In the nineteenth century women were considered by many as biologically incompetent for intellectual work, and the justification for women's exclusion from the universities was based on women's 'nature':

“It was often alleged, for instance, that studying draws the blood necessary for menstruation and for pregnancy away from the womb and into the head, thus interfering with our procreative abilities” (Caplan 1993: 14-5).

In the first half of the twentieth century, the common justification for not admitting women to the universities was that women's higher education was considered a waste because they 'had to' leave academia to raise a family.

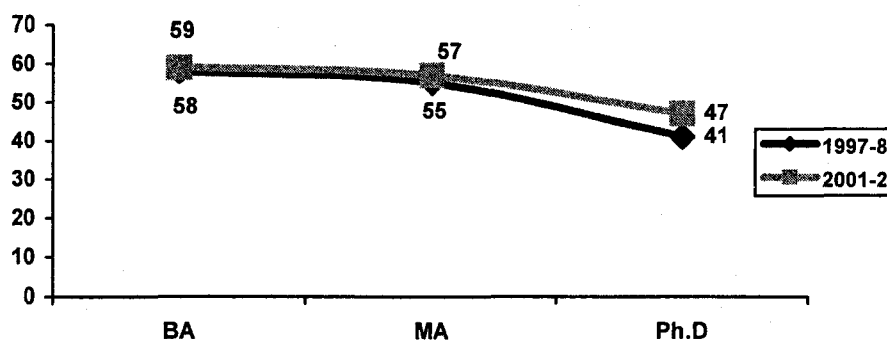
These blatant discriminatory practices have changed in the last few decades, and women today are admitted to every university in most western countries. But mere

admission of women to the academy does not mean that discriminatory practices have been eliminated altogether. The discriminatory practices changed their form and became a more subtle, covert form of exclusion. Caplan argues that when certain prejudice is labeled as socially unacceptable, "[I]t does not simply vanish; rather, it tends to take increasingly subtler forms, thus protecting the prejudiced person from both social and legal accusation of prejudice" (Caplan 1993: 17).

For a long time, women believed that if they increased their numbers in academia, their upward mobility would be inevitable, and eventually they would not be excluded from the top positions. But the relatively low proportion of women at the higher levels of academic degrees seems to indicate that women encounter different experiences in academia than men do. (These differences are not due to the lack of aspiration: women are as likely as men to aspire to have a Ph.D. when they are undergraduates [Cole and Fiorntine 1991]). These patterns are part of women students' experience all over the western world (DiNitto et al., 1982), including in Israel. Although women are more than equally represented at the undergraduate level in Israel, somewhere between the master's and the Ph.D. there is a change, and the proportion of women at the Ph.D. level drops considerably.

Although much progress has been made since 1997 (the year this research was conducted) the proportion of women among Ph.D. recipients, in 2001, was lower by ten percent than their representation among MA recipients (See figure 1).

Figure 1: Recipients of Degrees, 1997;2001:



Source: The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 1999, 2003.

In 1997, women were more than equally represented at the undergraduate level in Israel, and were highly represented in the graduate level. This high rate of women students at the Israeli academia represents a great change for the better for women in Israel in the last decade.

Nonetheless, a close look at the data indicates that women students' proportion throughout their studies is not always consistent. In some departments, and in some universities, the proportion of women Ph.D. students is considerably lower than their proportion at the M.A. level. This observation is, to some degree, correct for most of the departments, both in Tel Aviv University and in The Hebrew University, but while in some departments the proportion of women students at the M.A and the PhD represents a large drop-off at this junction, while in other departments the drop-off rate is small.

The difference between the proportion of women as students at the master's level and the Ph.D. level indicates that research should not concentrate on the graduate level as

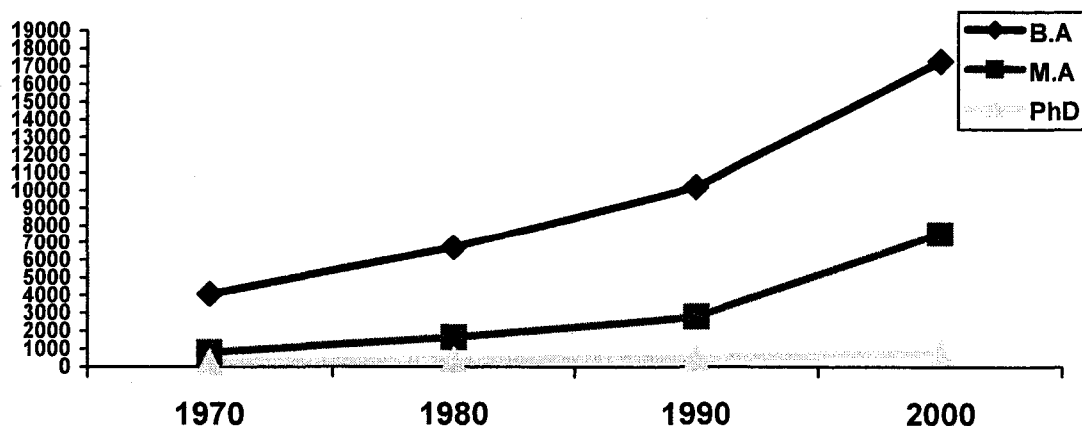
a whole as the basic unit of analysis, but should distinguish between the master's and the Ph.D. levels and focus on the crossroads between the M.A. and the Ph.D. This study focuses on this junction, and specifically, the drop-off rate between the percentage of women M.A. and Ph.D. students. The available research concerning women graduate students is extremely limited; most of the available research on graduate students focuses on specific aspects of graduate students' experiences, such as sexual harassment, and does not examine the way these experiences affect career choices. Furthermore, the process of channeling in academia is rarely studied directly and is usually inferred from its measurable consequences. Thus, "We know much more about the extent to which 'supply side' factors do and do not account for reward and productivity differences between men and women scientists than we do about the impact of specific structural barriers and cultural stereotypes" (Bielby 1991: 176-7). Most of the available research concerning women students and women's academic career paths is focused on students' capabilities and motivations or on the consequences of the career channeling process, but not on the channeling process itself. Additionally, most studies of women's academic career paths focus on women's academic careers from the point where they already hold a Ph.D. and become faculty members. But the imbalance in women's proportion starts much earlier, at the junction of the M.A. and the Ph.D., and this junction, I believe, should be the starting point for research. Studying the channeling process of women in the academia from this junction might lead to a better understanding of the channeling of women in a wide range of occupations. This research focuses on the crossroads of decision at the M.A. level, where students choose to terminate their studies after having the M.A. degree, a degree

that allows them a wide range of occupational options in private and government sectors, or to pursue a Ph.D. degree, which will enable them to pursue an academic career. This crossroads represents the choice between the opportunity to pursue an academic career and other, non-academic career options. The research is aimed at uncovering the experiences of women and men students in graduate programs and the extent to which they perceive these experiences as helpful or hindering. Their experiences and the interpretation of these experiences are an important part in their decision to continue their studies toward the Ph.D or to terminate their studies after obtaining the Masters degree. There are probably other elements in men's and women's career decisions, but those who pursue an M.A. degree have already shown significant academic commitment. This makes it important to focus on this decision point. It is here that gender, in some departments in some universities, becomes significant. This study focuses on gender dynamics across universities and departments, with the goal of understanding why, in some settings, women enter Ph.D. programs at much higher rates than in others and, especially, why in some departments the drop off in enrollment for women is large. What is happening to Israeli women in academia that inhibits them from pursuing the higher levels of education? What are the factors that contribute to Israeli women's decision to remain or to resign from academia? These questions are the main interest of this study. Although the study focus is on women students in Israel, since there are no data concerning Israeli women students that might illuminate these questions, I apply in the following chapters research that was conducted on American students.

Higher Education in the Israeli Context

As in other industrialized countries, education is highly valued in Israel. In the last few decades, higher education has become a prerequisite for a growing number of occupations, more and more young people pursue a degree, and the Israeli universities have expanded rapidly (see figure 2). Among the middle and upper classes in Israel the expected trajectory of young men and women is military service and then enrollment in a university. Military service is mandatory in Israel. Men are enlisted for three years, usually from the ages of 18 to 21, and women are enlisted for two years, usually from the ages of 18 to 20. Married women, women with children, and religiously Conservative or Orthodox women are not required to serve in the military. In Israel almost a quarter of all young people in the age group of 21 to 23 were first-year students in the universities. Furthermore, the proportion of young adults who are undergraduate and graduate students in the Israeli universities is constantly rising.

Figure 2: Recipients of Degrees in Israeli Universities, 1970-2000



Source: The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 2002.

The military has an important role in the higher education system in Israel. The army offers soldiers the option of tuition-free higher education in certain fields, such as medicine, engineering and physics. In return, student-soldiers are required to work for the military for a certain number of years. About 15 percent of the Israeli students choose this option. The army also offers soldiers financial aid for higher education purposes after completing their service term. Additionally, military workers and veterans receive special higher education benefits, such as tuition and free time for attending the university. The army also offers special training programs in certain fields, such as education, computer sciences, and geography. Thus, the Israeli military significantly affects civilian occupations (Izraeli 1994).

There are six universities in the higher education system in Israel: Tel-Aviv, Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Haifa, Ben-Gurion in the Negev, Bar-Ilan, and the Technion. All the Israeli universities are Ph.D. granting institutions, although only Tel-Aviv, Hebrew, and Bar-Ilan universities offer a wide range of Ph.D. programs. The universities are controlled by the government; there are no private universities in Israel. In addition to the universities, there are a number of colleges (usually controlled by the Histadrut (worker-owned) and the cities). Since all the universities are controlled by the government and regulated by the Ministry of Education, tuition is standard and affordable (about \$3,000 for a full-time academic year). Thus, higher education in Israel is accessible to almost every person with the required academic qualifications (high school degree and passing a psychometric exam). Financial aid and loans are available through the Ministry of Education and other public and private organizations. Additionally, students usually

receive some financial support from their families, and in contrast with the U.S., do not usually accumulate large debts during higher education. The structure of the higher education system in Israel is similar to that found in European countries and consists of three clearly distinguished stages: B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees. An additional separate stage includes special professional certificate programs. The B.A. usually takes three academic years to complete and is specialized from the first semester, i.e., students choose their major prior to starting the degree, usually concentrating in one or two areas, and receive a minimal amount of general education during the bachelor's program. Because of the early specialization, the professional degrees structure is somewhat different from that of the U.S. A professional degree in law, for example, requires only a B.A. Nonetheless, the proportion of students who pursue a graduate degree is relatively high (28 percent of all students) compared to other industrialized countries (The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 1997). The M.A. programs can be considered in two separate categories. The first category includes a group of professional master's degrees such as MBA, psychology, engineering, and labor studies (professional degrees in law and social work require only a B.A.). The programs included in the second category are programs in which an M.A. degree is usually considered a stage in pursuing a Ph.D. These fields include programs in the social sciences, humanities, mathematics, physics, and the natural sciences. In these fields, those who terminate their studies at the M.A. level can turn to occupations in the private or government sectors but usually not to academic or scientific positions. It is important to note that those with an M.A. in these fields have a wide range of occupational options in the private and government sectors.

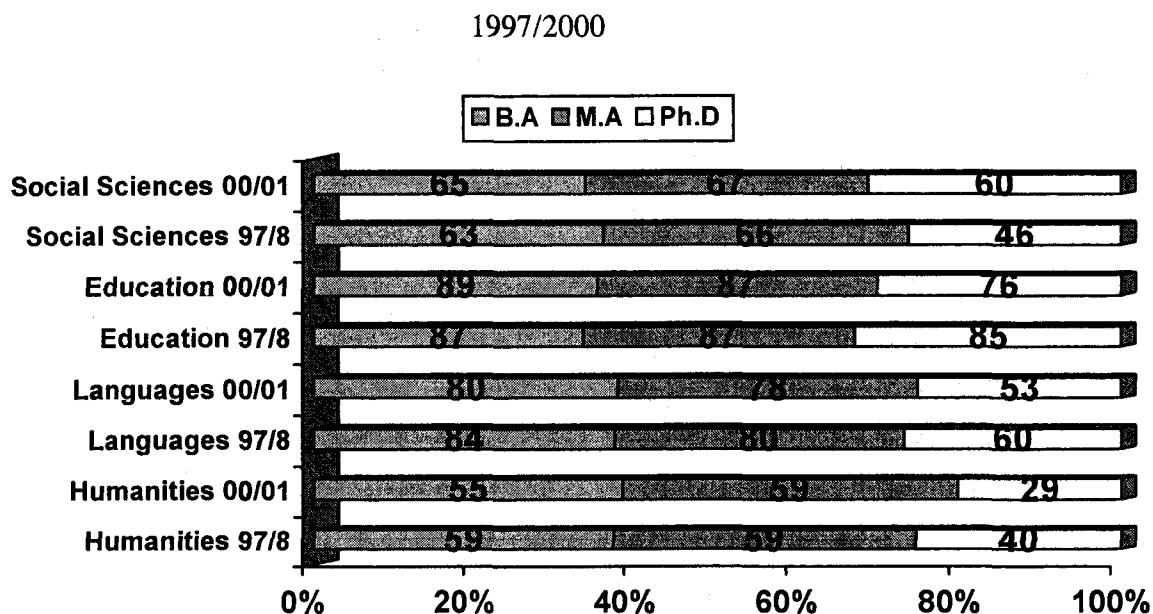
Certificate programs can be viewed as a separate stage on the way towards a professional degree. For example, in order to be a qualified teacher in both elementary school and high school, a person is required to have either a B.A. in education or a teaching certificate. For those who hold a B.A. degree in fields other than education, there is a special two-semester certificate program. For those with no bachelor's degree, the certificate program in teaching is three years. The teaching certificate program is the largest of the certificate programs. Other certificate programs can be found in industrial chemistry, translation, library sciences, community center management, physiotherapy, and computer sciences. The certificate programs usually require a B.A. degree.

Women in the Israeli Higher Education System

In Israel, at the time of this study in 1997, women received more than half of the undergraduate degrees (82 percent of the certificate program degrees, 58 percent of the bachelor degrees) 55 percent of the master's degrees, and 41 percent of the Ph.D's. (The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 1999). Nonetheless, women students' distribution across fields of study is not similar to that of men students. Women received 82 percent of the teaching certificates and 81 percent of the other certificate program degrees in 2001 (The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 2002). Moreover, these differences become more and more pronounced at the M.A. and Ph.D. levels. Women at the undergraduate and graduate levels are disproportionately concentrated in fields such as education, humanities, and biology, and are underrepresented in mathematics and physics. Although the representation of women among the total of Ph.D. recipients is higher in 2001 (47 percent,

see figure 1), in some fields, such as the humanities, languages and education, the proportion of women Ph.D recipients is lower in 2000 than in 1997 (see figure 2).

Figure 3: Percentage of Women Recipients of Degrees, by Field,



Source: The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 1999; 2002.

Women faculty in the Israeli universities are disproportionately concentrated in the lower academic ranks. The higher the academic position - the smaller the proportion of women. . In 1999, women constituted 40 percent of the lecturers, 32 percent of the senior lecturers, 10 percent of the associate professors, and only 9 percent of the full professors (Toren, 2001). In 1988, the proportion of women associate professors and professors was 22 percent of all women faculty, compared to 50 percent of men (Shenhav 1991). Women faculty are concentrated in the social sciences (24 percent of faculty) and the humanities

(22 percent), but comprise only 8 percent of faculty in engineering (Shenhav 1991) and the natural sciences (Toren 2001).⁴

In order to understand women's position in the higher education system, it is important to place academic women within the social and cultural contexts of the Israeli society. The family is central to the Israeli culture. Israel is characterized by an exceptionally high marriage rate (only 2.4 percent of the population never marry) and a relatively high birth rate (Peres and Katz 1981). Marrying and having children early (usually in the 20's) is normatively expected behavior; nonetheless, young women with children are expected to work outside their homes.

In the last decade, women with higher education delayed marriage and childbearing, but they still marry in their twenties. In the total Jewish population the mean age at first marriage was in 2001, 25 years old and the mean number of children 2.9, compared with 27 and 2 children for women with 16 years or more of education (The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 2003;2004). Since the median age of women M.A. students is 29 and that of Ph.D. students is 35, we can assume that a large proportion of women graduate students in Israel are married and have children. Having small children is not considered to be incompatible with higher education. Women students often time their pregnancies according to the academic curriculum, and usually return to the university after a short period of time.

Although 95 percent of the women by the age of 40 are married, and the average number of children per family is 2.8, women comprised more than 60 percent of the new workers in the past two decades (Israeli 1991). As Dafna Israeli (1994) describes, "In

Israel, marriage and motherhood are social imperatives; women do not have a real choice between having children or a career" (p. 311).

Although household and child-care are considered to be primarily women's responsibility, having children is not considered a burden, but a blessing, and Israeli women experience a low level of role conflict (Lieblich 1993).

The support structure for women's employment is well developed. Preschool nurseries and hired help are available and affordable, and the extended family usually provides child-care help. The Social Security Act (1950's) provides 12 weeks of fully paid maternity leave (can be applied to either parent) and job security for pregnant women and new mothers.

Of Jewish women with young children between the ages of two to four, 60 percent are employed, and among women with 16 years or more of education, the employment rate is similar to that of men and is 77 percent (Izraeli 1991, 1994). Academic and scientific professions are considered compatible with raising a family; 65 percent of women in these professions have children under age 14. These professions also allow women part-time employment, and about half of the women in the scientific and academic fields work part-time (Izraeli 1994). Toren (1991), who studied women full professors in Israel, found that 78 percent of them had their first child during their studies. Moreover, they did not perceive responsibilities for family and children as a source of career difficulty.

Chapter II

Theoretical Framework

In the past few decades, social scientists have directed an increasing amount of effort to explaining women's achievements and their distinct position within the social structure. Most of this theoretical work can be characterized as based on one of two competing views: one emphasizes the individual and her role in determining her position and achievements, and the other focuses on the structure the individual faces that either enables or impedes individual opportunities.

Individual-based theories emphasize the role of individual choices and personal characteristics in determining achievements. Underlying individualistic theories is the assumption that a person's occupational and wage attainment are attributable to his or her personal characteristics and are mostly determined by them; the social structure is de-emphasized and considered to have little or no effect on individual choices or achievements. These theories are based on neo-classical economic theories and on human capital theories that conceptualize rewards in terms of supply side, i.e. the individual receives the amount of reward appropriate to his or her contribution. The implicit assumption is that all workers compete in an open market, and in the same market, for the same rewards, and have the same opportunities. The structure is assumed to be gender-neutral and gender differences in the opportunity structure are ignored. Thus, women's lesser achievements are conceptualized as the result of their own choice of family over work (Coverman 1988).

Research concerning women in academia stemming from this point of view focused mostly on explaining women's achievements by their contribution, as measured by rates of publication and citations (Allison and Stewart 1974; Cole 1979; Cole and Zukerman 1984; Hargens, McCann, and Reskin 1978; Helmreich and Spence 1982; Long 1978; Vayer and Folger 1966; Wanner, Lewis, and Gregorio 1981). These studies proved to have limited power in explaining women's wage and occupational attainment, since women consistently receive fewer rewards than men, even when they have the same qualifications and performances. Moreover, these theories do not improve our ability to explain gender segregation and segmentation of occupations, work places, job ladders, and differential rewards.

Structural theories emphasize the importance of structural and institutional factors in determining individual attainment. The basic assumption is that structural patterns of opportunity override most individual choices, and that career development is not under the individual's absolute control and not dependent only on attitudes, motivation, or performance. Privileged positions and group inequality are accomplished primarily through institutional mechanisms that have differential access routes. The different positions of groups and individuals within the social structure of opportunities mean different access to resources and different opportunities for mobility. Thus, the individual wage and occupational attainment are conceptualized as the result of the underlying structure and the differential position of the individual within that structure. Studies from this point of view include research on gender segregation and segmentation that explain women's lower attainment and status not by their personal characteristics and choices but

by the underlying structure of the labor market, occupations, and work organizations. (Bielby and Baron 1984; Bose and Rossi 1983; Epstein 1970; Jacobs 1989; Kanter 1977; Reskin 1991; Ross and Reskin 1984; Strang and Baron 1990; Yoder 1991).

Structural research on women's positions in academia emphasizes the different opportunity structure women face in the academic realm, and the ways in which this opportunity structure impedes women's advancement and professional achievements (Barbezat 1988; Fox 1985, 1989; Kulis and Miller 1992; Reskin and Phipps 1988; Marwell, Rosenfeld, and Spilerman 1979; Rossiter 1978).

Based on a review of the available literature and research, I argue that some individual-level factors, such as mentoring and the "mommy track", become structural patterns; some are formal, such as the "mommy track", and some are informal, such as networks in organizations, but both formal and informal patterns are institutionalized. By being built into organizational practices they seem to operate on the individual level but have structural effects on women's mobility and achievements through a system of norms, beliefs, values, and practices that affect women as a social group.

The structural approach implies that it is not women's individual characteristics that impede them, but the beliefs concerning their individual characteristics and preferences; these elements reflect an invisible structure that sometimes contradicts the formal structure and norms, but has the power to direct and channel women to differential positions within the invisible organizational structure. Though the effects are on the individual level, the process itself is structural. Epstein (1981), for example, points out that knowledge about exclusion undermines motivation: "Most people don't want to do

things they know they will be hindered from doing or told they are unable to do" (p. 37).

Moreover, most individual level factors can be explained by the structural position - not as the cause of a specific position, but as the effect of a position within a specific structure of opportunities. For example, productivity can be treated as an individual-level variable as the cause for women's lower earnings; on the other hand, productivity can be analyzed from a structural perspective as the effect of a woman's position within the structure, and the resulting different opportunities and differential access to resources women face.

Using a structural argument I find myself confronting one major problem, long debated in philosophy over the last century:

If institutional or structural mechanisms a-priori determine the individual's actions and choices, how can we discuss the individual as a free subject that holds his or her own destiny? How can we explain those individuals who choose differently from the usual pattern?

The classical structural approach argues that in the center of investigation should stand the structure, and not the person, since the underlying structure determines actions. Furthermore, it also determines the thoughts, feelings, beliefs and attitudes of human subjects. Thus, classical structuralism leaves no place for the individual, her or his perception, interpretation, or experience of the social-cultural reality in which she or he exist.

A more dynamic approach to structuralism is offered by Giddens (1984) who argues that although social structures shape the individual, they are also shaped by

individual practices. The structure is a "dual structure", a structure the agent has a role in producing.

In a similar way, Connell (1987) argues that structural analysis cannot be complete without the analysis of individuals' practices within the structure since the structure is remodeled by the individual's practices.

"To describe structure is to specify what it is in the situation that constrains the play of practice. Since the consequence of practice is a transformed situation which is the object of new practice, 'structure' specifies the way practice (over time) constrains practice." (Connell, 1987: 95)

Foucault (1972) argues that the modern subject is constituted within a-priori conditions of possibility, i.e. within a matrix of variables. In this, Foucault can be viewed as a neo-Kantian, but the point where he differs from Kant is his argument that these a-priori conditions determine the field of possibilities; they are historical conditions and not universal a-historical conditions. Foucault argues that the subject is not completely determined but constitutes herself or himself within this field in a specific form. The individual does not simply or mechanically reflect the system; the relations between the individual and the structure are those of 'double conditioning'. On the one hand, the individual is always defined within a range of socio-cultural constraints; on the other, these constraints are a range of possibilities within which the subject constitute herself or himself with a certain degree of freedom. The subject is not constituted in an empty space, but within a historical-cultural specific context.

From Foucault's point of view, the structure is not a neutral structure, but a

structure of relationships of power. Relationships of power are understood as the means by which people try to control the behavior of others as an essential part of social life. Power is not identified with institutions of power only, rather, power is found everywhere within the structure of society. Though power can take the form of domination, relationships of power are not identical to domination, but are relationships between free subjects - free individuals who are placed within a network of relationships of power.

In sum, we can view the individual as a free agent, but within a specific cultural or organizational structure that determines the opportunities and possibilities of each agent within this structure. Since this structure is not inert but dynamic, the field of possibilities changes. However, the individual who operates within this structure is limited in choices to the opportunities the structure offers. The way these opportunities appear before the individual make some of them seem more attractive than others for certain individuals and groups within the structure.

"In order to analyze human action, we must understand not only how the social structure acts as constraints but also how and why actors choose one alternative over another...Actions are a function of interests, but interests and ability to choose are patterned by social structure" (Risman, 1988: 29).

The structure itself is not always entirely visible to those inside it, and thus, in most cases, seems to be a neutral structure, part of the natural order that must be accepted by those within it.

The choices the individual makes within this structure are free choices, but within a range of possible choices available for the individual within this structure. From the

individual point of view, the choices might seem to be free choices, because the structure is not always entirely visible. The perception of the structure by the individual is not necessarily similar for all the individuals or groups within the structure. The same structure can be perceived and experienced differently by different individuals, and thus offer them different opportunities. Bem (1993) argues that the structure is often androcentric: embedded in the structure is the subtle ideology that presents the experience of men as gender neutral and normative to all, and thus excludes women's experience of the structure.

The result of ignoring the possibility of different groups or individuals having different experiences is that the structure seems to be equal to all participants in the opportunities it offers.

Similarly, the range of choices and the available alternatives can be manipulated differently for different individuals or groups. Structures are constituted and run by people and their behavior is what creates and maintains the structure. The structure does not go by itself, so while the structure is constraining, it is not similarly constraining on all individuals and groups, often deliberately so: those who have power are those who manipulate the structure to bring about their desired ends.

"Culture sets the stage, and when individuals act according to its norms, their behavior becomes part of a pattern. Because the pattern is widespread it seems normal and natural... Culture does not affect all individuals in the same way and men and women are sometimes exposed differently to change in both culture and the social structure" (Epstein, 1988:153).

I argue that within the institutional structure of academia, women and men face a different structure of opportunities. Moreover, they are channeled to make different career choices. The options and possible choices are theoretically the same for women and men. However, because of their different position within the structure, the same options/trajectories present themselves differently for men and women, in a way that makes some of them more attractive for women (such as resigning from academia), and others more attractive to men (such as having an academic career).

"Career trajectories are shaped by personal decisions within a structure of opportunities and a climate of social attitudes. The social climate influences what possibilities are envisaged, and these in turn influence personal decisions" (Lorber, 1984: 99).

From this point of view, the structure of academia can be visualized as a maze in which men and women students enter through the same opening, but because of the maze's structure, they soon find themselves directed to two different trajectories, with different obstacles and opportunities, that lead to different ends of the maze.

Women students find themselves in a specific end of the maze not by chance. Those in positions of power in the organizational structure have the means to pattern the structure in such a way that women students and men students are directed into different choices of career trajectories.

This maze represents the environment in which men and women students exist within academy. The maze itself is mostly invisible and unrecognized by those within it. Emphasis on the culture of the organization and the invisible structure of the ideologies

and practices that direct its members' behavior might illuminate the covert impediments to women's achievements, and the ways in which this structure affects women's behavior and choices. The focus of this study is less on the formal rules and procedures of universities and more on the informal norms, values, beliefs, and practices that comprise the informal structure. However, in order to focus on the research question, and due to the limitation of this study, the study does not focus on the organization itself, formal or informal, but rather on the ways it is perceived and experienced by women students, and the specific ways in which it affects their career decisions.

In the following pages, this chapter provides an overview of different elements that were found to affect women students' experience in academia and their perception of themselves within it, and thus, might have an important effect on women graduate students' decision to pursue or resign from their studies. Some of these elements, such as the informal structure and gender and sexual harassment, are the structural practices that are used to exclude women students, and others, such as the chilly climate, are the effects of these practices.

The Informal Structure: Networks, Unspoken Rules and Practices

There are three main ways for people to move up in their careers: networking, mentoring, and sponsorship (Lorber 1984: 64-79). This is true not only concerning careers in non-academic organizations, but also at universities (Bielby 1991). The difference is that the academic career does not start with the first job but in graduate school.

Organizations operate through a set of formal and informal rules, and in order to succeed and move up, people should behave in the "right" way. The unspoken rules play an important part in the academic environment, even more than in other organizations, because the rules and the hierarchical order are not always clear. Those who are not aware of the content of the unspoken rules, often do not know what is expected of them, and thus fail to meet these expectations. These rules are not written in any university guidebook; they are learned through networking and a process of professional socialization. The network provides access to important information not only concerning the rules, but also concerning opportunities and obstacles. Although women are not completely excluded from the informal network, they are not considered part of the "inner circle" (Epstein 1981, 1991; Lorber 1984), but have the status of "outsiders within" (Epstein, 1981, 1991). Recent research indicates that women scientists are largely excluded from men's 'old boy' networks, and that women's networks are less effective than men's are in gaining visibility and friendship with high-ranking men (Richey 1988; Rose 1985, 1989).

Because women are usually not included in men's networks, women are not as well informed as are men regarding the informal structure and rules of the academic institution. Thus, they are less likely to behave in accordance to these rules and the way they are expected to behave, and more likely to feel uncomfortable because they have unknowingly violated them. The meritocracy myth enhances the uncomfortable feeling because women believe that they are judged by their academic accomplishments and not by any informal rules. Because women tend to blame themselves for their failures, this uncomfortable

feeling accumulates and adds to women's low self-esteem. Thus, women are more likely to feel that they "don't belong", and more likely to "choose" to leave academia.

In graduate school, students are sorted out from the very beginning into those who will receive faculty attention and encouragement, and those who will not:

"Students' capacity for performance, as perceived by the faculty, sorts them into those who are sponsored or given particular encouragement, and those who are more or less left to fend for themselves" (Lorber 1984: 32).

For a variety of reasons, women graduate students, more than men graduate students, are those who are left to fend for themselves. One of the institutional reasons is that women are more likely than men to be part-time students. Part-time students have fewer chances to find mentors or to get support from faculty members because of the more limited interaction between faculty and part-time students, and because part-time students are usually perceived as less serious and less career-oriented.

At this point it is very difficult to distinguish between types of discrimination: are women less encouraged by faculty on the grounds of their gender or on the grounds of their status as part-time students? The answer is not clear, but the consequences are the same for the women graduate students.

One of the factors that affect this process of choosing protégés is that women and men students are not always evaluated according to the same standards:

"Because of widely held cultural stereotypes about gender, the qualifications and performances of men and women are perceived differently. These stereotypes affect the perceptions and actions of teachers, counselors, employers, co-workers,

policymakers, and even the ways in which men and women perceive themselves" (Bielby 1991: 171).

Moreover, covert discriminatory practices that undermine women's ability and competence make them less visible to faculty. Women have to "prove" themselves more than men do in order to gain visibility. Epstein (1988) argues in regard to mentoring, that women's problems arise because sponsors and mentors are less willing to take women as protégées because they doubt they will become appropriate successors, they believe that women are not as committed to their work as men are, or because of fear that others might interpret the relationship not only as professional but also as sexual.

Mentoring, in the broadest sense of the word, can be critically important to the student's career development. As Fox (1989) points out, faculty provides career opportunities and research training, professional visibility, and access to fellowships and awards. Because of the "chilly" environment for women in academia, it is not surprising that women students, more than men students, feel the need for academic advising (Hesse-Biber 1985) and perceive women faculty role models and mentors as more important to their career than men students find men role models (Gilbert 1985). Moreover, women faculty role models have an important influence on the careers of women graduate students. Gilbert (1985) found that graduate students with women faculty mentors or role models perceived themselves as more confident and career-oriented than those with men mentors.

These differences in self-esteem and orientation can be attributed to women

students' identification with women faculty, or to the level of encouragement or discouragement that women and men role models provide. Though the data are not conclusive, it seems that women faculty encourage women students more than men faculty, and that women graduate students perceive their interactions with women faculty as more positive than with men faculty (Gilbert 1985).

Men mentors teach their women protégées different skills than their men protégés. While men receive information and practical support concerning career development, are learning to develop career-related skills, and to develop leadership; women mostly receive support and encouragement (Ragins 1997; Cianni & Romberger 1995; Collins 1983). Women Ph.D. students who had women mentors were found to have advantages compared to women who had men mentors, and are reported to publish significantly more and to be more career-oriented (Fox 1989 ;Gilbert 1985). In a research of faculty members, it was found that women faculty members reported receiving mainly psychological support from their mentors, while men faculty members reported receiving a more practical and career related support (Stonewater, Eveslage & Digerson 1990). Some studies suggest that men and women mentors provide different functions for their mentorees. Men were found to provide more practical functions, while women mentors were found to provide more personal support and psychological functions (Burke, McKeen & McKenna 1993; Gaskill, 1991). Other studies found no variance in the functions provided by men and women mentors (Burke and McKeen, 1997; Ensher and Murphy, 1997; Ragins and Mcfarlin 1990). It is important to note that women, more than men, are likely to have cross-gender mentoring relationship (Burke, McKeen & McKenna 1990; Ragins and Cotton 1991).

Another reason for the relatively low level of men's encouragement of women students is related to homosociality (Kanter, 1977). The "gate keepers" will choose to encourage those who are as similar to them as possible in their social characteristics (White 1987). Due to the proportionally low number of women faculty and their lower status in the academic hierarchy, men students have higher chances to be "chosen" and "groomed for success" (Lorber 1994: 230-234). Blackburn et al (1981), who studied the mentoring system, found that professors overwhelmingly nominated as their most successful "protégés" those whose careers were essentially identical to their own. Because of the fact that there are fewer women than men professors, women students have fewer chances to be "chosen" as protégées than do men students.³ Moreover, women graduate students have less interaction with faculty, which was found to have a strong effect on earning the Ph.D. (Berg and Ferber 1983). Helfing (1985) who interviewed women full time professors from the Hebrew University found that 21 percent reported they were treated differently because of their gender; 48 percent reported that they were not encouraged by the academic staff to have academic careers. Another influential aspect that might discourage women students is the fact that women faculty are largely concentrated in the lower academic positions, and they are discriminated against in terms of tenure, wages, and opportunities. Women students who observe the "glass ceiling phenomena" know that their chances to get to the top are slim, and they may be discouraged from trying as a result.

Discriminatory Practices

Thornton (1989) argues that the concept of the 'best person' in academia is still characterized as a white, heterosexual, middle-class man. This ideology prevents women from being accepted as full and equal members in the academic community. Moreover, from this ideology of the 'best person' derive discriminatory practices that women encounter in their everyday life in academia. Some of these practices, like sexual and gender harassment, are more visible than others.

Sexual harassment was conceptualized as a discriminatory practice by Catharine MacKinnon (1979), who pointed out that unwanted sexual attention could make a person's work environment extremely unpleasant and jeopardize his or her professional career. Following Lorber's (1994: 249-52) definitions of sexual and gender harassment, I use these definitions as follows. Sexual harassment: a sexual relationship that is not wanted by one of the people involved, often because the initiator has some power over the other person. Gender harassment: when a person's gender or sexual persuasion is used to designate the individual's capabilities. In the academic environment it is usually hard to draw the line between sexual and gender harassment, and some of the discriminatory practices involve both types of harassment.

In a study of women undergraduate students, Benson and Thomson (1982) found that 30 percent of undergraduate women students received unwanted sexual attention from a male instructor during college. At more advanced levels, women students are more likely to experience sexual harassment than at the undergraduate level, and Ph.D. women

students are more likely than women master's students to be sexually harassed during their studies (Caplan 1993; Sandler and Hall 1986).

In an Israeli study on the experience of sex and gender harassment of undergraduate and graduate students, Avni (1990) found high incidence of gender harassment (24 percent) towards women students and a lower incidence of sexual harassment (7-11 percent) including seductive behavior, unwanted sexual attention by lecturers or tutors and attempts to foster sexual relations. Additionally, the occurrence of other types of discriminatory practices was relatively high; 28 percent of the women students reported being treated differently because of their sex, 39 percent reported sexual jokes and comments, and 40 percent reported sexually stereotyped comments. Avni found no significant differences between B.A. and M.A. students.

But sexual and gender harassment are not always overt and visible. Sexual jokes, comments, attention to a student's gender and not to her abilities, sexual staring, etc. are also considered sexual harassment. Covert gender harassment is more difficult to confront than harassment because these practices are made to look as if they were part of normal, acceptable behavior:

"Just as overt non-discriminatory policies are undercut by covert discriminatory practices, socially unacceptable public sexist remarks are replaced with snide comments or insinuations that are harder to confront, because...they are said with a smile" (Lorber 1984: 39).

Sexual harassment is not always recognized as such. Schneider et al. (1997) found that women who answered positively on a sexual harassment questionnaire did not perceive themselves as being sexually harassed.

Research indicates that sexist verbal and non-verbal behaviors intensify at the graduate level (Sandler and Hall 1986). These behaviors toward women accumulate and have the effect of making women uncomfortable and eroding women's commitment in a predominantly 'male' environment (Fitzgerald et al. 1997; Morin and Rosenfeld 1998; Strine 1992). Discriminatory practices do not have to be intentional to be effective.

Freeman (1975) suggests that professors can discriminate against women without really trying, because by failing to encourage women they do not counter previous socialization, and thus they discriminate against women by default. Other forms of subtle gender discrimination are: devaluation of women's professional contributions; referring to women's gender when evaluating their work; ignoring women selectively at class, e.g. crediting men's contribution in class discussions, but not women's; addressing the class as if there are no women present; course curriculums that ignore women's contributions to the field; using stereotyped views of women in class; assuming that women's family responsibility will inhibit her from doing her work properly, attend professional meetings, etc.; assuming that women will marry and will not complete their degrees, or even if they will complete their degrees, will leave the academic-professional life soon after; patronizing behavior toward women; suggesting that women don't take their work seriously.⁹

All these practices make women feel that they do not belong in the academic

world. These behaviors can be intentional or unintentional: often unnoticed, they are usually taken as the 'normal' practices because they are built into norms, values, and ideologies. Moreover, they are usually perceived as episodic and individual rather than institutional and are less visible at the organizational level. However, the regular occurrence of these practices in academic institutions is cumulative and structural, and they can be conceptualized as part of the organizational culture. They are not always recognized as discriminatory practices because women internalize these norms and ideologies through processes of socialization. Nonetheless, subtle discriminatory practices have important effects: exclusion on the one hand and low self-esteem on the other. Bernard (1988) argues that these discriminatory practices comprise an 'inferiority curriculum' for women in academia.

The pattern that emerges from these discriminatory practices on the one hand and the radical change in the norms on the other is a paradoxical one: there is not one clear set of norms, but as Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) argue, two sets of norms coexist in academia:

"On the one hand, we have new social and political commitments to individual equality, openness of opportunity, and equal responsibility for men and women, and, on the other, old beliefs in the rightness of inequality, in the fact and rightness of a distinction between men and women in their capacities and proper roles". Aisenberg and Harrington 1988: 5)⁷.

In Israel, although the Equal Opportunity Law (1989) defines sexual harassment as discrimination, there is a relatively low level of awareness of both sexual harassment and

gender discrimination as important social problems⁸. A survey conducted about two years after the law's implementation found that only 24 percent knew that such a law existed. The same survey found that 35 percent of respondents believed that men should be given preference in promotion (reported in Izraeli and Tabory 1993). Studying Israeli students' perception of social issues, Izraeli and Tabory (1993) found that gender inequality was not considered to be an important social problem. Thus, among Israeli students, subtle discriminatory practices are less likely to be recognized as such, and likelier to be considered as episodic. Since the awareness of sexual harassment and gender discrimination is low, it is not considered a legitimate problem, and thus almost never discussed.

In a study of gender and sexual harassment of women students in the Israeli universities, Yosha (1997) found that more than half of the women students (55 percent) in undergraduate and graduate programs experienced gender harassment from faculty members and peers during their studies. Yosha also found that the rate of gender harassment increases as the student advances in her studies. The rate of gender harassment reported by graduate students was significantly higher (71 percent). Interestingly, in the same study, in response to a direct question concerning the experience of sexual harassment, almost all the students (98 percent) reported that they did not experience such harassment⁹.

Role Conflict

Whether conveyed directly or indirectly, the old norms requiring choice between family and work are there to be reckoned with by all women for whom work is too important to be unquestioningly 'laid aside' under exigencies of a personal life (Florentine 1988: 143).

The concept of role conflict has two different aspects: an anticipated role conflict and actual role conflict. Though these aspects refer to two analytically distinguished concepts, it is difficult to distinguish between their effects on women's career paths. On the one hand, role conflict is anticipated both by women and by men, and though women today value status-attainment goals much more than they did only a few years ago, there is no comparable decrease in the value women place on domestic nurturing goals (Florentine 1988). Women did not abandon their commitment to their traditional role, they just doubled the load, and at the same time they adopted a new role that concerns career; they want to have it all: marriage, children, and career.

The large majority of women undergraduate students plan to combine career and motherhood (Baber and Monaghan 1988; Machung 1989), but there are some fundamental contradictions between the demands of developing and establishing a career and raising children. Men want to have it all, too, but women and men undergraduate students still perceive caring for children and the household as women's and not men's role (Machung 1989), so the double burden is still on women's shoulders. It is not only women students who expect to experience role-conflicts combining family and career, it is also expected of them by others. This expectation might have a significant effect on the expected behavior

of women with families, and as a consequence on the behavior towards them. The pattern of behavior that is expected from women with families is different from the pattern expected from other women students. Women graduate students with families are expected to fulfill their traditional role and to put their family responsibilities as their top priority, but as academics, they are expected to invest all their time and energy in academia.

Married women and mothers who are graduate students do experience role conflict when they try to combine their responsibilities for their families and for academia. As discussed earlier, most of the Israeli women graduate students are married and have children during their studies. Central to the Israeli culture is the notion that caring for her children and her family is women's most important role, and women are expected to put their children and families above all else.

“On the one hand, there is a legacy of equality ...On the other hand, we have the strong ingrained importance of the family and children, and the emphasis on women’s primary nurturing responsibilities as guardians of the home and children” (Toren, 2001 p. 54).

Although Israeli women are found to experience a low level of role conflict (Israeli 1988; Krauss 1998; Libelich 1993), the burden of their double role is enhanced in academia because although women are expected to fulfill their traditional role, academic institutions do not encourage women with families to pursue an academic career. The academic or scientific occupation is perceived as a full time, encompassing occupation; this notion implies that women with families (but not men) are not fully committed to their

work. Perlberg and Keinan (1986) found that in Israel, women academics suffer from more stress both in the private sphere (more domestic chores and childcare) and on the job.

Thus, for women students with families, the burden is not only doubled, but tripled. Women students with families have to deal not only with their double roles but also with the different prejudices at the academic environment. Baringa (1992) suggests that the funneling process of women in academia, or what she terms "the leaking pipeline", is due to a combination of men's attitudes toward women and the double burden on women's shoulders of being an academic while at the same time being a wife and a mother.

The "Chilly Climate" Effect

Women who enter academia hold a set of beliefs and myths of equality, meritocracy, and collegiality. These myths portray the university as a place where women (as well as men) can succeed if they are talented and work hard. But the reality of academia is different, and its climate is often "chilly" for women. Entering academia, women face a system of invisible barriers that undermine their achievements and block their way up the academic ladder. The fact that the system of discriminatory practices has become subtler than before makes it even harder for women to recognize and fight it.

In the same way that women in organizations (including academia) encounter the glass ceiling that impedes them from rising to the top professional and managerial levels, women students encounter a series of "glass barriers". These barriers are invisible not

only because the discriminatory practices are mostly informal, but also because the myth system of academia veils these barriers, in a way that the fault seems to be found in the one who is discriminated against, and not in the academic institution. The women who enter academia and encounter these barriers do not usually recognize them as systemic barriers and tend to blame the problem on themselves. As Paula Caplan describes:

"When women find we are having trouble in academia, two major factors usually make it hard for us to see the obstacles that are in our way; one is the learned 'feminine' tendency to regard ourselves as inadequate and blameworthy, and the other is a set of myths that masks the true nature of the obstacles. The two factors interact with each other, since the myths specifically portray academia as the ideal setting, and women as deeply flawed. When people and systems can no longer announce 'women are not wanted here'; they can nevertheless use the belief system composed of myths to make us feel uncomfortable, doubt our abilities, find it hard to be productive, or even become convinced that we don't belong in academia, so we 'choose' to leave" (1993: 47).

Unwelcoming climates are created by institutional practices, conscious and unconscious; each practice might be viewed as incidental, as separate from others, but in reality these practices have a cumulative effect that makes the academic environment "chilly" for women. The organizational pattern of these practices places women in an organizational position that disadvantage them compared to men.

"Each micro inequity, in and of itself, is so small that one is tempted to ignore the

“slight”. As these slights accumulate, however, they attack one’s autonomy...and subsequently complicate interpersonal relationships and career development” (Benokraitis, 1997. P 2).

For women graduate students, the “chilly climate” means that they are significantly disadvantaged compared with men students. Without understanding exactly why, women students might feel they "do not belong" in the academic organization.

The "chilly" climate may become a self fulfilling prophecy for women students, since its effects might be discouraging women from participating in the normative academic activities (such as classroom participation, relationship with peers, etc.) by which students are judged by faculty and by themselves, to be part of the academic community (Ginorio, 1995; Maher and Tereault, 1994; Sandler and Hall, 1996; Torry, 1995).

Groups and individuals holding the power to make the academic climate more welcoming for women do not usually do so, either because they benefit from women’s disadvantaged position, or because they are blind to the "chilliness" of the environment or its effects for women.

Self-Blame Effect

Through a process of socialization in childhood and in academia, women internalize discrimination in a way that affects their self-esteem significantly. The gradual erosion of women's worth in academia is subtle, frequently covert, and often leads women

to blame themselves rather than the structure of the academic institution (Rothenblum 1988; Aisenberg and Harrington 1988).

The invisibility of the inferiority “curriculum”, in addition to the myths about the academic world, lead women to believe that they themselves are to blame when they encounter the 'glass barriers' - they are not doing things the 'right' way, they do not cope well enough, they are not talented enough, etc. Thus, the systemic barriers produce and enhance low self-esteem. Numerous studies indicate the tendency of both genders to attribute women's successes to luck and hard work, while attributing men's successes to their abilities, and vice-versa for women's and men's failures (Wiley and Crittenden 1992). Even when they occupy positions that prove their professional abilities, as with women faculty, women have lower self-esteem than men (Chamberlin 1988).

Hesse-Biber (1985) found that women students express less confidence that they will be successful at their work than men students would. Women students reported that they are more reluctant than men students to participate in class discussions, less willing to speak out and question their teachers, and less likely to feel that they could 'hold their own' in discussions with men students. Hesse-Biber argues that an academic environment that does not actively counter gendered expectations reinforces them by default and preserves stereotypical differences between men's and women's behavior, aspirations, and achievements.

I would like to suggest that the academic environment does not merely reinforce existing gendered differences, but actively produces and reproduces these differences in a way that makes these differences be seen as a natural and necessary part of the academic

environment.

Opting Out: Setting the Research Question

The review of the available data indicates that women students in academia are largely disadvantaged compared to men students. The institutional glass barriers are real obstacles to women on the way up the academic ladder, and the academic environment does not encourage women to pursue an academic career. But all this does not explain why more women than men choose to leave academia after the M.A. degree and not to pursue a Ph.D. degree.

The difference between the proportion of women as students at the master's level and the Ph.D. level indicates that research should not concentrate on the graduate level as a whole as the basic unit of analysis, but distinguish between the master's and the Ph.D. levels and focus on the crossroads between the M.A. and the Ph.D.

The difference in the proportion of women between the levels might be due to the process of accumulated disadvantages. Women who choose not to pursue a Ph.D. degree may have experienced different disadvantages that accumulate over the course of their studies and thus decide that academia is not the 'right place' for them. In addition, it might be true that women at the master's level are less encouraged by faculty than men students to go on with their studies or to continue to pursue an academic career.

In order to answer these questions, this research examines not only the academic environment but also the reasons women graduate students at the M.A. level chose to continue or to resign from academia.

As noted previously, the available research concerning women graduate students is extremely limited; most of the available research on graduate students focuses on specific aspects of graduate student's experience such as sexual harassment, and does not examine the way these experiences affect career choices. Furthermore, the process of channeling in academia is rarely studied directly and is usually inferred from its measurable consequences. Thus, "We know much more about the extent to which 'supply side' factors do and do not account for reward and productivity differences between men and women scientists than we do about the impact of specific structural barriers and cultural stereotypes" (Bielby 1991: 176-7).

Most of the available research concerning women students and women's academic career paths is focused on students' capabilities and motivations or on the consequences of the career channeling process, but not on the channeling process itself. Additionally, most studies of women's academic career paths study women's academic careers from the point where they already hold a Ph.D. and become faculty members. But the imbalance in women's proportion starts much earlier, at the junction of the M.A. and the Ph.D., and this junction, I believe, should be the starting point for research. Studying the channeling process of women in the academia from this junction might lead to a better understanding of the whole process of channeling women's careers.

The research focuses on the crossroads of decision at the M.A. level, where students choose to terminate their studies after having the M.A. degree, a degree that allows them a wide range of occupational options at the private and government sectors, or

to pursue a Ph.D. degree, which will enable them to pursue an academic career. This crossroads represents the choice between the opportunity to pursue an academic career and other, non-academic career options. As discussed previously, at this crossroads, more men than women choose the first option, while more women than men choose the second one. Thus, the research question focuses on the different aspects of the process that leads women students and men students to different career choices at this crossroads.

The research is aimed at uncovering the complex processes and less visible aspects of academic life and organization from women and men students' point of view. Unveiling the complex interactions and unstated beliefs, values, and norms will give us a better understanding of the numerous processes that are part of the day-to-day life of academia. Additionally, identifying the social, cultural, and organizational aspects that are part of these processes might determine important variables and categories that will provide the groundwork for subsequent, more comprehensive research. Unveiling these processes can also have some significance for practice both in the academic realm for students and faculty, and in the policy-making realm, for those who strive for a system of equal opportunity.

Concerning discriminatory practices, it is important to note that the purpose of this study is not to identify discriminatory practices in the Israeli universities, or to classify certain practices as such, but to understand the elements that shape women students' choices concerning their studies, a process in which discriminatory practices, or more precisely, women students' experience of such practices, might be of importance.

Chapter III

Research Design

Research Questions

The following research questions refer to different aspects of graduate students' experience and are aimed to identify the different advantages and disadvantages women graduate students experience in comparison to men students and the ways in which they affect their decision to pursue a Ph.D. degree or resign from academia after they have achieved the M.A. Each of these research questions leads to a sub-set of more specific research questions.

Choice

1. Are there differences between men and women graduate students?
 - 1.1 What are the differences between different groups of graduate students?

Cultural Norms

2. What role do cultural norms, such as the centrality of the family in the Israeli society, or norms concerning women's role, play in women graduate student's decision to pursue a Ph.D. or a terminal M.A.?
 - 2.1 Do women and men graduate students experience different role conflicts? How do their conflicts affect their career decisions?
 - 2.2 Do women graduate students have different priorities concerning family responsibilities and career than men graduate students? What are the differences

between those with children and those without children? How do they compare with similar groups of men?

2.3 Are women graduate students with children supported financially, morally, and practically, by their families? Are men graduate students supported in the same way?

Advantages and Disadvantages

3. What are the advantages and disadvantages women and men encounter as graduate students? Do they encounter different advantages and disadvantages? How do graduate students experience these advantages and disadvantages, and how do they affect their decision to pursue a terminal M.A. or a Ph.D.? Do part-time students experience different disadvantages than full-time students?

3.1 Do women graduate students experience any discriminatory practices? Do men? What are they? How do they affect women and men's graduate students perception of the academic environment? How do they affect their decision to stay or resign from academia?

3.2 Does the academic environment reinforce gender difference, for example, concerning self-perception or role conflict? How does it affect women and men graduate student's perception of themselves? Does it affect their decision process?

3.3 How do men and women graduate students perceive their chances to succeed in academia?

Student-Faculty Interaction

4. Are there gender differences in the encouragement, attention, and mentoring graduate students receive? What are the differences and how do they affect students?
 - 4.1 Do men and women graduate students have the same mentors? Are mentors mostly men or mostly women? Do faculty members tend to have same-gender protégés? What is the mentor's position in the department? How often do they meet with their protégés? How do mentors affect women and men's student decisions concerning their career paths?
 - 4.2 Do men and women graduate students have different role models? Who are they? What are the differences between students who have role models and those who do not? Are there any gender differences?
 - 4.3 How do men and women graduate students perceive women faculty? How do they perceive men faculty?
 - 4.4 What are the differences in women and men faculty's informal interaction with women and men students?
 - 4.5 How many men and women graduate students serve as teaching and research assistants for women and men faculty members? What are the differences between those who serve as research and teaching assistants and those who do not? Are there gender differences? How does it affect their decision process?

Hypotheses

1. It was predicted that there are gender differences concerning career objectives, and that more men than women master's students have academic careers as an objective. It was also predicted that these gender differences arise or become more pronounced during the master's program.

I expected to find that women graduate students perceive their chances to rise in the academic ladder as less good than men's, and that this perception affects their decision to pursue the Ph.D.

2. I expected to find that women and men graduate students have different experiences of the structural and cultural-environmental elements of academia, and that women students experience 'chillier' environment than men do.

Concerning men and women M.A. students who plan to pursue a terminal M.A. I expected to find that more men than women will choose during their studies to pursue a Ph.D. degree. Concerning those M.A. students who intend to pursue the Ph.D. I expected to find that more men than women will choose during their M.A. studies to pursue the Ph.D.

I expected to find that women students accumulate more disadvantages during their master's studies than men students, and that this process of accumulating disadvantages channel more women than men to 'choose' to resign from academia after they obtained a master's degree.

3. It was predicted that there are differences between men and women graduate students in the pattern of interaction with faculty, mentoring, sponsoring, and research and teaching positions, and that these differences adversely affect women student's decision to pursue or resign the Ph.D., and serve as support and encouragement for men.

I also expected to find that students of both genders who have high level of interaction with faculty will be more likely to pursue the Ph.D. than other students. In that sense, the successful women students are those who have student careers similar to those of successful men students.

4. Because of the support for Israeli women with children to work outside their homes, I expected to find a low level of role conflict, and that role conflict has a little or no effect on women student's decision to pursue a higher degree or resign from academia.

Research Variables

According to the research questions the research variables include the following:

Dependent variable:

- ⌚ Intention of M.A. students to pursue a Ph.D.

Independent variables:

- ⌚ Students with / without children
- ⌚ Students who work in academia / do not work in academia
- ⌚ Socio-economic background

- ⌚ Students who receive financial aid / do not receive financial aid
- ⌚ Part-time students / full-time students
- ⌚ Experience of role conflict
- ⌚ Financial, moral and practical support for students with children
- ⌚ Priority structure concerning family and career
- ⌚ Disadvantages student encounter as graduate students
- ⌚ Experience of discriminatory practices
- ⌚ Perception of the academic environment as encouraging/discouraging
- ⌚ Attention and encouragement students receive from faculty
- ⌚ Mentoring patterns and sponsoring patterns
- ⌚ Students who have role models / do not have role models
- ⌚ Perception of women and men faculty by students
- ⌚ Informal interaction patterns of men and women faculty with students
- ⌚ Students who serve as research assistants / teaching assistants

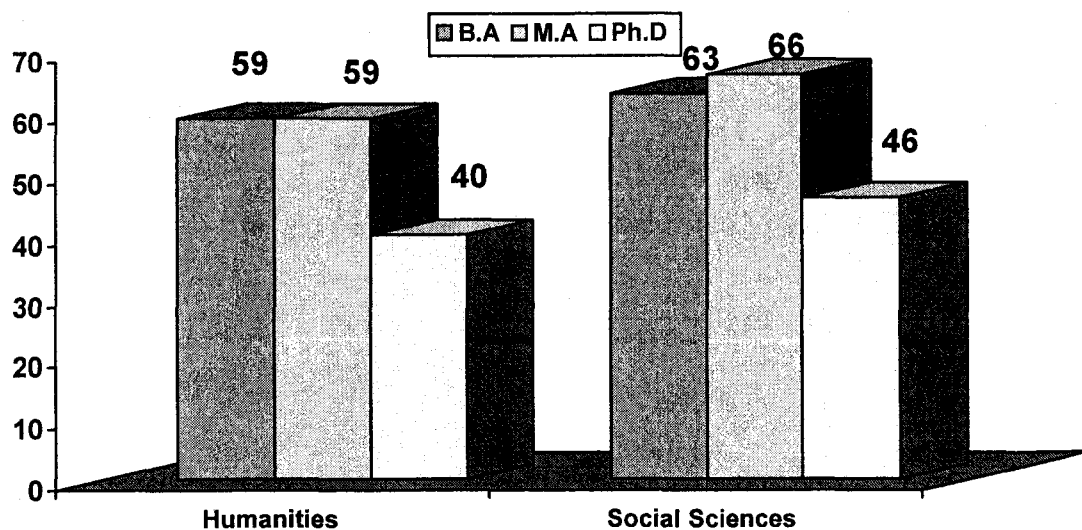
Methodology

Population

The research includes qualitative and quantitative data from M.A. and Ph.D. students in Israel. At the time of the research in 1997, the proportion of women students receiving the BA was 58 percent, MA was 55 percent and the Ph.D. was 41 percent.

The study includes two academic fields: the humanities and the social sciences. In both fields the proportion of women is similar at the bachelor's degree and the master's degree (59 percent in both these degrees in the humanities and 66-63 percent in the social sciences), but drops considerably at the PhD (40 percent in the humanities and 46 percent in the social sciences; see figure 4).

Figure 4: Percentage of Women Recipients of Degrees, by Field, 1997



Source: The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 1999.

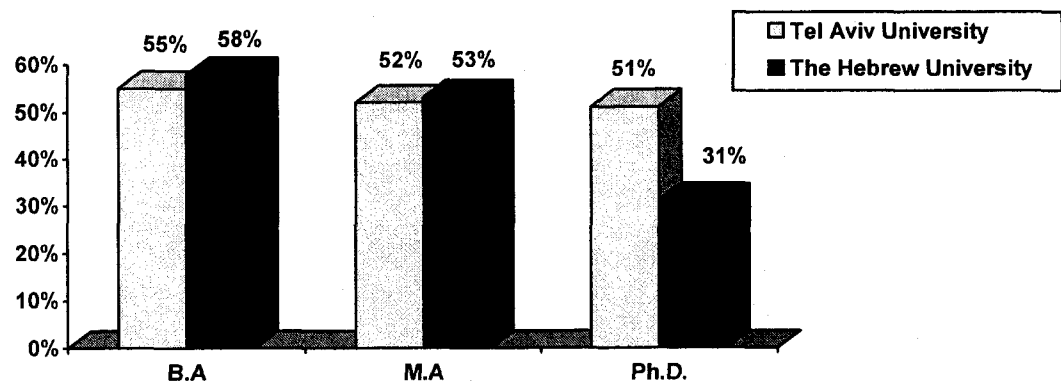
Sample

The study was conducted in 1997 at four departments in two disciplines: two departments at The Hebrew University and two at Tel Aviv University. I used the following criteria in order to choose these universities out of the 6 Israeli universities:

1. Universities that offer a wide range of M.A and Ph.D. programs
2. Non-religious universities, since the approach of traditional Judaism might restrict women's choices and behavior.

As Figure 5 indicates, at the time of this study in 1997, there were major differences between the Hebrew University and Tel-Aviv University. The Hebrew University had a much lower proportion of women Ph.D. recipients than did Tel-Aviv University (51 percent in Tel-Aviv University vs. 31 percent in The Hebrew University, in 1997). These differences might point to a difference in the experience of women students in the two universities at the time. Comparing these two universities enabled me to examine this difference in terms of graduate students' experience of their environment, in order to illuminate the cause of this difference in the proportion of women Ph.D. students.

Figure 5: Degree Recipients in Tel-Aviv University and The Hebrew University, 1997

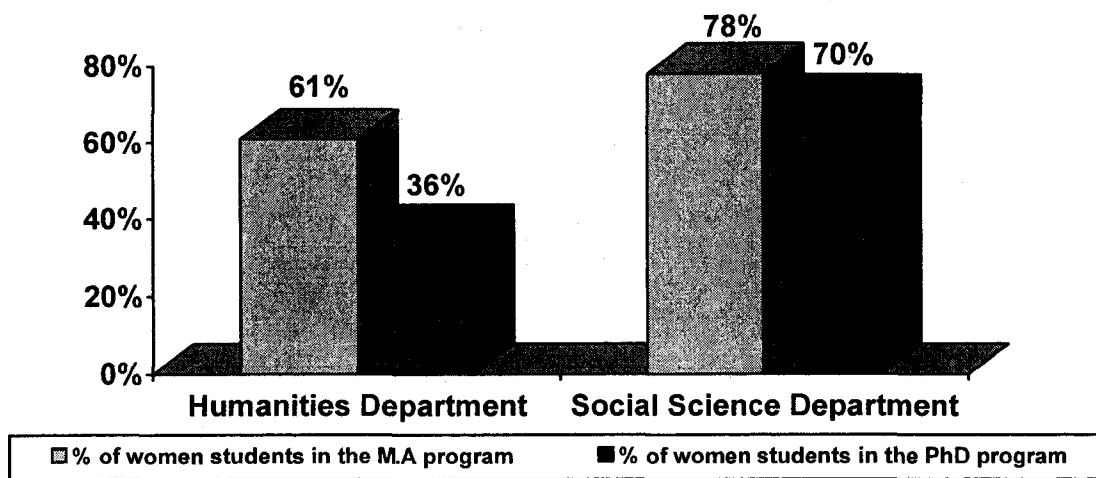


Source: The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 1997.

I selected two departments in each university, one in the humanities and one in the social sciences; one in which the proportion of women students in the M.A. and the Ph.D. is as similar as possible (social sciences) and one in which the proportion of women students drops considerably at the Ph.D. level (the humanities). The analysis of the two departments enabled me to compare the effect of the department's environments while controlling for the discipline and the university.

At the time I began this study (1997) the proportion of women students in each department was as described in figure 6.

Figure 6: Percentage of Women Students in the Social Sciences Department and The Humanities Department



Source: The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 1997.*

In order to guarantee the anonymity of the respondents and the departments, which was presented by the departments as a condition for cooperation with this research, I identify each department only by area of study.

* These differences in women proportions exist also in 2000: in the humanities the proportion of women was 55% at the BA, 59% at the MA, and 29% in the Ph.D. In the field of social sciences the proportion of women was 65% at the BA, 64% at the MA, and 60% at the Ph.D. (The Israeli Statistics Bureau, 2002).

The number of students in each department at the time of the study was:

	Tel Aviv University: Humanities	Tel Aviv University: Social Sciences	The Hebrew University: Humanities	The Hebrew University: Social Sciences	Total
Total no. of M.A. students	62	96	88	100	346
Total no. of PhD students	27	20	42	21	110

Since the number of students in each department is relatively small, the sample included as many students as I was able to interview from each department. I tried to include the whole population of students of the relevant departments in the survey, but a small number from the total population was not interviewed, in most cases because of the student's refusal. The students who volunteered were included in the survey, and were interviewed face to face.

	Tel Aviv University		The Hebrew University		Total
	Humanities	Social Sciences	Humanities	Social Sciences	
Total no. of M.A. students	62	96	88	100	346
Interviews					
Total no. of interviewees	47	87	76	79	289 (84%)
Men students	21	31	37	42	131
Women students	26	56	39	37	158

Data Collection

The research was done in 2 stages:

First Stage

Preliminary research: the preliminary research included 49 in-depth interviews of M.A. students in all four departments. 13 women students and 11 men students in the Humanities department, and 15 women students and 10 men students in the Social Sciences department .

Additionally, I conducted 15 in-depth interviews with Ph.D. students in these departments. Subjects were recruited by means of posters that called for volunteers. The subjects varied across age and ethnic lines in addition to diversity of subjects in regarded to their marital

status, duration in the program, their status as full-time vs. part-time students, financial aid status, and employment status.

In-depth interviews can be described as "a conversation with a purpose" (Kahn and Cannell, 1957:149). This method of interviewing provided me with in-depth accounts of the students' experience as graduate students, uncovering their own perception of their environment, as well as that of the faculty with whom they interact.

The interviews with students were semi-structured and covered the following topics:

- The student's reasons for pursuing a Ph.D./obtaining a terminal M.A.
- Perception of differences between men and women graduate students.
- Experience of discrimination (including sexual/gender harassment).
- The amount of encouragement students received from faculty, and the extent of mentoring.
- Interaction patterns with faculty members
- Role conflict.
- Perception of the academic environment.
- Perception of the academic environment regarding women and men graduate students.
- The student's career objectives/ perception of future career paths.
- Perception of differences between men and women faculty regarding interaction with students.

For interview guidelines see Appendix 2.

The average time of the in-depth interviews was 2.5 hours.

The in-depth interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Second Stage

Survey: after conducting the in-depth interviews I conducted a survey amongst M.A. students in these departments, and interviewed a total of 289 students.

Questionnaire

In order to prepare a questionnaire that would be as comprehensive as possible, I used the in-depth interviews findings as a basis for the structured questionnaire. The factors included in the questionnaire were those primarily mentioned by students in the in-depth interviews. The final questionnaire included some open-ended questions, but was mostly structured, and covered the same areas covered in the in-depth interviews.

See appendix 2.

Data Analysis

The data was analyzed according to the sub-sets of the research questions for the two categories of students:

- Students who intend to pursue a Ph.D.
- Students who do not intend to pursue a Ph.D.

Those of the M.A. men and women students who intend to pursue a Ph.D. were compared, in terms of their characteristics to men and women who do not intend to continue for the Ph.D. The comparison was done by using Answer Tree analysis and chi-square analysis. The statistical analysis was done using SPSS version 7.5.

The data analysis included three levels of analysis that were found to be significant in the Answer Tree analysis: the university, the department, and the student's gender. The categories of analysis are similar to the research variables.

Categories of Analysis (according to the research variables)

- ‡ University
- ‡ Department
- ‡ Gender
- ‡ Students with/ without children
- ‡ Students who work in academia/do not work in academia
- ‡ Socio-economic background
- ‡ Students who receive financial aid/do not receive financial aid
- ‡ Part-time students/full-time students
- ‡ Experience of role conflict
- ‡ Financial, moral and practical support for students with children
- ‡ Priority structure concerning family and career
- ‡ Disadvantages student encounter as graduate students
- ‡ Experience of discriminatory practices
- ‡ Perception of the academic environment as encouraging/discouraging
- ‡ Attention and encouragement students receive from faculty
- ‡ Mentoring patterns and sponsoring patterns (including same gender/non same gender mentoring; gender of mentor; position of mentor in the department; frequency of meeting with mentorees)

Second Stage

Survey: after conducting the in-depth interviews I conducted a survey amongst M.A. students in these departments, and interviewed a total of 289 students.

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Chart 1: Variables Affecting the Intention to Study for a Ph.D Degree – Answer Tree Analysis

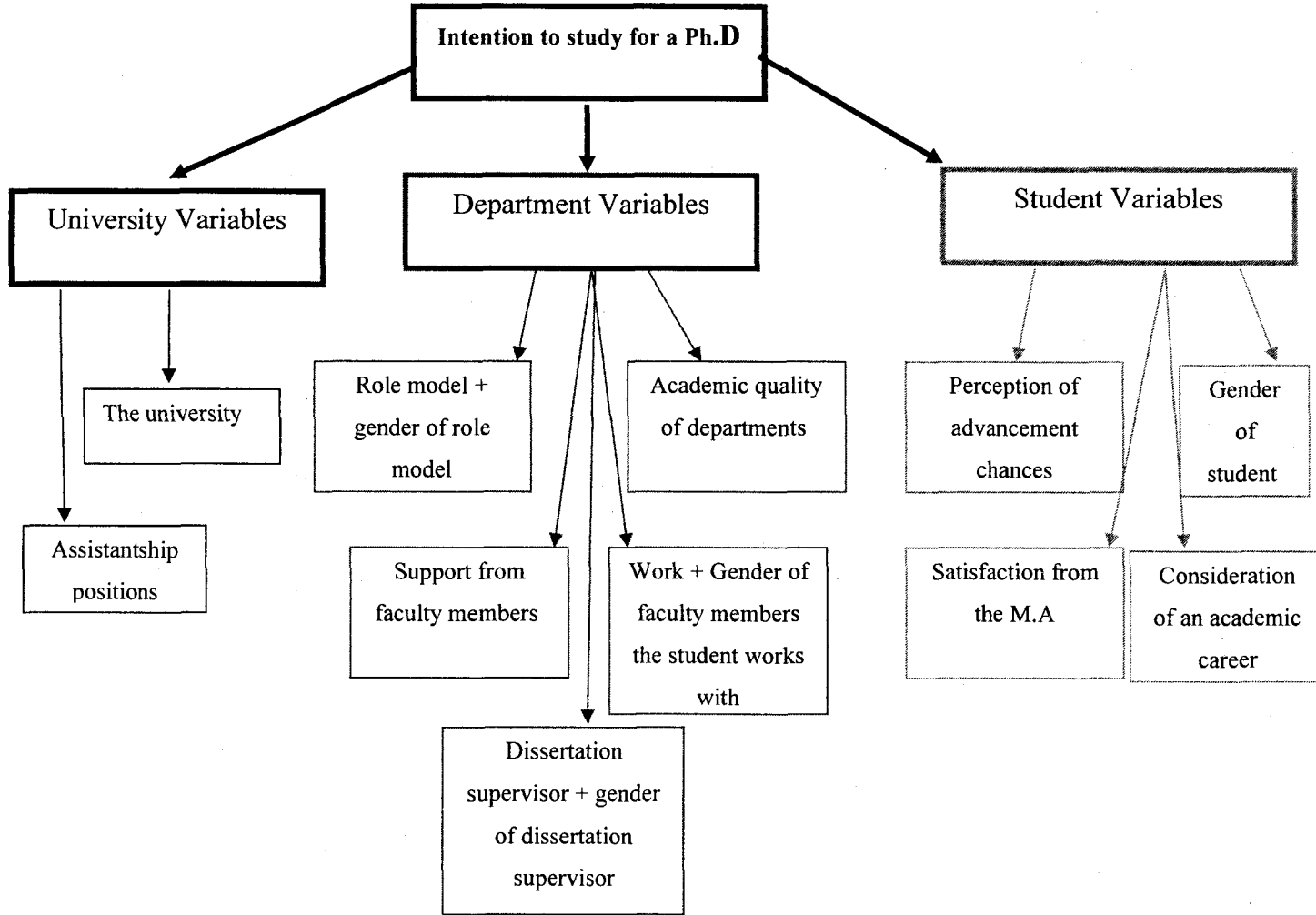


Chart 2: University Variables Affecting the Intention to Study for a Ph.D Degree – Answer Tree Analysis

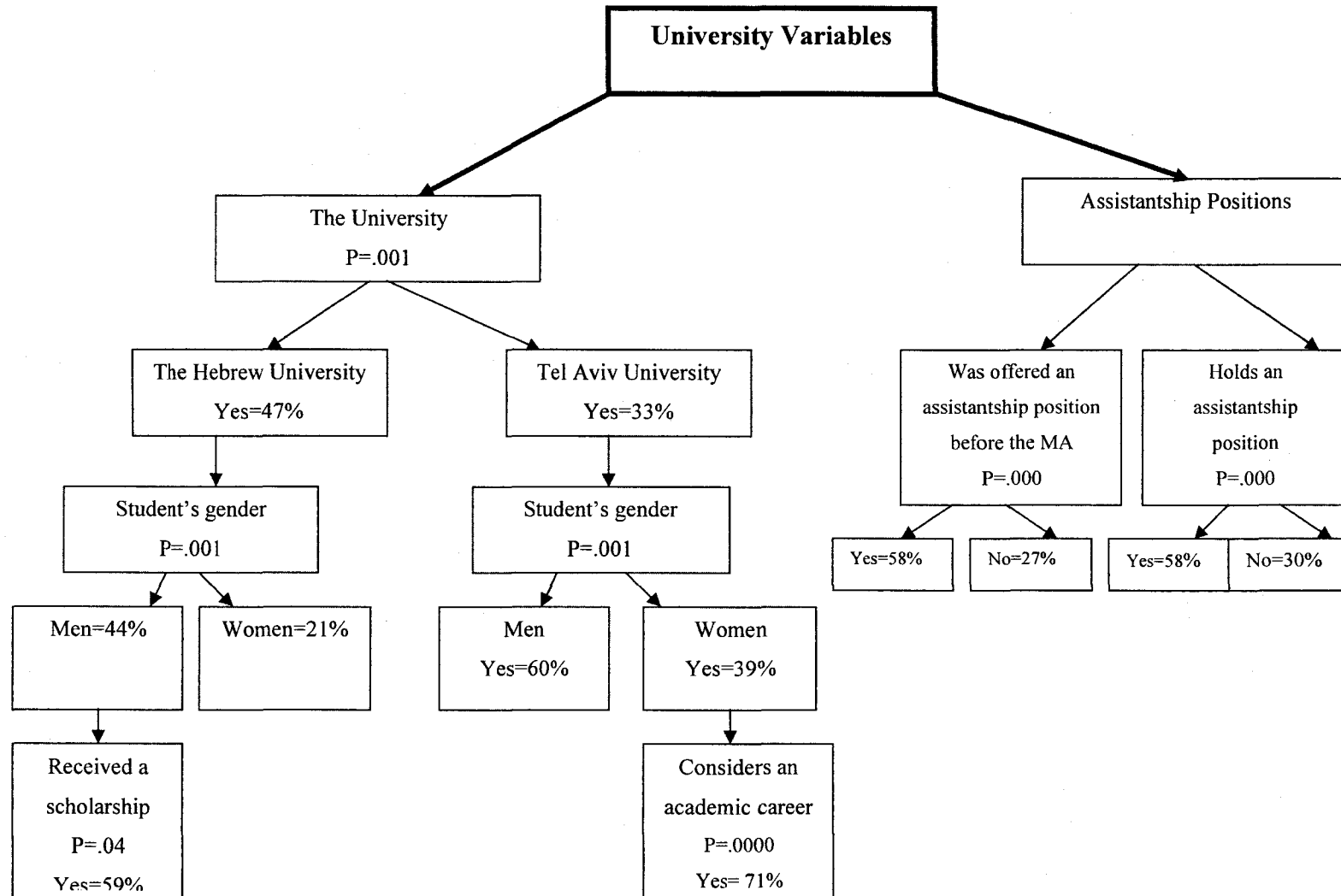


Chart 3: Department Variables Affecting the Intention to Study for a Ph.D Degree – Answer Tree Analysis

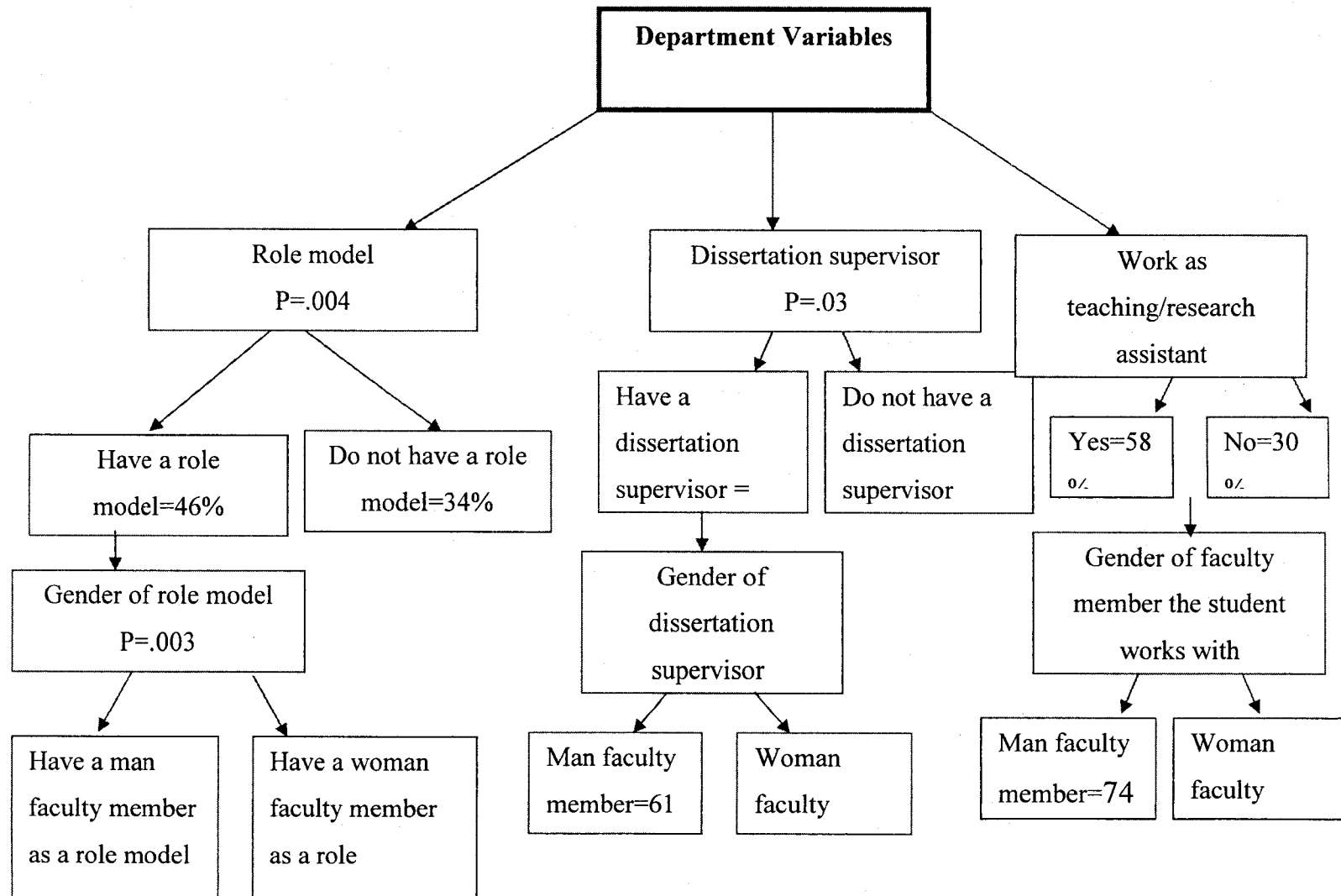


Chart 3: University Variables Affecting the Intention to Study for a Ph.D Degree – Answer Tree Analysis - Continued

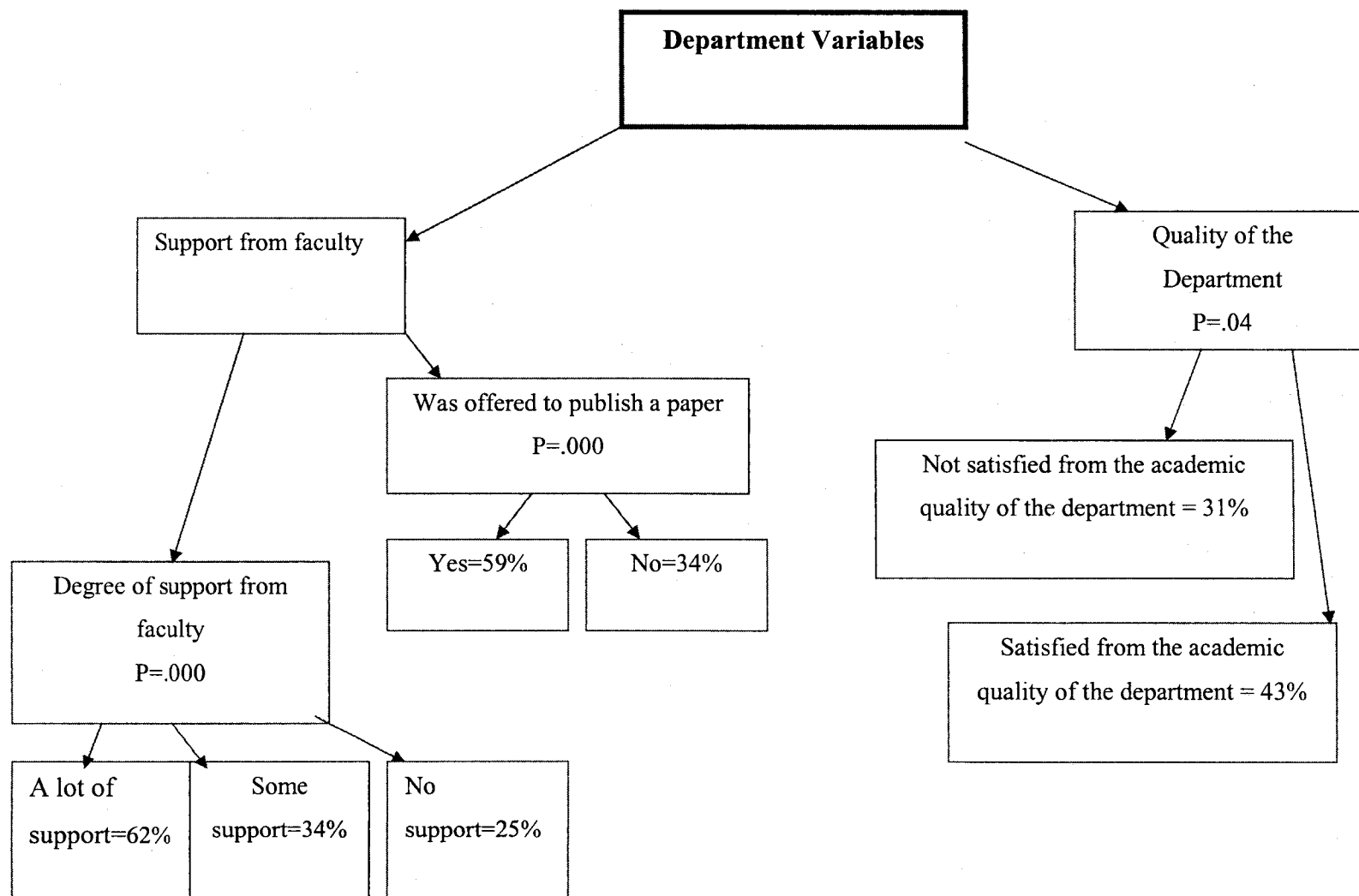


Chart 4: Student Variables Affecting the Intention to Study for a Ph.D Degree – Answer Tree Analysis

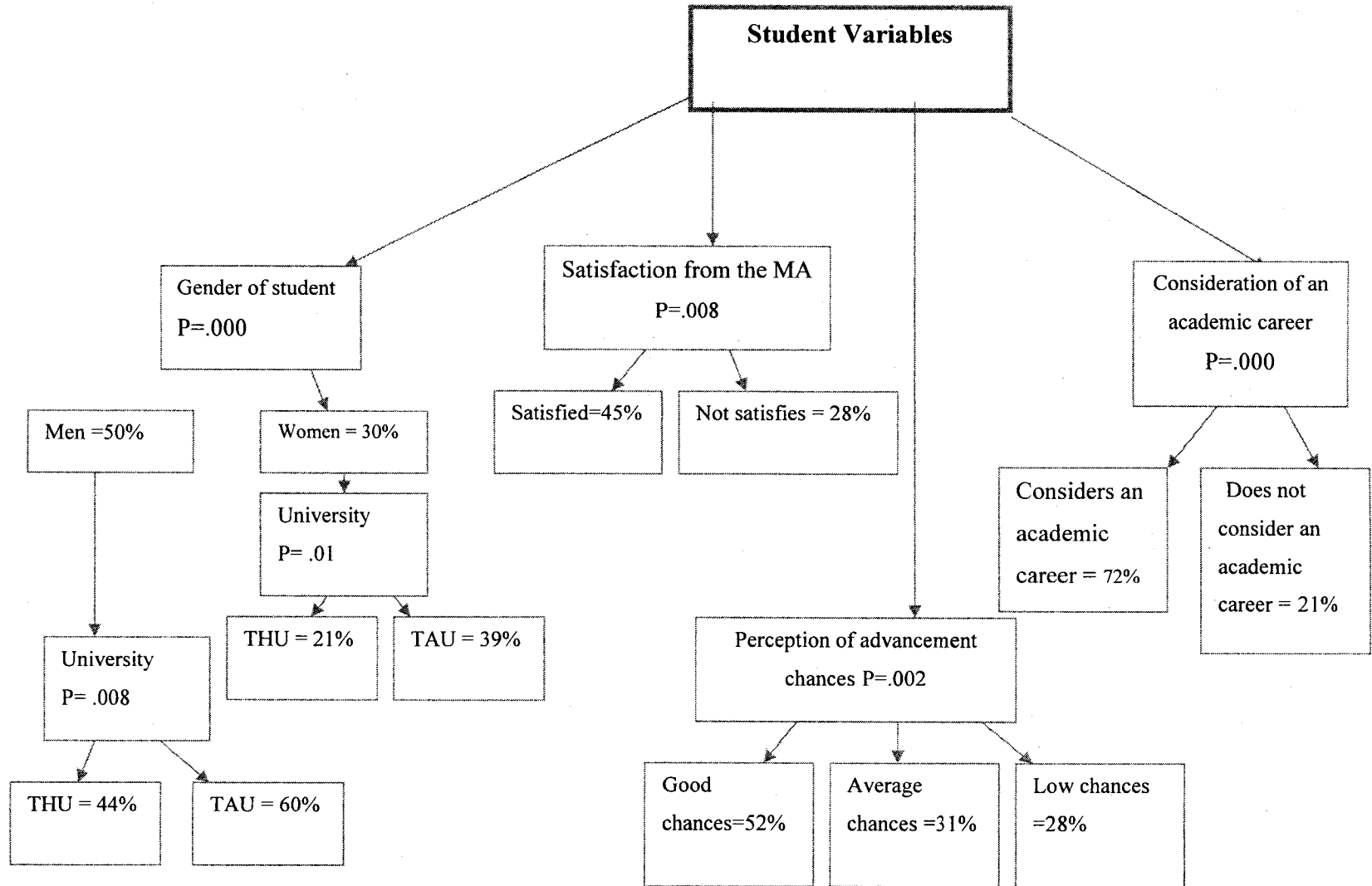
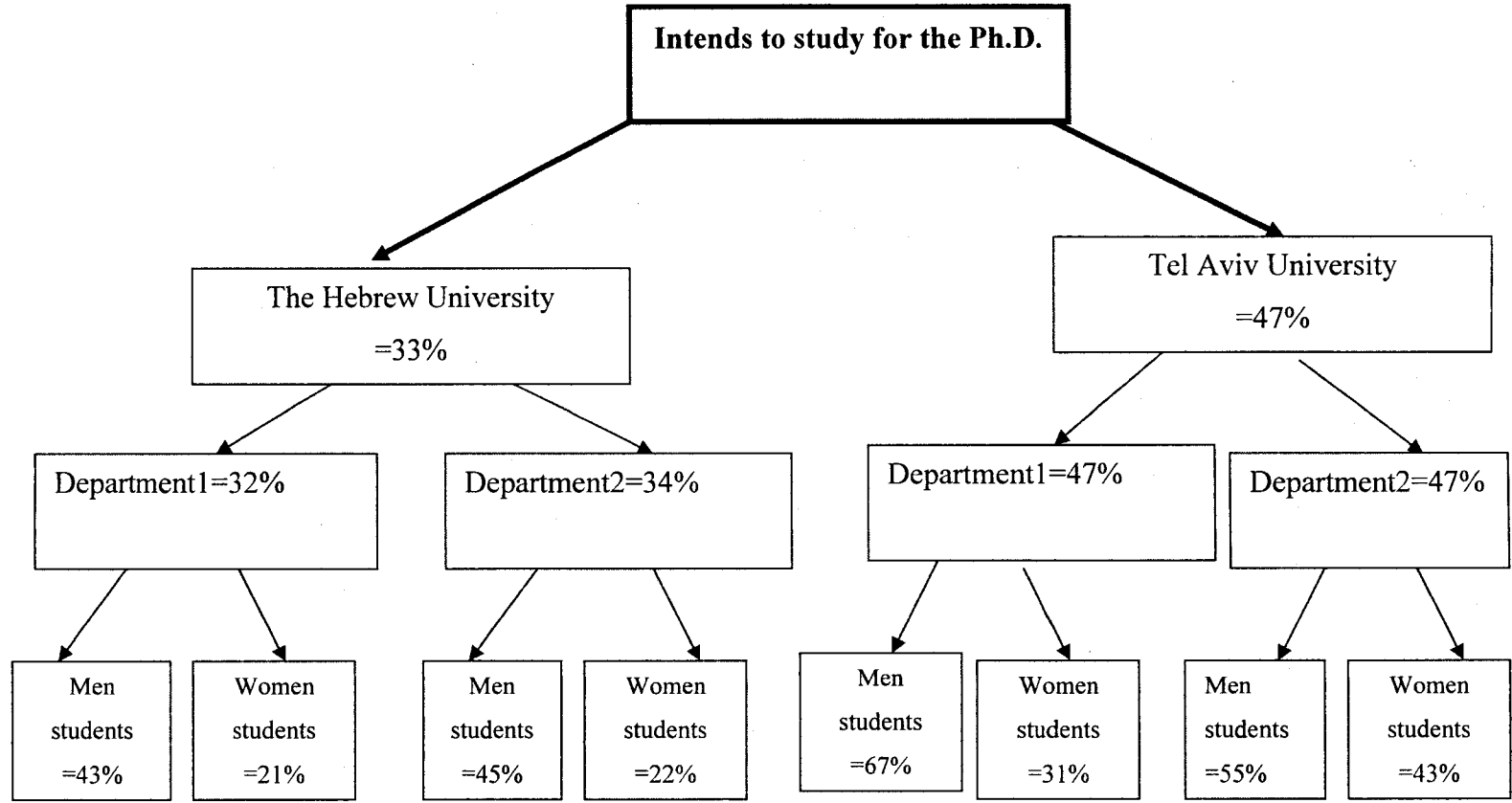


Chart 5: Intention to Study for the Ph.D.



Chapter IV

The Departments Environment

The cultural environment of the university and department is of importance for understanding and interpreting the finding of this research. The university surroundings on the one hand and the faculty atmosphere on the other influence both men and women studying in them, albeit to a different degree.

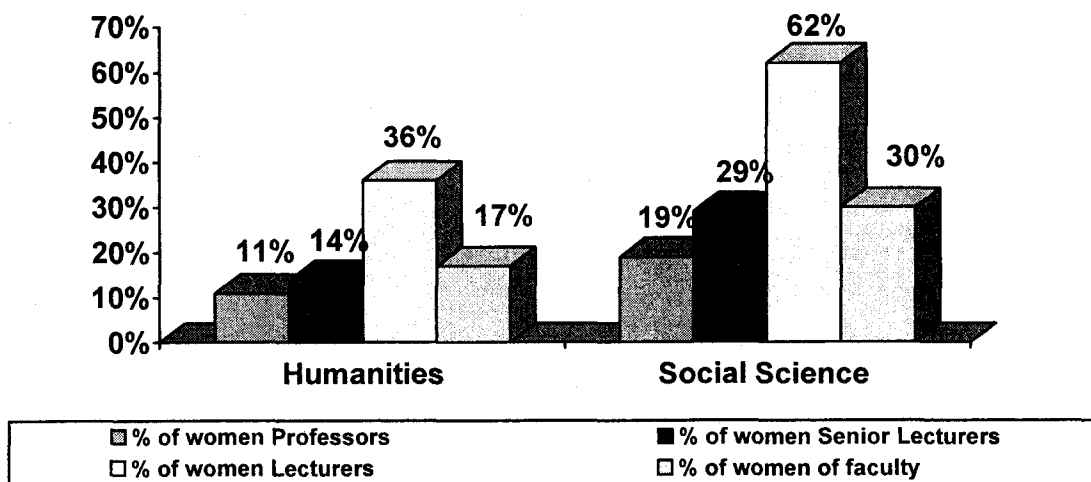
The department holds extremely important influence over the students' studying environment. A department that provides financial and moral support provides an atmosphere that is favorable for continuing studies and allows more students to pursue their wish to continue for doctoral studies. In comparison, a department that does not provide this support could, in many cases, prevent further studies.

In this chapter I present some background information concerning the universities and departments that are included in this research.

The Number and Position of Women Faculty Members

The number and position of women faculty members is of importance to women students' inspirations concerning the Ph.D. degree. The data (Figure 7) concerning women and men faculty in the departments, indicate that women in the academic faculty are considerably fewer in number compared to men faculty, in all the departments in this research, and are concentrated in the lower positions in the academic hierarchy, compared to men in the same department.

Figure 7: Percentage of Women Faculty in the Fields of Social Sciences and The Humanities



The proportion and position of women faculty is of importance to the patterns of students-role model relation. Since there are fewer women in the faculty, and they are mostly represented in the lower levels of the academic hierarchy, women students' chances to select a women faculty as a role model are considerably lower than that of men students selecting a men faculty member as a role model.

Faculty members in the lower levels of the academic hierarchy have less chance of becoming a positive object of identification. Thus, women faculty, who are under-represented in the higher academic levels, might represent for the students not a positive example of career advancement, but an example of long and difficult progress in the academia.

A wide gap was found between the proportions of women faculty members in the field of The Humanities, compared with the field of Social Sciences. In The Humanities women faculty comprise 17% of the total faculty members, while in the Social Sciences women faculty are 30% of the total faculty. This gap was found only between fields, and not between the departments. The proportion of women faculty in the two departments in the same field is similar.

Financial Support of Students

The financial support offered by the department is of importance to most graduate students. This support can be manifested in various ways, such as scholarships (full or partial), teaching or research assistant positions, and grants for research purposes.

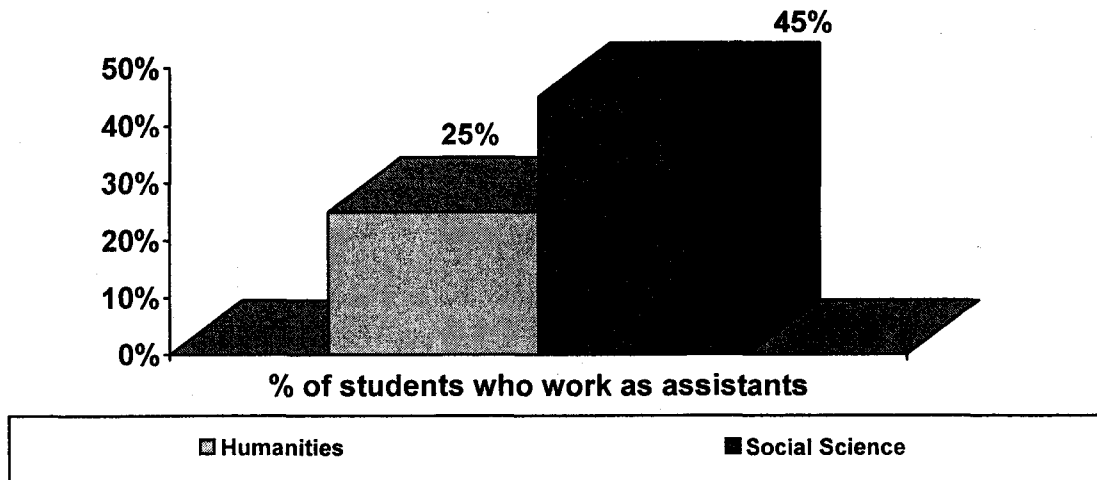
The data collected in the in-depth interviews with faculty members in the departments indicates that in both The Hebrew University and Tel Aviv University, the Social Science departments have more funds available than The Humanities departments. The Social Sciences faculty reported more of traveling abroad to present papers, and more of them teach or conducted research in foreign universities. The Social Sciences faculty members also reported of more research projects.

In the Social Sciences most of the faculty members in positions of senior lecturer or higher, had at least one research assistant, and often more than one. Most had at least one teaching assistant.

In contrast, faculty members in The Humanities reported less on research projects and mostly did not have research or teaching assistants.

Thus, the Social Science departments can offer students more financial support by offering teaching or research assistant positions, than The Humanities departments.

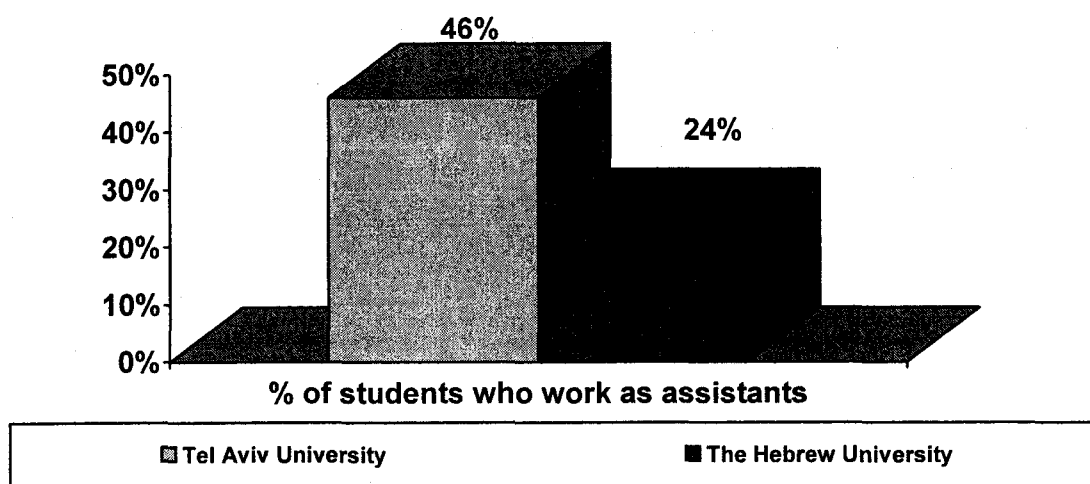
Figure 8: Percentage of Students Working as Teaching or Research Assistants by Field



A wide gap was found between the universities concerning the teaching or research positions offered to students. The Hebrew University offers only 24% of the students such positions, while Tel Aviv University offers almost a double proportion (46%) of the students research and teaching assistants positions.

Thus, students in the Humanities who study at The Hebrew University are disadvantaged in terms of the financial support that is available to them compared with students in the same field in Tel Aviv University.

Figure 9: Percentage of Students Working as Teaching or Research Assistants by University

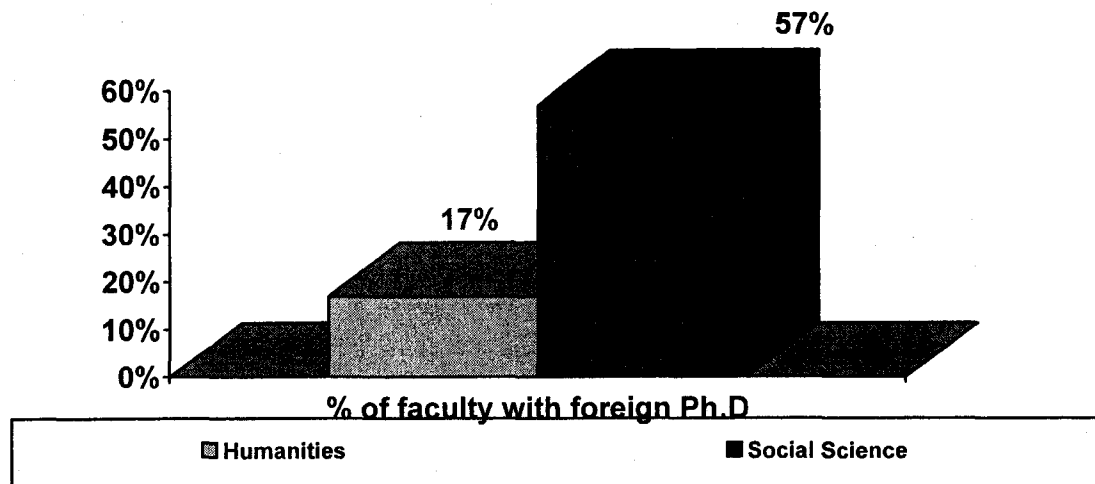


Encouragement to Study Abroad for the Ph.D.

The Israeli academia generally encourages prospective Ph.D. students to consider studying for the Ph.D. degree abroad. In most of the departments in Israeli universities, new academic positions are more available to those who received their Ph.D. abroad than for those who completed their studies in an Israeli university.

The interviews with faculty and students, indicate that although all of the department that are included in this research encourage students to study for the Ph.D. abroad, there are differences in the intensity of this encouragement. Generally, the Social Sciences departments give more weight to a degree received abroad than the Humanities departments. This is also evident from the percentage of faculty with Ph.D.'s from Israel and abroad in each field (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Percentage of Faculty Members with Foreign Ph.D. by Field

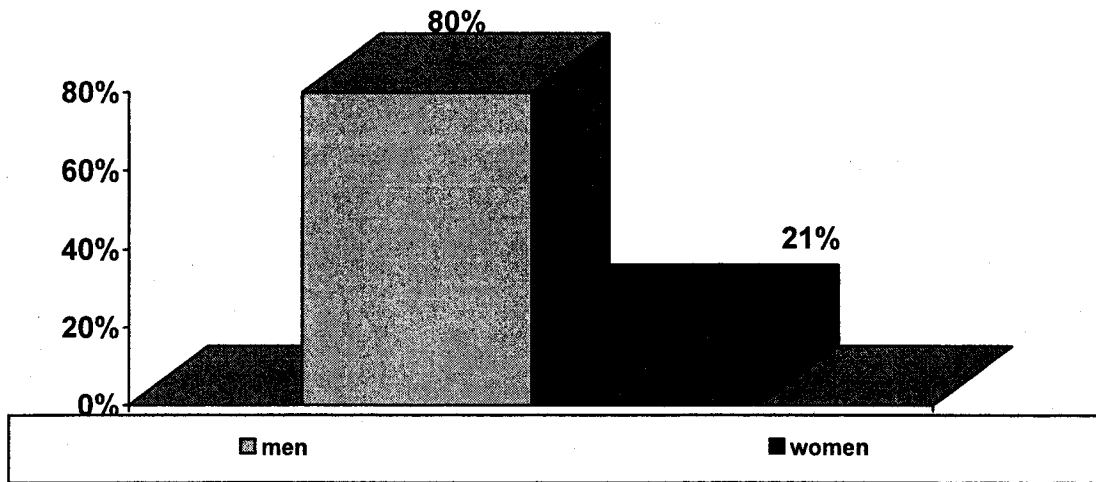


The pattern of encouraging students to continue their studies towards the Ph.D. degree abroad has a different effect on men and women students. The Israeli culture is mostly patriarchic, and women are still expected to follow their husbands, but not vice versa.

Thus, in a department that encourage its students to study abroad, most of the students who will actually enroll in a foreign university, will be men students, and more women students will continue their studies for the Ph.D. in the department.

The data in figure 11 shows that in the Social Sciences departments, that encourage students to study abroad, the proportion of women faculty who completed their Ph.D. abroad is considerably lower than that of men.

Figure 11: Percentage of Women Faculty Members with Foreign Ph.D. in The Social Sciences Departments



Chapter V

Review of the Determining Factors for the Decision to Pursue Doctoral

Degree

The results of the quantitative survey among the students reveal that the rate of women students intending to study for a Ph.D. degree in Tel Aviv University and the Hebrew University was significantly lower than the rate of men students: 30% of the women, in comparison to 50% of the men students intended to pursue a doctorate degree. 29% of the men still had not decided whether to continue or discontinue their studies, whereas 39% of women students were deliberating their future studies.

Differences between men and women were found regarding all variables examined within this research and regarding variables of significant influence on the students' decisions. For example, the amount of support the student receives from the faculty was very important to the students' decisions, but there was wide discrepancy in the amount of support granted to men and women students.

The findings also reveal that men and women studying at different departments and universities do not perceive the academic environment and themselves within it in the same manner. A department encouraging men to continue studies will not necessarily support women. Likewise, a department offering many positions for men students will not necessarily offer the same number of positions to women.

Apparently these findings are concerned with variables affecting the students directly, such as perception of chances to succeed in an academic career, but this perception is not necessarily related to the student only. Analysis of the findings reveal different patterns of behavior and action at university departments towards men and

women students enrolled, even though these behaviors are not indicative of formal policy.

Men and women actually experience an entirely diverse academic environment, even when physically studying in the same place. Because the universities and departments do not possess different policies in regard to men and women students, this is not a formal or intentional difference in policy. This diversity of experience between men and women is related to an informal system of values, beliefs and perceptions displayed by the university and department regarding the student. This informal system is different in its meanings for men and women students.

These findings support the theory of the “chilly climate”. The atmosphere at these universities in general and in the departments in particular exerts a considerable influence on the student, mainly on his or her decision to continue studying in the future. However, this atmosphere is not part of the formal and public system at the universities, but rather is comprised of a great number of variables working together to create a certain atmosphere and attitude towards students in general. This atmosphere is of extreme influence on the students’ decisions, men and women, but it seems that in all four departments the “warmth” of the climate is different for men and women, and is warmer for men. Even in cases where the general atmosphere is not warm at all, it is still warmer for men than for women. Again, it is imperative to emphasize that this climate is not something the students are aware of, and they feel that their decisions are primarily individual, but the study unequivocally reveals that these elements of “climate” do exert influence on their decisions. This influence manifests in the differences between the rates

of students intending to continue for doctoral studies at each department, as well as in the differences between men and women in each of the departments.

During the studies for the M.A. degree the students are guided to continue or conclude their studies. It seems that this guidance is different towards men and women students in all four departments, though the discrepancy is not equal. These findings are unequivocal: while more men are guided to continue their studies, more women are guided to terminate their studies after the MA.

Therefore, the findings brought forth in this chapter cannot be seen as pertaining to individual differences among students. These are also not only differences between gender groups. Had the differences in the findings been the result of gender-group differences alone, we would not have found consistent differences between the four departments and the two universities; i.e, if the differences were gender-related only, we would have found a similar proportion of women students in both universities, and in both departments. These differences were found between organizations and departments, indicating that they originate in different placing within systems and not necessarily from individual differences. However, it is probable that there also exist individual differences among students, and that their cultural stance, as well as their beliefs and modes of interpretation, are of influence on their decisions and actions. But these are not the only differences. If they were, we would not have found differences between universities and departments. An implication of this is that there is a greater significance to the organization in which the individual operates as well as to his relative place within the organization, so that the individual's choice is not entirely a free choice. It is a choice channeled and guided by structural elements. These structural elements are not

necessarily formal or acknowledged, but they still possess great influence. The individual unaware of these elements, sees his/her choice as a personal choice only, based on his/her own decisions, but in fact these decisions are directly related to the structure of opportunity presented to him/her, and this structure is not equal for all.

Using a chi square analysis and an answer tree analysis, three primary factors were found to influence the decisions of students to study for a Ph.D. degree. These factors were the university, the department and its staff, and variables pertaining to the students themselves. These three factors are all (directly or indirectly) gender-related. The gender differences are manifested in regard to the differences relating to the universities and to the intentions of men and women students to continue studying for a doctorate. These differences also appear in how the faculty's staff is perceived by the students, as well as in the students' perceptions of themselves (chart 1, p. 55).

Additionally, the results reveal that the university surroundings on the one hand and the department atmosphere on the other, influence both men and women studying in them, albeit to a different degree. A department that supports and encourages its students provides an atmosphere that is favorable for continuing studies, but this influence is more marked among men. An atmosphere that does not generally provide support for students will be even less supportive of its women participants.

Another major finding is the way the university and the department climate are perceived by men and women students. The findings reveal that there are marked differences between men and women students' perception of the academic environment. In spite of the fact that the academic faculty in these schools includes a noticeably larger number of men than women, students of both genders unequivocally subscribe to the

myth of the academic “ivory tower” and its equal opportunities based on ability and academic achievements alone; most of the students believe in relative equal opportunities for men and women, mostly regarding the students themselves but also in view of the odds of promotion and success in an academic career.

The university (chart 2, p. 56): The university itself holds extremely important influence over the students’ studying environment. An institution that provides financial and moral support allows more students to pursue their wish to continue for doctoral studies. In comparison, a university that does not provide this support could, in many cases, prevent further studies.

These findings indicate that the university exercises a direct influence on all students regarding the intention to pursue a doctorate degree, but this influence is even more significant when considering the students’ gender. A university that provides support and encouragement regarding continuing studies affects all students, but is most influential on men, and vice versa. Thus, men and women studying at the same university do not have the same odds for continuing their studies for a Ph.D.

Critical differences were found between the two universities selected – The Hebrew University (THU) and Tel Aviv University (TAU). These differences are directly and indirectly related to the institutions. In Tel Aviv University, 47% of all the students

intend to continue for Ph.D. studies, whereas at the Hebrew University, 33% intend to do so (chart 2 p. 56; table 1, p. 81). *

It appears that these differences between universities are manifested primarily throughout the course of the M.A. studies, since the intentions to continue studying for a doctorate are more similar before the commencement of M.A. studies: 30% of Tel Aviv University students and 32% of Hebrew University students noted that prior to beginning the MA studies, they considered continuing for a Ph.D. degree (chart 2, p. 56; table 2, p. 97). This indicates that the major influence of the university on the consideration of continual studies appears only after the beginning of MA studies.

These findings also indicate that the critical time period regarding the decision to continue studying is during the studies for the masters' degree, and in this period, the student receives various messages regarding his or her chances and opportunities. It seems that this system of messages is informal, and does not appear during undergraduate studies. This system is complex and includes several factors that are accumulated and serve as a basis for the student's decision. Thus, it is clear that although the student's decision seems to be individual, it is in fact closely related to the system that channels the student towards certain decisions.

* Note: the numbers in parentheses refer to the relevant tables at the end of each chapter. These findings were found to be statistically meaningful. Tables for other variables, that were not found statistically significant, can be found in appendix 1.

Another finding indicative of differences between universities is the students' intentions to continue their studies. Among students expressing a wish to continue studying for the doctorate degree, a relatively higher rate of students intending to continue immediately with their studies was found at Tel Aviv University than at the Hebrew University. 38% of students at Tel Aviv University intending to complete a doctorate degree reported a desire to continue immediately after the M.A., in comparison to 29% of those at The Hebrew University (chart 2, p. 56; table 3, p. 98). It is probable that students intending to study for the doctorate immediately subsequent to completion of the M.A. will have higher chances of actually continuing their studies, in comparison to those intending to take a break between the M.A. and the Ph.D., where a higher chance of dropping out is probable.

Furthermore, it was found that the university environment exerts a different influence on men and women. In general, at the university where a high ratio of students intends to continue their studies, the relative ratio of women aspiring for a doctoral career was also high, and vice versa. Although in both universities more men than women intended to continue their studies, the rate of women at The Hebrew University was considerably lower (21% in comparison to 39% from Tel Aviv University; chart 2, p. 56).

Two variables that are indirectly related to the university on one hand and student gender on the other are the planning of an academic career and the receipt of a scholarship during studies. Regarding the considerations for an academic career, there is significant influence on women at Tel Aviv University only: 71% of the women at this institution who consider an academic career intend to continue studying for a doctorate. This indicates that the consideration of the possibility of an academic career is very

influential on the decision to continue studying, and especially influential on women. Apparently there is a gap between the messages received by men and women students at both universities regarding the opportunities for success and promotion in an academic career. It should be emphasized that these messages are not formal and are conveyed to the students in various ways – the number of women on staff, the promotion of women, comments regarding the student's gender or familial commitments, degree of support and encouragement, and such. In contrast, receiving a scholarship from the university throughout the studies was found to influence men at The Hebrew University – 59% of men students that received a scholarship intend to continue for a Ph.D. degree (chart 2, p. 56; table 4, p. 99).

Another variable related to the university was the perceived quality of the department in which the participant studies. Among the students who expressed satisfaction with the academic level of their department, 45% expressed a wish to continue studying for the doctoral degree, whereas among those dissatisfied with the level of the department, only 28% expressed a similar desire (chart 2, p. 56; table 5, p. 100).

The department and faculty staff (chart 3, pp. 57-58): It was found that different departments exert considerable influence on the decision to continue studies, but this influence is even more marked taking into consideration the student's gender. This means that the departments' characteristics influence the students directly and indirectly, with regard to gender. A student wishing to choose a department where his or her chances of

continuing are greatest must select a university and department according to his/her gender.

The smallest gap between men and women students' intentions to continue towards the Ph.D. was found at the Social Sciences department at Tel Aviv University (43% of women and 55% of men). In the other departments there was found a gap adding up to 100% and above, which means that the rate of men intending to pursue further studies is more than twice the rate of women intending to do so (chart 5, p. 60).

Four variables related to the faculty were found to influence the students' decisions to continue studying for the Ph.D. These variables are related to the gender of faculty professors, their attitudes towards students, and the way they are perceived.

The gender of the faculty member to which the student is closest is of primary importance. The existence, as well as the gender, of a role model for the student is critical. In regard to students that have role models, the very existence of these models was found to be influential: 46% of students in a role-model relationship intend to continue studying, whereas only 34% of those who do not have role-models intend to do so. This influence is even more pronounced when considering the role model's gender. Among those students relating to a man as a role model, 52% intend to continue studying for a doctorate, whereas among those close to a woman role-model only 33% intend to do so.

In this regard it was also found that the gender of the faculty member with whom the student works as an assistant or a tutee for dissertation is also a very important determining factor for the student's decision to continue studies. Among students who have a man as a dissertation supervisor, 61% intend to continue their studies, whereas

among students with a woman instructor, only 14% expressed a similar desire. The gender of the professor whom the student assists exerts a similar influence on the student's intentions: 74% of students assisting men professors intend to continue studying for the doctorate, whereas 38% of students assisting women professors intend to do so.

Another variable of importance regarding the students' decisions to continue studying is the degree of support provided by the faculty staff. A direct positive correlation was found between the student's perception of the amount of support offered and the intention to continue in pursuit of an academic career: 62% of students feeling that they receive a great amount of support intend to continue studying, in contrast to 34% of those who feel that they are not supported.

A variable that examines the active amount of support and the degree to which they are prepared for an academic career, and that was found to be indicative of encouraging students to pursue such a career, was the offer to publish papers: 59% of those students who were offered publication intend to continue their studies whereas only 34% of those who did not receive such an offer expressed these intentions.

The student (chart 4, p. 59): three primary factors concerning the students themselves were found critical to the decision whether or not to continue to doctoral studies. These variables are the student's gender, the degree of satisfaction from MA studies, and the student's perception of his/her chances of success at an academic career.

The gender of the student exerts both a direct and an indirect influence on the decision, through the universities. It was found that 50% of the men students intended to continue their studies whereas only 30% of the women expressed this intention. In

addition, the university where the student is enrolled exerted a direct influence on intentions to continue, but differences relating to student gender were also found regarding the university.

The university has a significant influence on the decision to continue studying, but this influence is not equal in the case of men and women. Among the men students, a significant difference was observed between universities: 60% of those at Tel Aviv University aspire to continue studies for the Ph.D., while at The Hebrew University only 44% intend to do so. Among women a similar phenomenon was revealed: the rate of women students intending to complete a doctorate was higher at Tel Aviv University than at The Hebrew University (39% in comparison to 21%; chart 4, p. 59).

The planning of continued studies is also intrinsically different between men and women: 28% of women intending to continue studies reported planning to do so immediately upon conclusion of the M.A. studies, in comparison to 41% of the men. The lowest gap between men and women in this regard was found in the Humanities department of The Hebrew University (28% of women and 31% of men).

The satisfaction with the department in which the students studied was considerably influential on their decisions for the future. This satisfaction includes various factors regarding the student's experience during studies and the student's expectations for these studies. This element is meaningful, because students that are more satisfied with their department were relatively more inclined to continue their studies than those dissatisfied (45% compared with 28%).

Another important factor regarding the student is the way in which he/she perceives the academic environment and their chances of success in this environment.

Students perceiving their chances of success at an academic career as slim will naturally be less inclined to continue their studies for a doctorate, since this degree is considered the first step towards an academic career. Inversely, a student perceiving his/her chances of success as high will be more likely to pursue further studies. Among those students assessing their own chances as good, 52% intended to continue their studies, as compared to 31% among those assessing their chances as mediocre, and 28% considering their chances slim. This variable was also found to be different among men and women: men perceive a higher chance of success for themselves than do women.

Even students perceiving men and women's chances as different regarding an academic career in general, increasingly change their stands the closer the issue relates to them as students. The rate of students of both genders that reported a difference between men and women in chances for success at an academic career is lower than the rate of those reporting differences in non-academic fields. The rate of those reporting differences between chances of success for men and women students was even lower. These findings support the assumption that there is a common perception of the university as an ivory tower, an organization somewhat disconnected from culture outside academia. Academia is perceived by men and women alike to be an organization providing more equal opportunity for men and women than other organizations. This is even more prominent when students are asked to refer to themselves. It seems that men and women alike do not see a difference in their treatment and chances. It seems that the closer the issue is to the student, the harder it is for him/her to realize the differences between men and women.

The university, departmental, faculty and student variables have a cumulative quantitative effect of encouraging more men than women MA students to continue their studies towards the Ph.D. The end result of the accumulation of encouraging and discouraging effects is clear from the greater number of women students for whom the MA is the terminal degree (chart 2, p. 57; table 1, p. 81). The processes that lead to this result are less visible.

Table 1: Intends to study for the Ph.D.											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA. Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Women	Yes	8	31%	8	21%	24	43%	8	22%	48	30%
	No	4	15%	20	51%	4	7%	20	54%	48	30%
	DK	14	54%	11	28%	28	50%	9	24%	62	39%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Men	Yes	14	67%	16	43%	17	55%	19	45%	66	50%
	No			11	30%	2	6%	14	33%	27	21%
	DK	7	33%	10	27%	12	39%	9	21%	38	29%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

The findings suggest that this process, by which the decision to pursue a higher degree is decided, positively or negatively, is three fold, affected by the university itself, the interaction between students and faculty in the department and the student's gender.

In the next two chapters, I will examine the extent of encouragement and sponsorship women and men students received from faculty in the four departments that were included in this study, and the way students perceived their experiences as positive or negative. Each of the chapters includes the three aspects of this process: the university, the department and the student's gender.

In the Conclusion and Discussion chapter, I will summarize the congruence of my findings with previous research and suggest some implications for change.

Chapter VI

Faculty Encouragement and Sponsorship

The organizational environment largely influences career decisions. This environment consists of both formal and informal practices. A chilly environment or an unwelcoming climate, created by institutional practices or interaction patterns, have a cumulative effect of encouraging or discouraging a person and his or her career decisions. In the university environment, formal practices consists of granting assistantship and scholarship to students, while informal practices consist of interaction patterns such as mentoring, providing the students with potential role models, and the availability of networking.

Research indicates that informal practices, such as mentoring, have an important effect on career decisions, choices, mobility and outcomes (Ash, 1990; Baugh, Lankau & Scandura, 1996; Mobley, Jaret, Marsh & Lim, 1994). Protégés were found to have more career mobility than non-protégés (Scandura, 1992), and mentoring was found to have a positive influence on career decisions and planning (Chao, 1997). Research has shown that mentoring is more important for women than for men. Ragins (1997) suggests that mentors provide women with the support needed to navigate through organizational obstacles. In a research on executive women, it was found that almost all of them (91%) had a mentor during their career (Ragins, Townsend & Mattis, 1998).

In an academic environment the overall interaction with faculty is an important factor that might encourage or discourage students from continuing their studies.

Having a mentor is an important part of this interaction, and has an important influence on career choices; a limited number of potential mentors might have a discouraging effect. The gender of the available mentor is also of importance. Cross-gender mentor relationships are less common than same-gender. Furthermore, studies have found that for women students, having a woman mentor has an important effect on their career decisions. Direct help is even more necessary. Rothstein (1995) found that women students who had female advisors are more likely to continue their studies than those who had a man advisor.

Ragins (1997) suggests that men mentors provide more practical functions concerning career development, while women mentors provide more psychological functions for their mentorees. Research on this subject is unclear. While some studies support this theory (Burke, McKeen & McKenna, 1993; Gaskill, 1991), others found no variance in mentorship patterns between men and women mentors (Ensher and Murphy, 1997; Burke and McKeen, 1997).

This chapter describes the findings concerning the interaction patterns of faculty and students, formal and informal, direct and indirect. Faculty encouragement and sponsorship takes the form of financial help (recommendations for assistantship and scholarship), mentoring (working and publishing together), and direct encouragement (influence of the dissertation supervisor).

The findings indicate that the way the university and the academic department distribute their funds, such as the amounts allocated to scholarships, student positions, etc, greatly affect students' decisions to continue or discontinue their studies. The allocation of funds has a considerable influence on the students' decisions, since these

students often have to financially support themselves and their families. Due to the length of the doctoral studies and the amount of time the student must invest in his/her studies, the scholarship is of considerable importance for the decision to continue studying.

A student that is compelled to work partially or full-time outside the university will be less inclined to continue studying than a student supported by the university. In addition, the time needed to complete studies is often longer when the student works outside the university.

The comparison of the two universities reveals a significant difference in the amount of financial support offered. The receipt of a scholarship from the university during studies was found to be influential on men at The Hebrew University – 59% of men students who received a scholarship throughout their studies intended to continue studying for a doctorate (chart 2). Because of the required military service in Israel, students begin their studies at a relatively advanced age, and many of the students for the M.A. degree have familial commitments. This is important regarding the decision to continue studies, because in this phase there is a need to financially support one's family. Since Israel is still a patriarchic-minded society, the man is usually perceived as responsible for the primary financial support of a family. Therefore it is clear why receipt of scholarship or assistantship is influential on the decision to continue studies for men.

Another form of financial support, an assistant position, was also found to be influential on men and women students' decision to continue studying for the Ph.D. The data analysis shows that men were more likely than women to receive such a position early in their MA studies. The rate of men students who were offered an assistantship

prior to their M.A. studies is relatively higher than that of women: 50% of men students received such an offer in comparison to 32% of women (chart 4, p. 59).

The influencing factors relating to the department of study relate to the gender of the professors as well as their treatment of students and how the latter perceives them. The relationship between students and their professors is of great importance. This relationship can be based on mutual effort, supervising the student for his/her thesis, or by the student's choice of the professor as a role model.

The findings indicate that the very existence of a role model is important for the student's decision to continue towards the Ph.D. Such a figure allows the student to set goals regarding an academic career by observing or imagining the course expected with regard to these goals. This research shows that there is a significant difference between departments in regard to the existence of such a figure, and this difference becomes a crucial factor influencing the student's decisions.

The findings also pertain to the gender of the faculty member who serves as a role model or with whom the student is associated, as an assistant or tutee. Students describing a man as a role model were more likely to continue studies than students with a woman role model. The consistency of the findings concerning the gender of the faculty member with whom the student is closely interacting indicates that the findings are not coincidental. The rate of men acting as supervisors, as well as those employing students as assistants, is markedly greater than the rate of women doing so. This difference was noted not only in the rate of students working closely with men or women, but also in the influence of the professor's gender on the student's intention to continue to doctoral studies. The rate of students intending to continue was larger among those working closely with men than

among those working with women: 74% of the students assisting men intend to continue for the doctorate, whereas 38% of students assisting women intend to do so. Similarly, students who have a man faculty member as a role model are more likely to continue studying for the Ph.D. than those who have a woman faculty member as a role model (52% vs. 33%). Not only was the gender of the role model important, but also the gender of the student. Although a majority of both men and women students described men as role models, women students were more inclined than men students to adopt women role models. Thus, women students were less likely than men students to continue their studies. There were fewer women faculty and they were concentrated in lower positions in the hierarchy in relation to men in the faculty. Thus, their chances of becoming a role model were smaller than those of men. To the students, women faculty represented a longer and more difficult course of progress than did the men on the faculty. A woman student regarding a woman faculty member as a role model will less likely jump on the academic bandwagon, in sight of the difficulties she is bound to encounter.

Students who have a man professor as a dissertation supervisor are more likely to continue their studies than those who have a woman professor as their dissertation supervisor (61% vs. 14%; (chart 3, p. 58)). The relationship between the student and the faculty is mainly manifested in the "University Spirit", meaning the degree to which informal relationships between staff and students are encouraged. This is also expressed in encouraging students to publish research and the university's policies regarding the relationship and frequency of contact between students and dissertation supervisors. These elements are mainly informal elements of the organizational atmosphere and are expressed primarily in the organizational culture at the university.

Faculty support can be expressed in various ways – evaluation of the student's academic achievements, encouragement of continuation, recommendations for scholarships, help with publication or presentation, and so on. The findings indicate a direct positive correlation between the amount of support received by the student and his/her intentions to continue studies. Students receiving a great deal of support were more inclined to continue for a doctorate than those receiving little or no support. There were considerable differences between departments in the amount of support granted as well as in the manner of support. Students who received practical and focused support, such as explicit encouragement to continue or help with publication of an article, displayed a higher likelihood of pursuing an academic career in comparison to those receiving more general support, such as a positive evaluation of their academic achievements.

Support of faculty for students is not formal or derived from any regulated policy. Rather, it originates on the one hand from the general atmosphere in the department and university, and from individual faculty on the other hand. It is probable that there is an informal pattern to the method as well as the amount of encouragement the teachers offer their students. The universities and departments do not bind these behaviors in policy, but the differences between universities and departments indicated that there are distinct behavior patterns in each department. This behavior has a formidable influence on the student's future.

The in-depth interviews revealed that the general interaction with the faculty possessed great influence. A faculty that allows open interaction with students, that provides information and illumination regarding the course ahead, actually grants more

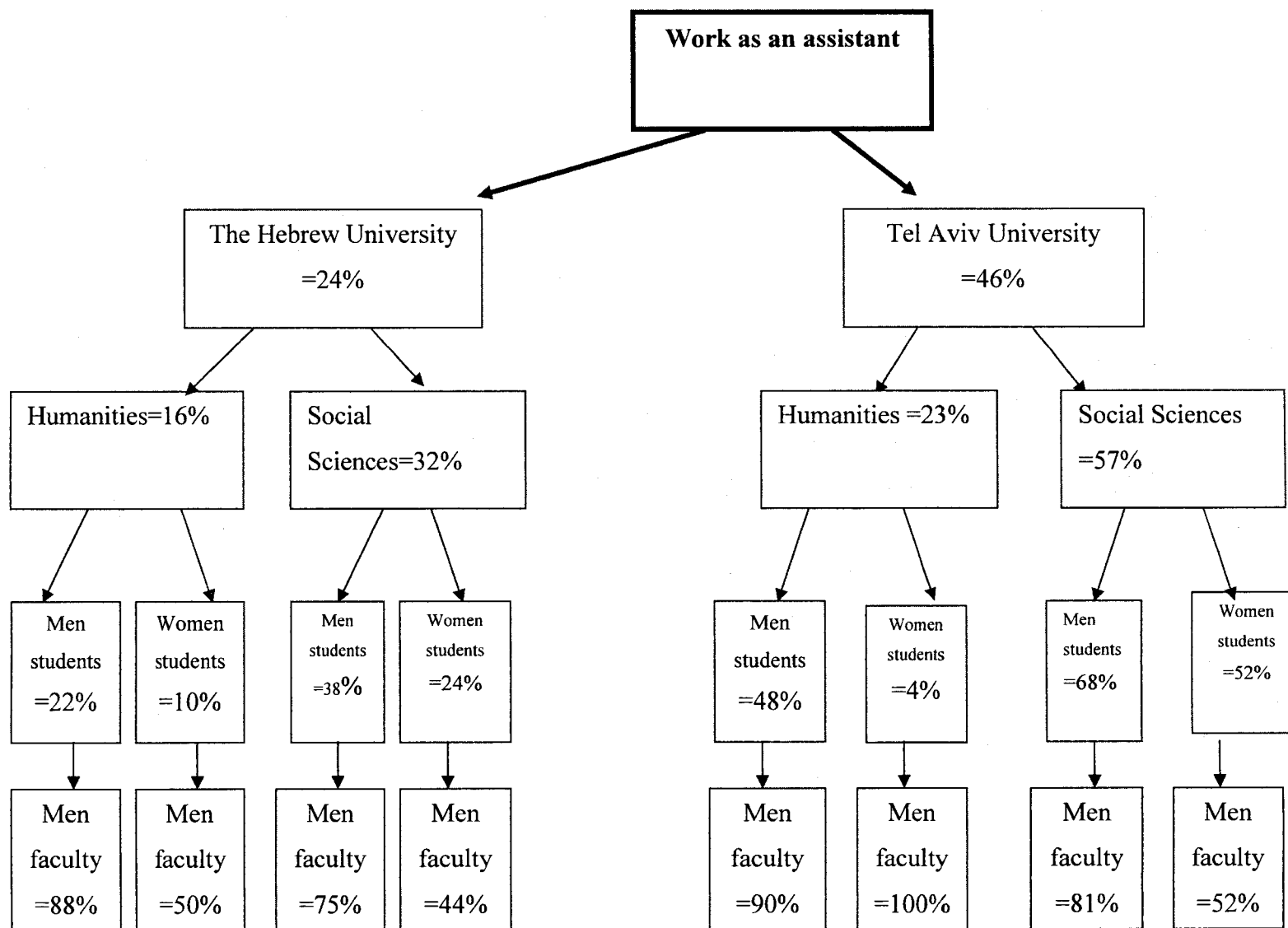
opportunity for the student to continue, because the latter knows what to expect. The students feel, to a great degree, that doctoral studies are a journey into the unknown.

“We are not told anything about doctorate studies. I have no idea what to expect, so I don’t know. It seems very hard, many years. I am not even sure what they require.” (Woman student).

The interviews with the students showed a duality in the student’s attitudes towards faculty support. On the one hand, most of the students feel that this is an individual choice they are making and that the decision whether to continue studying or not depends primarily upon themselves. On the other hand, the students, mainly those who received support and encouragement regarding continuing studies, feel that this greatly influenced their decisions.

“Ultimately it is my decision. I do not think the department had much influence on it... maybe if they had discussed it with me and encouraged me I would eventually decide to continue studying. But it is my decision.” (Woman student).

Chart 6: Assistanship



A. Assistantship and Scholarships

The University

Practically, assistantships and scholarships are necessary for most students to pursue higher education in Israel. These forms of financial support also represent the good opinion of faculty, who recommend students for scholarships and who request students as their assistants. Thus, they are not only a form of financial support but also a form of encouragement and sponsorship.

The rate of students working as research or teaching assistants is considerably higher at Tel Aviv University (46%) than at The Hebrew University (24%; chart 6, p.90). No differences were found between schools regarding the gender of professor with whom the student works, as most work with men (69%-70%; chart 6, p. 90).

These findings concerning the importance of scholarship and assistantship positions are substantiated by the rate of students reporting financial difficulty regarding the M.A. as well as the continuation of studies. Of the students at The Hebrew University, 52% reported financial difficulty as a consideration against continuing studies, 50% reported difficulties finding work, and 46% found it difficult to integrate familial obligations and studies. This is in contrast to 16%-29% of students at Tel Aviv University who cited these reasons as considerations against further studies (table 2, p. 97).

The disparity in the support granted by the two institutions was reflected in the students' perceptions of the hardships they were likely to encounter during their Ph.D. studies. Students at The Hebrew University regarded the difficulty of combining work and study as one of the greatest obstacles: 66% expressed expectations of such hardships

during Ph.D. studies, in comparison to 40% of Tel Aviv University students (table 3, p. 98). Also, a relatively high rate of students at The Hebrew University reported that their main difficulty during the M.A. studies was financial (45% compared to 28% of students at Tel Aviv University; table 4, p. 99).

“When I think of continuing for the Ph.D. degree, I have to consider the financial difficulties. We need the income, and I have a family to support, so the financial aspect is a major consideration.” (Man student)

The Department

The departments differ both in the relative number of assistantship positions and the gender of the faculty member the student works with.

In the Humanities departments of both universities, fewer students work as teaching or research assistants (16% and 23%), compared to 57% of students from the Social Sciences department at Tel Aviv University and 32% in The Hebrew University (Chart 6, p. 90).

The highest rate of students that were offered an assistantship prior to their M.A. studies was found among the students in the Social Science department of Tel Aviv University (55%) and in the corresponding department at The Hebrew University (43%). The lowest rate was found in the Humanities department at Tel Aviv University (19%; table 5, p. 100).

In the Humanities department of Tel Aviv University, a relatively high rate of students worked for a man professor (91%) as compared to 75% in the corresponding department

at The Hebrew University, and 64%-68% in the Social Sciences department of both universities (chart 6, p. 90).

In the in-depth interviews, students who were offered an assistantship position before the M.A described it as important to their decision to continue their studies.

“I was thinking about the M.A, but I wasn’t sure if I can keep my work and study for the M.A at the same time. When they offered me the research assistant position, it made my decision easier.” (Man student)

The Student’s Gender

Marked differences were found between men and women students regarding work as an assistant in the departments: 42% of men students reported working as assistants, compared to 27% of women. The gap between men and women students was especially high in the Humanities department of Tel Aviv University – only 4% of women worked as assistants whereas 48% of men did so. There were considerable differences between men and women regarding positions as assistants in the other departments as well (chart 6, p. 90).

The differences in offering an assistantship position early in the studies are most substantial between departments. The smallest gap between men and women was found in the Social Sciences department of The Hebrew University (48% against 38%) and the widest was found in the Humanities department of Tel Aviv University – 4% of women students were offered a position before M.A. studies in comparison to 38% of men (table 5, p.100).

Men students worked as assistants to primarily men faculty members: 82% of men working as assistants worked under men, where 53% of women assistants worked for men. Due to the small number of women working as assistants in each department, it was difficult to compare departments, although all displayed a significant difference between men and women (chart 6, p. 90).

In the in-depth interviews it was found that women clearly perceive these gender differences regarding positions in the departments. This finding is most pronounced regarding women who felt that in terms of academic achievements they could be assistants, although they did not in fact work at the department. These differences are especially noted in the departments where most of the students are women, while most of the assistants are men.

“This is a department with mostly women students. Doesn’t it seem strange that eighty percent of the assistants are men?” (Woman student).

In one of the departments studied, the women students discussed this polarized pattern, blaming the head of the department who was replaced at the time. The students expressed dissatisfaction that this was the policy of a department head that preferred men students to women, ostensibly to raise the prestige of the department. In spite of the changes that occurred in the ratio of men to women, mostly in the B.A. degree, there was still a widespread perception that “feminine” areas, where there was also a majority of women students, were less prestigious than areas perceived as “masculine”, where more men study.

“When the new department head arrived, he began hiring only men assistants. There was a rumor that he was trying to raise the department’s prestige, so he brought more men.” (Woman student).

There were similar findings in the in-depth interviews concerning scholarships. The interviews revealed that receiving a scholarship is doubly important to the student, because a scholarship is perceived not only as financial support, but also as an indication of encouragement and appreciation of the student’s abilities.

The in-depth interviews also showed that receiving a scholarship was especially important for men, although women also considered it a considerable factor of the decision to continue studying.

“What convinced me to study for the masters degree was that I was offered a scholarship during my BA studies. Otherwise it would have been very difficult. When I began studying I had no children, but now that I have a child it is another story. Money must be earned. This is definitely a consideration.” (Man student).

“I received a scholarship for excellence this year, and I was told that if I finish my studies with honors, I could probably get a scholarship for the doctorate... money is indeed an important consideration. But it also gives a good feeling, you work hard and eventually someone notices... I am definitely considering the doctorate more seriously now.” (Woman student).

Summary and Discussion

Formal support was found to have a great deal of variance on the three levels of analysis: the university, the department and the student's gender. Tel Aviv University was more financially supportive of students than The Hebrew University, with more students working as teaching or research assistants. Therefore, fewer students reported encountering financial hardship during their studies. There were also differences between the departments: the Social Sciences department in Tel Aviv University was found to have the highest rate of students working as assistants. In all the departments, gender differences were found both regarding the percentage of women and men students working as assistants and the gender of the faculty member the student worked with. In all the departments included in this research more men than women students worked as teaching or research assistants. Moreover, most men students work with man faculty member, while only half of the women students work with man faculty member.

Since formal support of students was found to affect students' decision concerning the Ph.D., the variance between the universities and departments indicates that the organization itself has an important role in encouraging or discouraging students concerning their studies. An academic organization that provides more financial support encourages more students to continue studying towards the Ph.D., and vice versa. The gender differences are apparent when comparing the departments, and indicate that some departments are more supportive of women students than others, although I found marked gender differences in all of the departments.

Table 2: Considerations against continuing for a PhD						
*Multiple answers	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Other			<i>1</i>	<i>1%</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0%</i>
No interest in studying	<i>8</i>	<i>6%</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>8%</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>7%</i>
Financial difficulties/difficulties combining work and study	<i>39</i>	<i>29%</i>	<i>80</i>	<i>52%</i>	<i>119</i>	<i>41%</i>
Difficulties with finding work	<i>22</i>	<i>16%</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>50%</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>34%</i>
Difficulties combining family and study	<i>23</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>46%</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>33%</i>
None	<i>10</i>	<i>7%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>4%</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>6%</i>
DK	<i>66</i>	<i>49%</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>12%</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>29%</i>
Total	<i>134</i>		<i>155</i>		<i>289</i>	

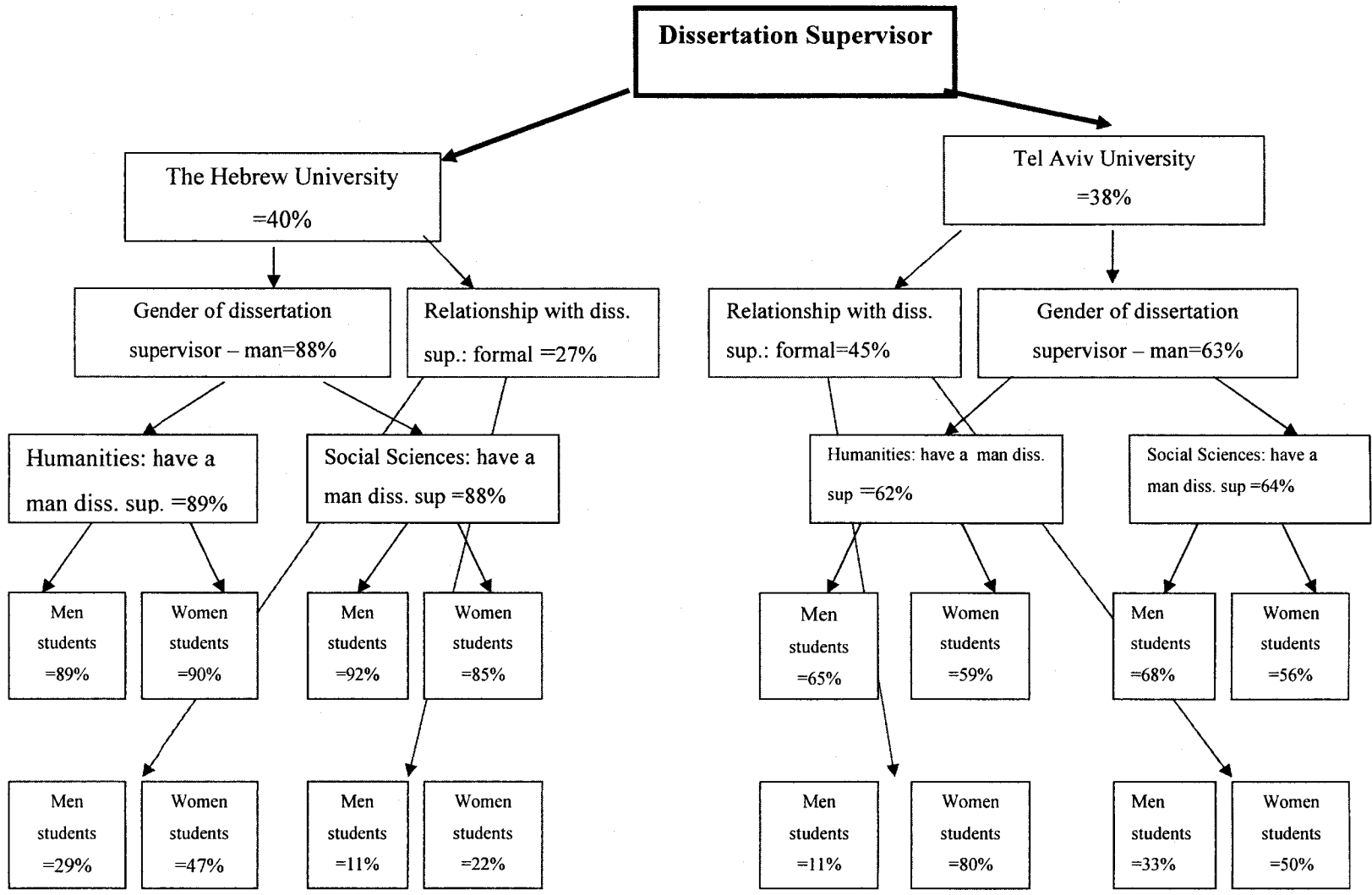
Table 3: Hardships likely to be encountered during their Ph.D. studies						
*Multiple answers	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
No encouragement from faculty	53	40%	44	28%	97	34%
Difficulties combining work and study	54	40%	103	66%	157	54%
Role conflict	44	33%	85	55%	129	45%
Difficulties with finding dissertation supervisor	25	19%	55	35%	80	28%
Writing the dissertation	45	34%	38	25%	83	29%
Other academic difficulties	9	7%	10	6%	19	7%
Financial difficulties	14	10%	3	2%	17	6%
Too much politics	10	7%			10	3%
Personal difficulties			1	1%	1	0%
DK	4	3%	7	5%	11	4%
Total	134		155		289	

Table 4: Difficulties and obstacles experienced during the M.A. studies						
*Multiple answers	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Not enough encouragement from faculty	<i>13</i>	<i>10%</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>11%</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>10%</i>
Difficulties combining work and studying	<i>39</i>	<i>29%</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>32%</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>30%</i>
Financial difficulties	<i>38</i>	<i>28%</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>45%</i>	<i>107</i>	<i>37%</i>
Difficulties combining work and family	<i>10</i>	<i>7%</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>19%</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>14%</i>
Academic difficulties	<i>6</i>	<i>4%</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>15%</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>10%</i>
Other difficulties	<i>2</i>	<i>1%</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>5%</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>3%</i>
No difficulties	<i>58</i>	<i>43%</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>20%</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>31%</i>
Total	<i>134</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>289</i>	<i>*</i>

9

Table 5: Was offered research/teaching assistantship before the MA											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	%
Gender		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Woman	Yes	<i>1</i>	<i>4%</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>26%</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>45%</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>38%</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>32%</i>
	No	<i>25</i>	<i>96%</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>74%</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>55%</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>62%</i>	<i>108</i>	<i>68%</i>
Man	Yes	<i>8</i>	<i>38%</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>38%</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>74%</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>48%</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>50%</i>
	No	<i>13</i>	<i>62%</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>62%</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>26%</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>52%</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>50%</i>
Total	Yes	<i>9</i>	<i>19%</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>32%</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>55%</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>43%</i>	<i>115</i>	<i>40%</i>
	No	<i>38</i>	<i>81%</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>68%</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>45%</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>57%</i>	<i>174</i>	<i>60%</i>

Chart 7: Dissertation Supervisor



B. Influence of the Dissertation Supervisor

The University

Regarding the existence of a dissertation supervisor, no differences were found between the universities – 38%-40% of students chose a supervisor at the time of the research (chart 7, p. 101). However, significant differences were found both in the gender of the dissertation supervisor and the interaction patterns and frequency of meeting with the supervisor.

At The Hebrew University there is a noticeably higher rate of students supervised by women (32%) than at Tel Aviv University (4%). As was mentioned earlier, students who have a man professor as a dissertation supervisor are more likely to continue their studies than those who have a woman professor as their dissertation supervisor (61% vs. 14%; (chart 3, p. 58)); there was no statistically significant difference between the universities in that regard. Although the custom in Israeli universities is to choose two supervisors for the dissertation, there was a very low rate of combined men and women as dissertations supervisors (5%-8%; table7, p. 110). Students at The Hebrew University meet with their supervisors more frequently than their counterparts at Tel Aviv University. Of the students at Tel Aviv University, 40% reported meeting with their supervisor at least once in two weeks, in comparison to 60% of those at The Hebrew University (table 7, p.110).

These findings are also supported in the data regarding the relationship between the students and supervisors at both universities. While at The Hebrew University the relationships between students and supervisors are mostly informal (42% in comparison to 20% of Tel Aviv University students reporting informal relationships), at Tel Aviv University the relationships are primarily formal (45% reported formal contact as compared to 27% at the Hebrew University; chart 7, p. 101).

The Department

No differences were found between the departments in regard with the rate of students who have a dissertation supervisor: 35%-45% of the students had one at the time of the study. Although marked differences were found between the universities in regard to the gender of the dissertation supervisor and in the pattern and frequency of contact with the thesis supervisor, no such differences were found when analyzing the departments within each university (chart 7, p. 101).

Nonetheless, the relationship with the thesis supervisor is markedly different between departments. While in the Social Sciences department of The Hebrew University 54% of students with a supervisor reported informal relationships with the latter, 32% of supervised students in the Humanities department reported such informal relations, as did 19%-21% of supervised students in both departments at Tel Aviv University (chart 7, p. 101).

These findings are largely consistent with the findings regarding the support extended to the student by the supervisor. The rate of students reporting support from the supervisor was especially high in the Social Sciences department of The Hebrew

University (64%) and the corresponding department at Tel Aviv University (56%), and is lowest among students in the Humanities department at Tel Aviv University (11%; table 6, p. 109).

The Student's Gender

Higher rates of men students have a dissertation supervisor than women (44% of men and 35% of women). This difference is especially significant with regard to the Social Sciences department of The Hebrew University (45% of men students have supervisors compared to only 24% of women students). In the other departments no such significant differences regarding this parameter were found (table 7, p. 110). However, no significant difference was found between men and women regarding the gender of the supervisor; most students, men and women alike, had a man thesis supervisor (73%-75%; chart 7, p. 101).

“I prefer working with a man supervisor because he has more time to help me than a woman struggling for her place.” (A woman doctoral student).

In addition, no significant differences were found between men and women in the frequency of meetings with the thesis supervisor (see appendix). However, differences were found between men and women students in the criteria for choosing a thesis supervisor. The main criteria for choosing a supervisor among men were studying with the supervisor and a prior acquaintance with him/her (39%), whereas among women the main criteria were the area of the supervisor's expertise (38%; table 8, p. 111).

“I chose my dissertation supervisor because I took a seminar with her on the subject, and she told me that her current research project is related to the subject I was considering for my thesis” (Woman student)

Differences were also found between men and women students in the relationship with the supervisor. While women mainly reported a formal relationship with the supervisor (50%), only 21% of men with a supervisor reported such a formal relationship. Due to the small number of respondents in each department we were unable to conduct an analysis for each department separately (see appendix).

The rate of women satisfied with the amount of guidance provided by their supervisor was lower than that of men (48% of women and 65% of men; table 9, p. 112). In addition, the rate of women expressing satisfaction with the amount of support received for the thesis is relatively lower than the rate of men (35% compared to 60% of men; table 10, p. 113). The degree of support received by men and women students from their thesis supervisor is also different: 42% of women students with a supervisor reported support, in comparison to 60% of men students. The differences between departments could not be analyzed due to the small amount of respondents in each department (see appendix).

The findings of the in-depth interviews supports the quantitative data that indicates that the student's relationship with the thesis supervisor is very influential on the decision to continue studies. A positive and supportive relationship with the supervisor not only provides mental support for the student, but also practical support. A supervisor interested in the promotion of his or her protégé can help the student obtain a

scholarship, a teaching job at the university during studies, as well as assistance with publication or appearance at conventions. This type of practical support is very important mainly in the aspect of financial assistance. The in-depth interviews indicate a correlation between the relationship with the thesis supervisor and the amount of academic and financial support the student receives. (Because of the small number of respondents who were supervised on their thesis, it was impossible to prove such a correlation statistically.)

“I will probably continue to doctoral studies. I have already consulted with my thesis supervisor and he said he would arrange a scholarship and work as a lecturer for me.” (Man student).

“The doctorate is a struggle. There is a great lack of support from the supervisors. The communication between doctoral students and supervisors is faulty. I don’t even know about scholarships and I have no one to ask.” (A woman doctorate student).

As mentioned, the thesis supervisor can encourage and guide the student to an academic career, or deter him/her. One of the men students interviewed reported that the fact that the supervisor published an article with him and encouraged him to present at a convention gave him the feeling that he “belongs” in academia, a feeling that definitely influenced his positive decision to continue studies. Other students felt that although guidance and support from their dissertation supervisor was of great importance, they did not receive such support.

“I was lucky enough to have a wonderful professor in my M.A. She helped me with guidance and also assisted me in obtaining a scholarship for my research topic in the doctorate.” (A woman doctoral student).

“There is a great deal of difficulty in the doctoral studies. You need a lot of perseverance and passion and no one guides you or supports you throughout studies. I have to do it alone.” (A woman doctorate student).

Summary and Discussion

The thesis supervisor often functions as mentor to the student under his/her guidance. A supervisor supporting a student provides practical support regarding the thesis itself and its related areas such as professional advancement or financial support on one hand, and support and guidance in relation to continuing studies on the other.

Differences between genders found in this sphere indicate a different set of opportunities for female students in relation to the thesis supervisor in comparison to male students. It was also found that the structure of the department and the supervisors' guidelines for the students on their theses influence the students in their decision whether to continue to doctoral studies. A correlation was found between the perceived support the students receive from their supervisor, the frequency of their meetings with him/her, and the formality of the relationship. A department reporting a high frequency of student-supervisor appointments and where there is an informal atmosphere is a department

where the students feel a relatively high amount of support in regard to their thesis as well as to further studies. Gender differences were observed in relation to students as well as to supervisors. There were fewer female supervisors, and the number of female students receiving support from a supervisor was considerably lower than that of male students. Women students reported a more formal relationship with their supervisors in comparison to male students, and in correlation, a lower level of satisfaction with the extent of support and guidance provided by the supervisor.

Table 6: Support and advise from dissertation supervisor										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Yes	2	100%	13	37%	9	56%	18	64%	42	52%
No			22	63%	7	44%	10	36%	39	48%
Total	2	100%	35	100%	16	100%	28	100%	81	100%

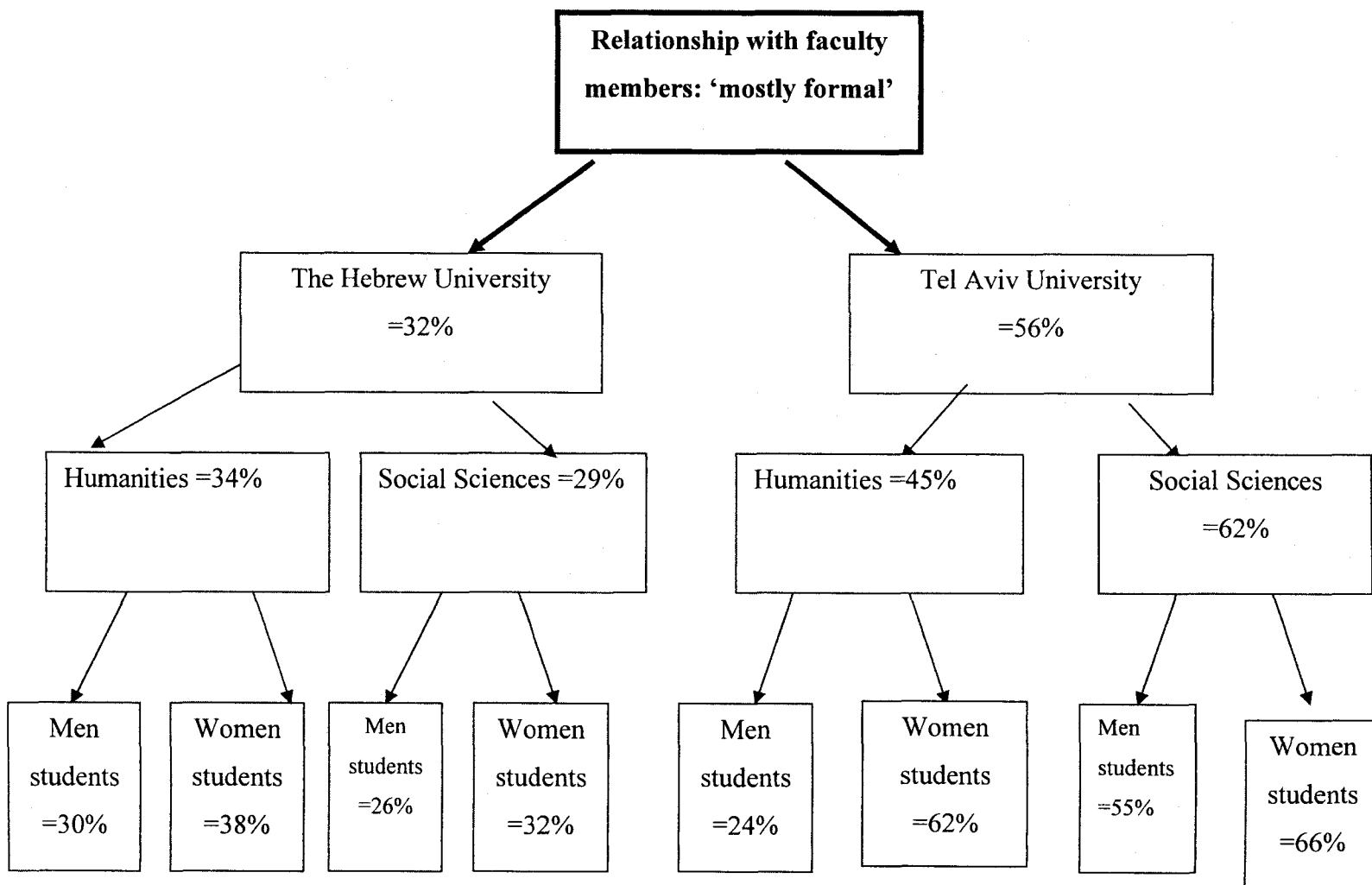
Table 7: Do you have dissertation supervisor?											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Yes	10	38%	17	44%	20	36%	9	24%	56	35%
	No	16	62%	22	56%	36	64%	28	76%	102	65%
Man	Yes	9	43%	17	46%	12	39%	19	45%	57	44%
	No	12	57%	20	54%	19	61%	23	55%	74	56%
Total	Yes	19	40%	34	45%	32	37%	28	35%	113	39%
	No	28	60%	42	55%	55	63%	51	65%	176	61%
	Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

Table 8: How did you choose your dissertation supervisor?											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Studied with the Prof. previously	<i>1</i>	<i>10%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>35%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>30%</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>27%</i>
	Student's recommendation	<i>1</i>	<i>10%</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>24%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>30%</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>44%</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>27%</i>
	Field of specialty	<i>6</i>	<i>60%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>35%</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>40%</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>11%</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>38%</i>
	Supervisor personality	<i>2</i>	<i>20%</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>6%</i>			<i>2</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>9%</i>
	Total	<i>10</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>100%</i>
Man	Studied with the Prof. previously	<i>2</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>35%</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>67%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>32%</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>39%</i>
	Student's recommendation	<i>1</i>	<i>11%</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>29%</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>21%</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>21%</i>
	Field of specialty	<i>2</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>35%</i>			<i>7</i>	<i>37%</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>26%</i>
	Supervisor personality	<i>4</i>	<i>44%</i>			<i>2</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>11%</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>14%</i>
	Total	<i>9</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 9: Guidance in thesis											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Very satisfied	2	20%	3	18%	7	35%			12	21%
	Satisfied	2	20%	4	24%	3	15%	6	67%	15	27%
	Not so satisfied	4	40%	9	53%	5	25%	2	22%	20	36%
	Not satisfied	2	20%	1	6%	5	25%	1	11%	9	16%
	Total	10	100%	17	100%	20	100%	9	100%	56	100%
Man	Very satisfied	3	33%	5	29%	1	8%	4	21%	13	23%
	Satisfied	4	44%	7	41%	6	50%	7	37%	24	42%
	Not so satisfied	2	22%	4	24%	4	33%	6	32%	16	28%
	Not satisfied			1	6%	1	8%	2	11%	4	7%
	Total	9	100%	17	100%	12	100%	19	100%	57	100%

Table 10: Support in the dissertation											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Very satisfied			2	5%	2	4%	2	5%	6	4%
	Satisfied	10	38%	9	23%	21	38%	9	24%	49	31%
	Not so satisfied	9	35%	22	56%	25	45%	16	43%	72	46%
	Not satisfied	7	27%	6	15%	8	14%	10	27%	31	20%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Very satisfied	7	33%	6	16%	8	26%	7	17%	28	21%
	Satisfied	6	29%	12	32%	13	42%	20	48%	51	39%
	Not so satisfied	4	19%	13	35%	8	26%	9	21%	34	26%
	Not satisfied	4	19%	6	16%	2	6%	6	14%	18	14%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Chart 8: Interaction Patterns



E. Mentoring, Networking and Interaction Patterns

The University

Significant differences were found between the universities with regard to student-professor interaction patterns. Relationships between students and professors at Tel Aviv University are primarily formal: 56% of students at this institution reported formal relationships with their professors, whereas only 32% of Hebrew University students reported such relationships (chart 8, p. 114).

The amount of support and encouragement provided by both universities was found to be generally similar: 55%-56% of students at both universities felt that they received a certain amount of support (great or medium). Nevertheless, students at Tel Aviv University were more extreme in their feelings than those from The Hebrew University: 37% of Tel Aviv University students reported a great amount of support and 19% reported mediocre support, whereas at The Hebrew University 22% reported great support and 35% mediocre support (table 11, p. 124). These findings may be clarified by examining the type of support students said they received. At Tel Aviv University, the most common type of reported support was encouraging the student to continue studies (64% in comparison to 43% at The Hebrew University). Another method of support reported by Tel Aviv University students was receiving a research or teaching assistantship (41%), the number of Hebrew University students reporting this type of support was meager (7%). However, at The Hebrew University, there was a higher rate of students reporting support expressed in appreciation of their academic achievements and abilities (40% compared to 35% at Tel Aviv University; table 12, p. 125). Faculty's

support of a student and of continuing studies was very important, for when the students were asked to evaluate the difficulties faced by doctoral students, not getting faculty support was reported by a relatively high rate of students, mostly at Tel Aviv University (40% at Tel Aviv University and 28% at The Hebrew University; table 3, p. 98,).

Support from the faculty was important to the students regarding their decision to continue studies at both universities (52% of all students attributed great or medium importance to the encouragement they received in their decision; table 11, p. 124), but there were considerable differences between universities: 64% of students at The Hebrew University that received support or encouragement reported that this support was greatly or somewhat important to their decision, in comparison to 33% of Tel Aviv University students (table 11, p. 124). Students who reported that they did not receive encouragement from faculty felt, nonetheless, that such encouragement, if received, would be influential on their decision concerning their future studies: 51% of these students at Tel Aviv University and 63% of these students at The Hebrew University felt that encouragement from faculty would be influential on their decisions (table 12, p. 125).

The Department

Relationships with professors who are not thesis supervisors yielded results similar to those of the supervisors. The rate of students reporting formal relationships with the staff is lowest in the Social Sciences department of the Hebrew University (29%) and in the Humanities department of that university (34%), and was the highest in the Social Sciences department of Tel Aviv University (62%; chart 8, p. 114).

In spite of these differences in student-professor relations between the departments, the same percentage of students felt they received support from the staff (54%-59%). The difference in perceived support results mainly from the degree of support: 36%-40% of the students at both departments in Tel Aviv University reported a great deal of support whereas 18%-25% of students at both departments at The Hebrew University did so (table 11, p. 124).

The findings of the in-depth interviews support the quantitative data: students who reported that they received encouragement and guidance from faculty members were more likely to choose to continue studying towards the Ph.D., while those who did not were more likely to terminate their studies. The in-depth interviews revealed that students who did not receive encouragement and decided to continue their studies anyway were those who felt that nothing could deter them from achieving their goal.

“I did not receive encouragement before and I don’t now, and I need it. I guess I am not assertive enough. But it was always my dream to have a Ph.D., and I’m going to achieve it ” (A woman doctorate student).

“I intended to continue even before I began my M.A. It is not that I got a lot of support, but I was not deterred, no one said anything against it and I really wanted to continue.” (A woman doctoral student).

The in-depth interviews revealed a correlation between the degree of the student’s involvement in the department and relationships with the faculty, and the perception of support received. Within the same departments, the interviews revealed major differences

among students. Some of the students received support and encouragement (mainly those students enjoying an informal relationship with the faculty and mainly men students), while others, primarily women, felt that they did not receive support from the faculty at all, and their relationships with the latter were mainly formal.

“Throughout my studies, the professors barely spoke to me, and I am an outstanding student. There is total indifference and lack of caring on the part of the faculty.” (Woman student).

“I have a good relationship with the professors in the department, we talk a lot. I definitely receive support. I feel like part of the clique, the inner circle. They really give me the feeling that I can be part of them.” (Man student).

A variable found indicative of encouraging students to pursue the doctorate degree is the offer to publish an article: 59% of students who were offered publication intended to continue their studies, whereas only 34% of those who did not receive such an offer intended to do so (chart 3, p, 58; table 15, p. 128).

There was another difference regarding the type of support granted to the students. In both departments of Tel Aviv University, the students reported receiving the faculty’s encouragement and support for continuing studies (54%-55%), whereas at The Hebrew University, the students reported positive evaluations of achievements and abilities as the primary mode of support (26%-36%; table 15, p. 128).

The students in the Humanities department at The Hebrew University were those who attributed most importance to faculty support in their decision to continue for doctoral studies: 75% of students receiving support from this faculty reported that the support had a positive influence on their decisions, in comparison to 54% in the Social Sciences department at The Hebrew University and 32%-33% in both the departments at Tel Aviv University (table 12, p.125).

In summary, a direct positive correlation was found between the student's perception of the amount of support received and intent to continue for doctoral studies. Of the students who felt they got a great deal of support, 62% intended to continue studies, in comparison to 34% who felt they got a mediocre amount of support. Only 25% who felt they were not supported intended to go on for Ph.D. studies (chart 3, p. 58; table 11, p.124).

The Student's Gender

In many cases, women students felt they were not encouraged to continue their studies. This did not seem to be an attempt to discriminate against women in any way, but rather was a process originating primarily in cultural norms regarding traditional roles of men and women and in the common perception in Israel that family and child care are the woman's major role, juxtaposed with the elitist perception of academia as a place where a person must invest him/herself totally in order to succeed. These two perceptions collide primarily in relation to women, for if their main role is to care for family and children, then for a substantial part of their lives they do not fit the concept of an academic person. Many women students therefore received paternalistic treatment from men professors

“concerned about their future” regarding such a double role. In some of the interviews with women students, there was not only lack of encouragement, but even actual deterrence from continuing studies.

“I talked to one of the professors about the doctorate, but instead of speaking about the topic I want to address he talked to me about my children. He asked how I would manage with the children, and that the doctorate requires a great deal of effort and is a huge commitment. One would think that he has no children...”
(Woman student).

“When the head of the department learned that I intend to continue studying for the Ph.D., he called me to his office and told me that I have a responsibility to my family, and if I want to avoid getting divorced, I should terminate my studies after completing the master’s degree. At the end I decided that it wasn’t worth the effort, since I felt that they will never treat me seriously.” (Woman student).

The quantitative findings support women students’ feelings. A significant gender difference was found with regard to the relationships between students and department faculty: 51% of women students reported primarily formal relations with staff in comparison to 34% of men. This gap between men and women was most pronounced in the Humanities department of Tel Aviv University (62% of women and 24% of men reported formal relationships; chart 8, p. 114).

Many women students reported in the in-depth interviews that there was barely any contact with their professors, and the existing relationships were formal.

Significant differences were found between genders in the degree of support offered by faculty: 20% of women students reported a great deal of support in comparison to 40% of men (table 15, p. 128). Differences were also found in the nature of support received by men and women students. Women got more positive evaluation of their achievements than men (30% compared to 21% of men), whereas men reported a higher rate of encouragement to pursue a doctoral degree and help receiving a scholarship (60% compared to 50% of women; table 17, pp. 130-131).

“Prof. A. helped me a lot. When I finished the first year of studying for the M.A he gave me a letter of recommendation for one of the funds, and helped me to receive a scholarship. It helped me financially and it’s also good for my c.v. if I want to continue for the Ph.D.”

Only 17% of the women, in comparison with 29% of the men, were offered the possibility to publish research. The discrepancy was found to be greatest in the Humanities department of Tel Aviv University (12% of women students and 48% of men). In the Social Sciences department of that university no such gap was revealed (19%-20%; table 19, p. 134). No difference was found between men and women students in the importance they attributed to receiving support and encouragement from the staff.

Among those who received support, 51% of both genders reported that this support was important to their decision to continue studying for a doctoral degree (table 18, pp. 132-133). The rate of women who perceive themselves as receiving the same amount of support from the faculty as other students is high and similar to that of men (71% of women and 78% of men; see appendix).

Summary and Discussion

As found in the chi square analysis, there was a tight correlation between the patterns of interactions of supervisors and students and the decisions of the latter to continue or terminate their studies. The analysis showed that there were significant differences in the interactions of the departments with the universities, indicating that the differences stem from the organizational structure and culture of these institutions, where some of these offered a wider scope of interaction for the student.

As the rate of interaction and networking between the student and the faculty grows, the stronger his/her feeling of support regarding further studies, and the odds of this student choosing to pursue further studies grows as well. Significant differences were found between male and female students. Female students reported a lower rate of networking with lecturers and professors, relationships that were more formal, and less mentoring. In addition, the type of support the female students received was different than that of the males. While male students reported receiving support specifically pertaining to continuing doctoral studies, the women who were supported reported a more general positive evaluation of their work in regard to their academic achievements. Many female students reported that male supervisors did not support their ambitions to

continue to doctorate studies, ostensibly from the belief that these studies are less suited to women due to the latter's familial obligations.

An interesting relationship was observed between the patterns of interaction within the departments in general and the patterns of interaction with male and female students. In departments where the rate of networking and encouragement for the students to continue their studies was higher, more support was provided to female students than in departments where the rate of networking and support was lower. Hence, it follows that all students are influenced by the amount of networking and encouragement, but the influence on female students is relatively stronger.

Table 11: Support and encouragement from faculty						
	TA Hum	Heb. Hum	TA. SS	Heb. SS	Total Hebrew Univ.	Total Tel Aviv Univ.
A lot of support	<i>40%</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>36%</i>	<i>25%</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>37%</i>
Some support	<i>19%</i>	<i>37%</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>34%</i>	<i>35%</i>	<i>19%</i>
Not a lot of support		<i>22%</i>	<i>7%</i>	<i>24%</i>	<i>23%</i>	<i>4%</i>
No Support	<i>40%</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>39%</i>	<i>16%</i>	<i>19%</i>	<i>40%</i>
Total	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 12: Forms of support										
Received encouragement from faculty	University and Department								Total	
	TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		TA Univ.	Heb. Univ
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Help receiving a scholarship	3	11%	11	19%	2	4%	8	12%	15%	12%
Encouragement to continue studying	16	57%	26	44%	36	68%	28	42%	43%	51%
Positive evaluation of accomplishments/ability	9	32%	25	42%	19	36%	25	38%	40%	38%
Offered a research/teaching assistant position	6	21%	4	7%	27	51%	5	8%	7%	20%
Other			1	2%			1	2%	2%	1%
Didn't answer	5	18%	2	3%	1	2%	14	21%	13%	11%
Total	28	100%	59	100%	53	100%	66	100%		

Table 13: Do you think encouragement from faculty would influence your decision concerning the future?							
Did not receive encouragement from faculty		University				Total	
		Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %		
	Very	<i>12</i>	<i>23%</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>23%</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>23%</i>
	Some	<i>15</i>	<i>28%</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>40%</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>33%</i>
	A little	<i>9</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>17%</i>
	No	<i>10</i>	<i>19%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>20%</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>19%</i>
	DK	<i>7</i>	<i>13%</i>			<i>7</i>	<i>8%</i>
	Total	<i>53</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 14: How important was this encouragement to your decision to continue studying?											
Received encouragement from faculty	University and Department								Total		
	TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		Tel Aviv Univ.	Heb. Univ.	
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Very important	1	4%	17	29%	8	15%	8	12%	11%	20%	
Some importance	8	29%	27	46%	9	17%	28	42%	21%	44%	
Little importance			8	14%	6	11%	9	14%	7%	14%	
Not important	2	7%	2	3%	5	9%	3	5%	9%	4%	
DK	17	61%	5	8%	25	47%	18	27%	52%	18%	
Total	28	100%	59	100%	53	100%	66	100%	100%	100%	

Table 15: Was offered to publish or to present a paper											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Yes		<i>13</i>	<i>28%</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>21%</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>20%</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>24%</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>22%</i>
No		<i>34</i>	<i>72%</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>79%</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>80%</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>76%</i>	<i>224</i>	<i>78%</i>
Total		<i>47</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>79</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>289</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 16: Support and encouragement from faculty											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	A lot of support	5	19%	5	13%	13	23%	8	22%	31	20%
	Some support	9	35%	15	38%	10	18%	10	27%	44	28%
	Not a lot of support			9	23%	6	11%	9	24%	24	15%
	No Support	12	46%	10	26%	27	48%	10	27%	59	37%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	A lot of support	14	67%	9	24%	18	58%	12	29%	53	40%
	Some support			13	35%	6	19%	17	40%	36	27%
	Not a lot of support			8	22%			10	24%	18	14%
	No Support	7	33%	7	19%	7	23%	3	7%	24	18%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 17: Forms of support											
Received encouragement from faculty		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Help receiving a scholarship	2	14%	4	14%			3	11%	9	9%
	Encouragement to continue studying	6	43%	8	28%	16	55%	11	41%	41	41%
	Positive evaluation of accomplishments/ability	3	21%	13	45%	7	24%	7	26%	30	30%
	Offered a research/teaching assistant position			1	3%	5	17%			6	6%
	Other			1	3%			1	4%	2	2%
	Didn't answer	3	21%	2	7%	1	3%	5	19%	11	11%
Total		14	100%	29	100%	29	100%	27	100%	99	100%

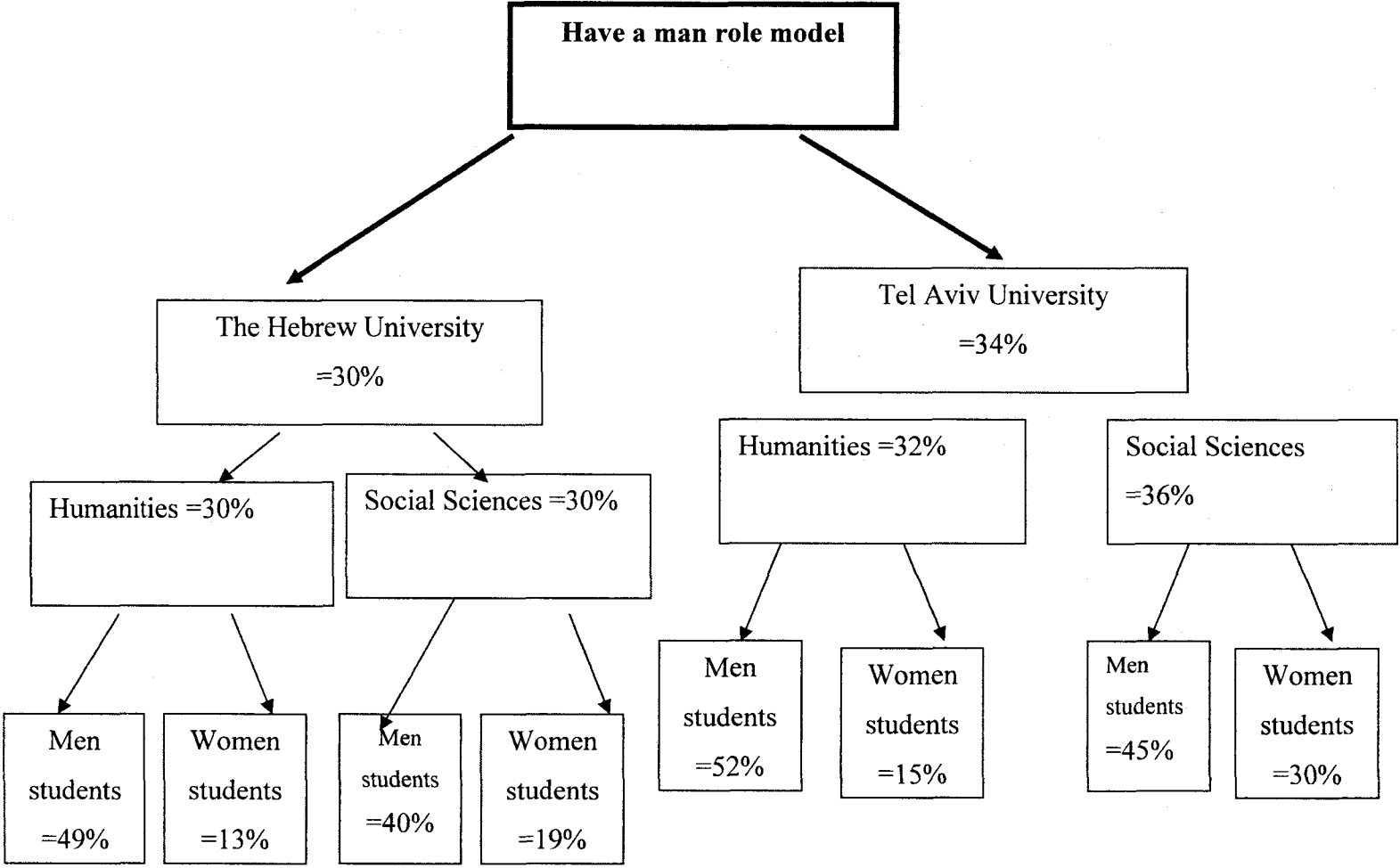
Table 17 (cont.): Forms of support											
Received encouragement from faculty		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Man	Help receiving a scholarship	1	7%	7	23%	2	8%	5	13%	15	14%
	Encouragement to continue studying	9	64%	14	47%	13	54%	13	33%	49	46%
	Positive evaluation of ability/ability	2	14%	8	27%	3	13%	10	26%	23	21%
	Offered a research teaching assistant position			1	3%	6	25%	2	5%	9	8%
	Didn't answer	2	14%					9	23%	11	10%
	Total	14	100%	30	100%	24	100%	39	100%	107	100%

Table 18: How important was this encouragement to your decision to continue studying?											
Received encouragement from faculty		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Very important	1	7%	10	34%	4	14%	4	15%	19	19%
	Some importance	1	7%	11	38%	6	21%	14	52%	32	32%
	Little importance			2	7%	5	17%	2	7%	9	9%
	Not important	2	14%	1	3%	1	3%	1	4%	5	5%
	DK	10	71%	5	17%	13	45%	6	22%	34	34%
	Total	14	100%	29	100%	29	100%	27	100%	99	100%

Table 18(cont.): How important was this encouragement to your decision to continue studying?											
Received encouragement from faculty		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Man	Very important			7	23%	4	17%	4	10%	15	14%
	Some importance	7	50%	16	53%	3	13%	14	36%	40	37%
	Little importance			6	20%	1	4%	7	18%	14	13%
	Not important			1	3%	4	17%	2	5%	7	7%
	DK	7	50%			12	50%	12	31%	31	29%
	Total	14	100%	30	100%	24	100%	39	100%	107	100%

Table 19: Was offered to publish or to present a paper											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Yes	3	12%	6	15%	11	20%	7	19%	27	17%
	No	23	88%	33	85%	45	80%	30	81%	131	83%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Yes	10	48%	10	27%	6	19%	12	29%	38	29%
	No	11	52%	27	73%	25	81%	30	71%	93	71%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Chart 9: Role Model



D. Role Models

The University

The rate of students who had role models at Tel Aviv University and The Hebrew University was similar (30%-34%; chart 9, p. 135), but while 70% of Tel Aviv University students reported that there was a professor in their faculty they especially admired, only 41% of The Hebrew University students mentioned such a professor (table 20, p. 140).

The Department

The rate of students having a role model was lowest in the Humanities department at Tel Aviv University (36% compared to 46%-51% in other departments; chart 9, p. 135).

Regarding the students who reported having such a figure, the role model's existence is influential: 46% of students who had role models intended to continue studying, and only 34% of those without role models reported such intentions.

The gender as well as the existence of the role model is crucial. Among those students who had men as role models, 52% intended to continue their studies, while among those with a woman role model, only 33% intended to continue (chart 3, p. 58).

The Student's Gender

The percentage of men identifying with a role model is higher than that of women: 57% of men students reported the existence of a role model, and 39% of women did so. There was also a difference between men and women students in the gender of their chosen role model. Among men students, 80% identified with a man as a role model, and 54% of the women students noted a male role model (chart 9, p. 135).

The in-depth interviews support these findings. There were practically no instances in which a man student identified with a woman as a role model, and even then, only after mentioning a man role model. The in-depth interviews also indicate variance in the reasons for identifying with men and women as role models. While male role models are usually described by students in terms of academic capability and achievements, such as brilliant thinking, research completed, and such, women role models are usually referred to by describing personality traits and their treatment of students, e.g. kind, pleasant, etc.

“I really admire Dr. G. (a man). He is very bright, has done a lot of research, a lot of publications.” (Man student).

“Prof. H. (man) because of his way of thinking. Very thorough.” (Woman student).

“Prof. G. (a woman) is very thorough with a lot of knowledge. She encourages the students and is very warm.” (Woman student)

“Dr. H. (a woman) because she is nice, representing a woman that succeeded at her career.” (Woman student).

“Dr. D. (woman) because she treats the students in a very fair and humane way.” (Woman student).

The findings of the in-depth interviews revealed that a woman professor as a role model did not necessarily have a positive effect on the students' decisions regarding their academic career. In the interviews conducted with women students who identified a woman as a role model, sometimes noted hardships encountered by these faculty members. On one hand, these women were perceived successful, but on the other hand, they represent the problems faced by women in an academic career, mainly in getting promoted.

“Dr. H. (a woman) because she is interesting, successful. But I also understood this last year that although she works hard and publishes a lot, every time she is a candidate for Head of the Department, she is denied. They choose a man. The same thing happened with her professorship. She is not getting the title though men younger and less published than her have received it. So I don't know – on the one hand I really admire her, but on the other hand it looks very frustrating to be constantly overtaken like that.” (Woman student).

Summary and Discussion

There were significant differences between genders with regard to role models. These differences contribute to the fact that relatively more male students eventually decide to continue their studies than their female counterparts. Furthermore, students supervised by a male professor are more inclined to pursue further studies than are students supervised by a female professor. It was also found that male students have more male role models than female role models. In addition, the female role models are perceived as a source of support different in its character than the support provided by male role models. Female role models are perceived as giving support of a general nature on the personal level, whereas male role models seem to provide practical advice and support regarding further studies, and practically act as mentors to the students. It should be noted that this is based on the students' perceptions of the support provided; the type of support actually provided by male and female role models was not examined. Therefore, male students have a significant advantage over female students in terms of their role model; more male students have a role model, and of these role models, more are male.

Table 20: Specify a Prof. that you especially regard							
		University				Total	
		Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %		
Men		<i>73</i>	<i>55%</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>35%</i>	<i>128</i>	<i>45%</i>
Women		<i>20</i>	<i>15%</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>6%</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>10%</i>
Non		<i>39</i>	<i>30%</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>59%</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>45%</i>
Total		<i>132</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>287</i>	<i>100%</i>

Faculty Encouragement and Sponsorship: Summary and Discussion

The findings described in this chapter support the theories and research regarding the variations from warm support to “chilly climate” at Tel Aviv University and the Hebrew University in the departments studied, and provide a detailed description of the formal and informal practices that lead to this climate in relation to students at universities. Each of the variables examined in this chapter, such as financial support, networking, mentoring, etc, was found to bear a significant influence on the students’ decisions regarding their further studies. A “warmer” environment was found to be of a more positive impact on the student’s decision to continue for doctoral studies than was a “colder” environment. These differences were found in the departments as well as the universities, indicating that the organizational structure and culture have a direct influence on the student’s decision to continue studies. A student at one department of one university stands more chances of continuing his/her studies than does a student in the same department at another university.

These differences were found to be significant for male and female students alike. However, it was found that a “warmer” atmosphere provides more support for male students than it does for females. Gender differences were found at all departments of both universities, in all variables examined in this chapter, which included informal and formal practices. In all variables examined, the differences were in favor of the male students. In all departments of both universities they received more support than did women.

These findings do not necessarily indicate an overt discrimination between men and women, but rather a merging of organizational structure and cultural perception of gender roles in Israeli society. In a “warmer” environment, there are higher odds of male and female students continuing their studies, but male students stand a higher chance of deciding to continue for doctoral studies.

With regard to mentoring, the findings of the present study correspond to other studies in the field. Students who were mentored were found to have relatively high odds of continuing studies in comparison to students who were not mentored. This finding is similar to other research results regarding career mobility (Scandura, 1992; Chao, 1997). However, the findings of this study did not support the theory presented by Raggins (1997), who claims that mentoring is more important to women than to men. In the present study, the existence of a mentor was found to bear equal importance to men and women. The difference was found in the rate of mentoring received by the respective genders; more male students were mentored than were female students.

The pattern of interaction between students and their supervisors, as well as networking in general, was found to be of great influence on the students’ decisions to pursue further studies. Informal and frequent patterns of interaction were found to have a positive influence on the decision to continue studying. Once again, male students reported a higher frequency of interaction and on a less formal level than did their female counterparts.

A role model is a significant part of the pattern of interaction between a student and faculty. The existence of a role model has a positive influence on the students’ decisions to continue their studies, although there is a marked difference between the

functions of male and female role models. Men and women students identifying with a male role model were found more likely to continue their studies than were students identifying with a female role model. The present study shows that in general, male students have more role models than do female students, and of these, more role models are men. This partly supports the claim that cross-gender role-model relationships are less common than are those of the same-gender relationships.

Similarly to the study conducted by Raggins (1997), it was found that male mentors provide support of a more practical nature with regard to career development, whereas female mentors provide support of a more personal and psychological nature. My findings indicated that men and women students were presented with a difference set of opportunities regarding their further studies, and that different organizational practices, whether they be formal or informal, had a significant influence on these opportunities. Men students were presented with more possibilities, support and opportunities, female students with fewer. These differences had a great impact on men and women students' decisions regarding further studies. However, as shall be described in the next chapter, there were additional factors influencing these decisions.

Chapter VII

Positive and Negative Student Experiences

The set of opportunities presented by a certain organization and the practices of this organization have great importance, as shown earlier. However, this importance lies in the way these opportunities and practices are perceived by the subjects within the organization. Therefore, this is true as well of students in universities.

The findings indicated that there were marked differences in the students' perceptions of their environment, even within one department of one university. In Israel, an MA degree makes possible a vast array of employment and professional possibilities outside academia, and the doctoral degree is usually not imperative for a professional career. However, the doctorate provides a wider scope of professional positions outside academia, as well as a higher level of professionalism, and opens more opportunities for academic and non-academic careers. Many students beginning their MA studies have plans for the more distant future: to continue for doctoral studies or to suffice with the MA degree. In a gender-neutral organizational environment, it could be expected that a similar rate of male and female students would stick to or change their plans regarding further studies along the way. However, the present study indicated that this was not so. The universities and departments were not gender-neutral.

The differences found between men and women students showed that their experiences within the same organizational environment were not necessarily the same. They undergo different experiences throughout their studies, leading to different perceptions of the environment.

In the current chapter, I will examine the different factors comprising the experiences of the students and their perceptions of their academic environment.

The existing perception among male and female students is that the set of opportunities in academia is equal. The academic environment is considered an enclosed retreat of equal opportunities for men and women, within a society that does not provide such equality. Thus, 63% of women and 73% of men believe that the treatment and opportunities men and women receive within academia are equal, whereas only 18% of female students and 35% of male students harbor these beliefs regarding the external career world. Due to such beliefs, female students who perceive the academic environment and doctorate studies as unsuitable for them believe that these perceptions stem from personal motives and are not related to the academic structure and the set of opportunities granted them.

Whether the students perceive a high chance of an academic career or not had a major influence on the decision to continue or discontinue studies after the MA (chart 4, p. 59). More men students felt they stood a high chance of progressing in an academic career than did women students (54% of men students compared to 35% of women students).

The influence of the organizational and academic structure is also expressed in the level of satisfaction the students feel with their MA studies. This satisfaction (or lack thereof) is of great influence on the decision whether or not to continue studies. Students satisfied with their MA studies are more inclined to continue for doctorate studies than are dissatisfied students (chart 4, p. 59). This variable was also different between genders,

with more men students (81%) expressing satisfaction with their MA studies than women students (55%).

Sexual and gender-based harassment was also an influencing factor. As might be expected, more women students (31%) reported such harassment than did male students (10%). These numbers should be treated as partial, since in Israeli society, some behavior that constitutes harassment is perceived as normative and accepted.

One of the most interesting findings of the present study is concerned with role conflict. In the relevant literature, this factor is considered to be of extreme importance in the career decisions made by women. Although as expected, a high rate of women expected to experience role conflicts throughout their careers, this expectation did not appear to influence their decisions regarding further studies. A possible explanation is that since role conflicts are expected for every type of career pursued by Israeli women, it is not necessarily a determinant factor for academic career decisions.

A. The Student's Perception of Opportunities

The way in which students perceives their environment directly affected the way the students' perception of themselves as students. Students receiving support from the environment with regard to chances of success were more likely to continue studies. Students' perceptions of equal opportunity influenced the way they perceived their place in the academic structure and the relative weight they attributed to the organizational structure on one hand and their personal decisions on the other. A student perceiving the environment as one that offered equal and open opportunities regarded his/her decision as

something personal and not systematic. The awareness of systematic patterns that offer different opportunities to different subgroups within the organizational framework allows the individual to avoid or resist these patterns. When the organizational structure is perceived as one that supplies equal opportunities, the individual faces decisions as a subject and not as part of a group.

This chapter describes the students' perceptions of the academic framework in comparison to organizations outside academia. This variable did not have statistical significance regarding the decision to continue studies, but supplied an explanation regarding the students' perceptions of their places within the academic framework.

This chapter also examines students' perceptions regarding their possibilities of success in an academic career. Although doctorate studies do not necessarily indicate a will or ambition to pursue an academic career, they are a crucial step in the direction of such a career. In Israel, an MA degree is a solid foundation for a non-academic career, whereas doctoral studies allow the student to consider the level of his/her desire in an academic career. The statistical analysis showed a significant correlation between the perception of success in an academic career and the decision to continue studies for a doctorate degree. This finding did not necessarily mean that these students would indeed opt for an academic career, but it did show their perception of their chances of success, and therein lies the importance of this variable.

Because the emphasis in this chapter is on the subjective perception of the student in relation to his/her environment, the findings are presented according to the students first, and only later in respect to the departments and universities.

The Student's Gender

Women students tended to believe relatively less in equal opportunities for men and women than men students, with regard to academic as well as non-academic careers: 18% of women students said that men and women have equal opportunities in a non-academic career, as opposed to 35% of men who said so. However, the rate of women believing in equal opportunities within an academic career is higher than that of men: 27% and 43% of men (tables 21, p. 153).

However, in spite of the critical attitude women manifested regarding the differences in opportunities for men and women in a career, most see themselves as receiving the same treatment as men during their studies: 63% of women and 73% of men believed that men and women students received the same opportunities and treatment during their university studies. The percentage of women who believed that they were treated equally with men was highest in the Humanities department of Tel Aviv University (88% of women and 95% of men) and lowest in the Humanities department of The Hebrew University (49% of women and 65% of men; table 21, p. 153).

The perception of academia as an "ivory tower" – a place where esteem and opportunities are based on abilities and achievements – was the dominant perception among men as well as women students. This perception gained strength as the questions were more closely related to the students themselves. While men and women students observed gender differences in opportunities in a non-academic career, these differences

were seen as smaller regarding an academic career. But these findings do not necessarily indicate the fact that differences between men and women within the academia are indeed smaller, rather that the students perceived them as smaller, compared to non-academic organizations.

While some of the men saw advantages for women as students and in an academic career, the women did not agree. Some of the men mentioned in the interviews that women have advantages because they are noticed by men professors or because there is affirmative action with regard to them.

However, most men felt that if there were indeed differences between men and women in academia, these were minor differences that did not really affect their chances of success.

“Men have more opportunities for promotion, but today it is only by a little. There is very little difference in the university.” (Man student).

“It is obvious that men have more opportunities in a career in general, but in the university it is not exactly the same. Men may have a slight advantage because they are not so committed to children, but the treatment they receive is the same. I don't see a difference.” (Man student).

In the interviews, only a few of the men students mentioned that there are clear differences between the chances of men and women to make progress in an academic career, and that these differences are mainly in favor of men.

“Truthfully, you don’t have to be a genius to understand that men have more opportunities here. You only need to see how many women lecturers in this department, and among them – only one has tenure.” (Man student).

Women, however, displayed a different attitude in the interviews. Most of the women students observed differences between men and women faculty, although only a few mentioned such differences between students. Some of the students claimed that these differences were not expressed throughout the entire course of studies, but appeared primarily during M.A. studies.

“Men professors prefer men students, that’s obvious. Men professors do not have women protégés, only men.” (Woman student).

“It is clear that men and women on the faculty do not have the same opportunities. The statistics speak for themselves.” (Man doctoral student).

“There is also discrimination among doctorate students. Men are more encouraged.” (Woman doctoral student).

“Among the doctoral students I can’t speak of discrimination. There are more men than women, but I don’t know if this is a result of discrimination.” (Man doctoral student).

“The statistics show that in the faculty itself the rate of women is very small and therefore it is clear that there is discrimination on higher levels. In the M.A. degree there are more women than men, and it is not that women become less intelligent along the way.” (Woman doctoral student).

Another significant variable was the students' perception of their chances for success at an academic career. The higher their perceived chances, the more likely they were to continue doctorate studies. Among the students rating their chances for success as high, 52% intended to continue for doctoral studies, in comparison to 31% evaluating their chances as mediocre and 28% rating their chances as slim (chart 4, p. 59; table 22, p. 157). The rate of men perceiving high chances for successful progress in an academic career was higher than the rate of women: 54% to 35%. There was no gap between men and women students' evaluations of their chances at the Humanities department in Tel Aviv University (57%-58%) but in other departments, there were significant differences (29%-32% of women see their chances as high as opposed to 50%-55% of men; table 22, p. 157).

“At the University there is no relation between abilities and success. You need elbow power and there are a lot of politics. The promotion is not about the quality of your work, but rather about who you are and who you know.” (Woman student).

“I don't believe I have a chance for a job at the university after the doctorate degree.” (Woman doctoral student).

Women possessed a stronger feeling that the main disadvantage of an academic career is slow promotion: 54% to 39%. The gap was especially marked in the Humanities department at The Hebrew University and at the Social Sciences department in Tel Aviv University (5%-13% of men feel that the promotion speed was problematic against 50%-54% of women; table 22, p. 157). The percentage of women that named lack of encouragement from faculty as the main hardship they expected in doctoral studies was higher than the rate of men who felt so (39% to 27%; table 23, p. 158). The women's pessimism regarding academic career mobility was reflected in the rate of men and women students considering an academic career academic career is higher than the rate of women (39% to 30%). This is true for all departments except the Humanities department of Tel Aviv University, where the rate of women considering an academic career was higher than the rate of men (58% of women and 43% of men; table 24, p. 159).

The in-depth interviews showed that the considerations for an academic career are different between men and women. While the perceived advantages of such a career – flexible working hours, relative freedom, and working in an area of interest - were similar in men and women, the disadvantages were not perceived equally. Women considered the main disadvantage of an academic career to be slow promotion, and cited power struggles and internal politics as further detriments; men saw the lower salaries, compared to those of non-academic fields, as the main disadvantage.

“By the time I’ll be a full Professor, I’ll be old. I’m not sure its worth it- I’ll have to work hard for years, watch men go ahead of me, and all for being in academia.

It's not such a great career. I'm just not sure that's for me; I think it might be too frustrating." (Woman student)

With regard to academic salaries, it is possible that while the men considered the academic wages lower than those offered outside, women might have considered the academic salary scale higher than what they could receive elsewhere. Also, the conception of men's and women's roles in Israel is still largely based on tradition, and men see themselves as primary breadwinners.

Summary Table (21): Perception of Opportunities

% Who believe in equal opportunities	Non-academic career	Academic career	Students
Tel Aviv University	19	34	78
The Hebrew University	32	34	58
TA. Dep. 1	17	45	91
Heb. Dep. 1	37	36	57
TA. Dep. 2	20	29	71
Heb. Dep. 2	27	32	59
Women students	18	27	63
Men Students	35	43	73

The University

Significant differences were found between the two universities regarding the students' attitudes towards discrimination between men and women in academia and outside of it. Students at The Hebrew University believe in equal opportunities within and without the academic environment: 32% said that the chances for promotion in a non-academic environment were equal for men and women, compared to only 19% of Tel Aviv University students. In spite of this, the students of both universities more or less believed that men enjoyed more promotional opportunities than women in non-academic careers: 54% of The Hebrew University students and 78% of Tel Aviv University students (table 21, p. 153).

Regarding an academic career, the students also believed there was equal opportunity for men and women, although these attitudes were more temperate than with regard to a non-academic career. A third of the students at both universities (34%) claimed that equality of opportunity regarding promotion did exist in academic careers. But at Tel Aviv University the dominant view was that men enjoyed more chances of promotion than women (61%). In comparison, only 49% of the students at The Hebrew University felt this way (table 21, p. 153). In spite of all this, most students at both universities felt that the opportunities and support granted to men and women students were similar, although there were differences between the universities here as well: 78% of students at Tel Aviv University felt that there was equality in opportunity and support, in comparison to only 58% of Hebrew University students (table 21, p. 153).

The decision to continue for doctorate studies is often related to the degree of interest the student shows in an academic career, and the latter is associated to the

student's perception of his/her chances to make progress and success in such a career. At Tel Aviv University, a relatively high rate of students considered their chances to succeed in an academic career as high, although they did not perceive quick progress (43%). This rate was lower at The Hebrew University: 34%. Students at The Hebrew University more frequently saw themselves as possessing medium chances of progress on the academic ladder (42% compared to 28% at Tel Aviv University; table 25, pp. 160-161).

The Department

The percentage of students believing in equal opportunities for men and women in non-academic fields was the highest at The Hebrew University in the Humanities department (37%), and lowest at the corresponding department at Tel Aviv University (17%; table 21, p. 153). However, students at the Humanities department at Tel Aviv University believed that equal opportunity existed within academia (45% compared to 29%-36% at other departments; table 21, p. 153).

This department also had the highest percentage of students who believed that men and women students received the same amount of support and had the same opportunities (91%). A relatively high rate of students believing this was also found at the Social Sciences department at Tel Aviv University (71% compared to 57%-59% at The Hebrew University; table 20, p. 153). The highest rate of students believing they have good chances of progress in an academic career was found in the Humanities department at Tel Aviv University (57% compared to 40%-41% at other departments; table 26, p. 162).

Summary and Discussion

The findings indicate that the students' perceptions of their academic environment were in many aspects gender-neutral: men and women students perceived the set of opportunities for men and women as similar. However, the further the focus is from the students themselves – the wider the scope on an academic career and a non-academic career, the more this perception changes. A student who perceived the environment as one that offered a vast array of equal opportunities would regard his/her decision as personal. Increasing awareness of the structural and systematic elements that channel students to different career paths may allow the students to make decisions on structural or systematic levels. A woman student examining her range of options and finding that some of them are paved with obstacles might be more likely to pursue a path that is less obstacle-ridden.

Table 22: Estimation of chances in an academic career								
	University and Department				Total		Total	
	TA Hum	Heb. Hum	TA. SS	Heb. SS	Heb. Univ.	TA. Univ.	<i>N</i>	%
Good chance for fast advancement		9%	5%	5%	7%	7%	15	5%
Good chance for advancement, not fast	57%	32%	36%	35%	34%	34%	110	38%
Medium chance for advancement	15%	37%	36%	47%	42%	42%	103	36%
Low chance for advancement	28%	22%	24%	13%	17%	17%	61	21%

Table23: Estimation of chances in an academic career							
Gender		University and Department				Total	
		TA Hum	Heb. Hum	TA. SS	Heb. SS	N	Col %
		Col %	Col %	Col %	Col %		
Woman	Good chance for fast advancement		8%	2%	3%	5	3%
	Good chance for advancement, not fast	58%	21%	30%	27%	50	32%
	Medium chance for advancement	8%	41%	43%	54%	62	39%
	Low chance for advancement	35%	31%	25%	16%	41	26%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	158	100%
Man	Good chance for fast advancement		11%	10%	7%	10	8%
	Good chance for advancement, not fast	57%	43%	45%	43%	60	46%
	Medium chance for advancement	24%	32%	23%	40%	41	31%
	Low chance for advancement	19%	14%	23%	10%	20	15%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	131	100%

Table 24: Disadvantages of an academic career											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Highly competitive	6	23%	16	41%	16	29%	18	49%	56	35%
	Not enough positions	11	42%	26	67%	29	52%	24	65%	90	57%
	Low income	12	46%	18	46%	24	43%	20	54%	74	47%
	Slow promotion	14	54%	22	56%	28	50%	21	57%	85	54%
	DK	5	19%			9	16%	2	5%	16	10%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Highly competitive	5	24%	23	62%	11	35%	16	38%	55	42%
	Not enough positions	10	48%	24	65%	16	52%	29	69%	79	60%
	Low income	2	10%	19	51%	22	71%	24	57%	67	51%
	Slow promotion	1	5%	21	57%	4	13%	25	60%	51	39%
	DK	11	52%			8	26%	1	2%	20	15%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

		Table 25: Hardships likely to be encountered during their Ph.D. studies					
		* Multiple answers				University and Department	
						Total	
Gender		TA Hum	Heb. Hum	TA. SS	Heb. SS	N	Col %
Woman	No encouragement from faculty	58%	23%	43%	35%	61	39%
	Difficulties combining work and study	23%	56%	52%	81%	87	55%
	Role conflict	35%	49%	45%	54%	73	46%
	Difficulties with finding dissertation supervisor	15%	36%	20%	32%	41	26%
	Writing the dissertation	31%	31%	41%	16%	49	31%
	Other academic difficulties		5%	13%	8%	12	8%
	Financial difficulties	8%	3%			3	2%
	Too much politics			4%		2	1%
	Personal difficulties		3%			1	1%
	DK	8%	5%		5%	6	4%
Total						158	

Table (cont)25: Hardships likely to be encountered during their Ph.D. studies							
* Multiple answers Gender		University and Department				Total	
		TA Hum	Heb. Hum	TA. SS	Heb. SS	N	Col %
Man	No encouragement from faculty	29%	16%	26%	38%	36	27%
	Difficulties combining work and study	33%	73%	39%	57%	70	53%
	Role conflict	33%	51%	10%	64%	56	43%
	Difficulties with finding dissertation supervisor		38%	32%	36%	39	30%
	Writing the dissertation	14%	30%	35%	21%	34	26%
	Other academic difficulties		8%	6%	5%	7	5%
	Financial difficulties	38%	3%	13%	2%	14	11%
	Too much politics			26%		8	6%
	DK	5%	3%	3%	5%	5	4%
	Total					131	

Table 26: Considers an academic career											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Woman	Yes	15	58%	7	18%	19	34%	7	19%	48	30%
	No	4	15%	19	49%	13	23%	21	57%	57	36%
	DK	7	27%	13	33%	24	43%	9	24%	53	34%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Yes	9	43%	11	30%	19	61%	12	29%	51	39%
	No	6	29%	17	46%	6	19%	23	55%	52	40%
	DK	6	29%	9	24%	6	19%	7	17%	28	21%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

B. Satisfaction with the Department

The Student's Gender

Another significant variable affecting the student is the degree of satisfaction with the M.A. studies. Students who were satisfied with their studies (28%, chart 4, p. 59) were relatively more inclined to continue their studies for a doctorate than students that were dissatisfied.

In general, men students were more markedly satisfied with their M.A. studies: 81% to 55% (table 27, p. 166). Women students felt a relatively low level of satisfaction compared to men students with regard to the support received from the department faculty: 48% to 72%. The widest gap between men and women was found in the Humanities department of Tel Aviv University (39% of women and 81% of men expressed satisfaction; table 28, p. 167). There were also differences between men and women regarding the students' perceptions of their career opportunities, with 33% of women satisfied with their opportunities as opposed to 54% of men students (table 29, p. 168). The evaluation of the academic quality of the department was similar among men and women students (73%-75%; see appendix). Also, men and women perceive the department similarly with regard to the satisfaction with the faculty's treatment of students and the academic quality of the professors (see appendix).

The University

The students were asked a number of questions regarding the degree of their satisfaction with different aspects of their studies. In general, in satisfaction with faculty support and academic quality of the department, as well as other variables, there was a similarity between universities and departments (29%-31%, 33%-36%; see appendix). However, there was a marked difference in the degree of satisfaction with the professors' treatment of them. The degree of satisfaction is relatively higher at Tel Aviv University (84% expressed satisfaction) than at The Hebrew University (72% expressed satisfaction; table 27, p. 166).

The Department

In spite of all these differences, no major discrepancy was found in the rates of students expressing satisfaction with their M.A. studies by type of department (66%-68%; table 30, p. 169).

Students rated the academic quality of the Humanities department at Tel Aviv University the highest (89% compared to 68%-72% in other departments; table 31, p. 169). Students at this department also expressed a high level of satisfaction with the professors' treatment of students (83%). A similar degree of satisfaction was found in the Social Sciences department of Tel Aviv University (84% compared to 72%-74% at The Hebrew university; table 31, p. 170). Students at the Humanities department of Tel Aviv University also expressed a high degree of satisfaction with the academic level of their professors (88% compared to 69%-75% in other departments; table 32, p. 170). Other variables concerning the student's satisfaction from the department and their studies, such

as support from faculty, guidance in the thesis and support in the dissertation, were found to be similar in all of the above departments (see appendix).

Summary and Discussion

The level of satisfaction the students profess with their MA studies is a general measure of their feelings regarding their studies. Students expressing satisfaction with their studies were more likely to pursue further studies. Women were significantly less satisfied with their studies than were men. Due to the limited size of the sample population, the statistical analysis did not allow a significant examination of the relation between the variable of degree of satisfaction and others, but is a general measure influenced by all the variables pertaining to the student's perception of the academic environment. In-depth interviews showed that students who were more satisfied with their studies were those who had more positive experiences than negative experiences or obstacles. Since there is a significant difference between the level of satisfaction between male and female students, we can conclude that this variable also represented the relationship between positive and negative experiences for male and female students.

Table 27: Satisfaction from faculty's attitude									
	University and Department				University		Total		
	TA Hum	Heb. Hum	TA. SS	Heb. SS	TA Univ.	Heb. Univ.	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	
Very satisfied	<i>34%</i>	<i>29%</i>	<i>15%</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>23%</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>22%</i>	
Satisfied	<i>49%</i>	<i>45%</i>	<i>69%</i>	<i>53%</i>	<i>62%</i>	<i>49%</i>	<i>159</i>	<i>55%</i>	
Not so satisfied	<i>15%</i>	<i>20%</i>	<i>13%</i>	<i>25%</i>	<i>13%</i>	<i>23%</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>18%</i>	
Not satisfied	<i>2%</i>	<i>7%</i>	<i>3%</i>	<i>4%</i>	<i>3%</i>	<i>5%</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>4%</i>	
Total	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>289</i>	<i>100%</i>	

Tale 28: Satisfaction from the MA-general										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	7	15%	11	14%	15	17%	11	14%	44	15%
Satisfied	24	51%	39	51%	44	51%	42	53%	149	52%
Not so satisfied	12	26%	23	30%	23	26%	23	29%	81	28%
Not satisfied	4	9%	3	4%	5	6%	3	4%	15	5%
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

Table 29: Academic quality of the department										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	9	19%	23	30%	14	16%	11	14%	57	20%
Satisfied	33	70%	33	43%	45	52%	46	58%	157	55%
Not so satisfied	4	9%	15	20%	21	24%	19	24%	59	20%
Not satisfied	1	2%	5	7%	6	7%	3	4%	15	5%
Total	47	100%	76	100%	86	100%	79	100%	288	100%

Table 30: Academic quality of faculty										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	<i>13</i>	<i>28%</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>32%</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>15%</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>16%</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>22%</i>
Satisfied	<i>28</i>	<i>60%</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>43%</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>59%</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>53%</i>	<i>154</i>	<i>53%</i>
Not so satisfied	<i>5</i>	<i>11%</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>28%</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>20%</i>
Not satisfied	<i>1</i>	<i>2%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>8%</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5%</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3%</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>4%</i>
Total	<i>47</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>79</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>289</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 31: Satisfaction from the MA-general											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Very satisfied	4	15%	5	13%	7	13%	5	14%	21	13%
	Satisfied	10	38%	17	44%	24	43%	16	43%	67	42%
	Not so satisfied	9	35%	16	41%	22	39%	13	35%	60	38%
	Not satisfied	3	12%	1	3%	3	5%	3	8%	10	6%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Very satisfied	3	14%	6	16%	8	26%	6	14%	23	18%
	Satisfied	14	67%	22	59%	20	65%	26	62%	82	63%
	Not so satisfied	3	14%	7	19%	1	3%	10	24%	21	16%
	Not satisfied	1	5%	2	5%	2	6%			5	4%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 32: Satisfaction from support of faculty											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Very satisfied	1	4%	7	18%	4	7%	3	8%	15	9%
	Satisfied	9	35%	14	36%	23	41%	15	41%	61	39%
	Not so satisfied	8	31%	15	38%	19	34%	17	46%	59	37%
	Not satisfied	8	31%	3	8%	10	18%	2	5%	23	15%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Very satisfied	6	29%	4	11%	8	26%	4	10%	22	17%
	Satisfied	11	52%	24	65%	17	55%	20	48%	72	55%
	Not so satisfied	3	14%	6	16%	4	13%	16	38%	29	22%
	Not satisfied	1	5%	3	8%	2	6%	2	5%	8	6%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

C. Sexual and Gender Harassment

Awareness of the issue of sexual or gender harassment or gender is not great in Israel, though this awareness is rapidly increasing in the case of sexual harassment. This led to a difficulty in survey and in the interviews in getting responses on the issue. The quantitative survey included an indirect question regarding conduct that was irrelevant to academic issues, and did not explicitly mention gender or sexual harassment.

About one third of the women students reported being given comments from faculty that were irrelevant to their academic achievements (31% of women students compared to 10% of men students). Women students recalled comments about their gender or their commitment to raising or caring for a family (see appendix).

In the in-depth interviews, women students described situations of harassment without being aware that it was sexual or gender-based harassment. This was more common in cases of gender harassment, apparently because of the low awareness of this matter in Israel. The women students describing situations of sexual or gender-based harassment did not attribute much importance to them. They perceived these situations as random and individual, not based on patterns of behavior or having any influence on their continuation of their studies.

“One of the professors told me that I have pretty and intelligent eyes. I think that was out of order, but I haven’t really considered it as outstanding.” (Woman student).

“One of my professors, I don’t want to go into details, would strike up conversations with me at the end of class, would stand really close to me, looking in my eyes like... you know. I was so uncomfortable with this that I stopped taking his class and switched courses in the middle of the semester.” (Woman student).

“When they let me be an assistant in the department I was very happy, because it was an opportunity for me to be involved and I felt appreciated. It took me a while to realize that there was something very offensive about how I was offered the job. When they called to ask me to meet with the professor, I was told that generally he prefers a man assistant because he always works with men, but they were not able to find someone with my grades and achievements. So I was a compromise. It is pretty insulting.” (Woman student).

“I considered an academic career at first... when I began the M.A. degree, but not anymore. Because of the people at the department, they feel threatened. If you are a woman and want an academic career, it is not really worthwhile to look good. It is better to look like a mouse, so you won’t be noticed.” (Woman student).

Summary and Discussion

Because of the low number of students reporting gender or sexual harassment, we could not examine the influence of this variable on the decision to continue studies. However, other studies show that gender or sexual harassment influences the perception of opportunities and hardships in further studies. The students' reports - mainly those of female students - about an uncomfortable environment most likely influence their perceptions of their academic surroundings as unpleasant. An environment where a woman feels that she needs to protect herself or be guarded is not a productive environment, nor does it encourage the student to stay for a longer period. It can be surmised that increasing the students' and faculty's awareness to these behavior patterns and increasing the efforts to avoid them should lead to female students feeling more comfortable in the academic environment.

Students who reported gender/sexual harassment did not do so regarding their peers, but rather regarding faculty only. In the Israeli society, comments and proposals of a sexual nature are not necessarily seen as harassments but rather as part of the almost normative relations between men and women.

D. Relating to a Role Conflict

The Student's Gender

Women students tended to take into account considerations of family care in their career decisions more than men did (82% to 23%; table 33, p. 179). In addition, 83% of women students expected that they would experience a role conflict throughout their career as opposed to 18% of men. A relatively high rate of women expecting a role conflict was found in the Humanities departments (50% said that they would definitely experience it and 23% said it was likely; table 34, p. 180).

The in-depth interviews supported these findings. Except for a few individual cases, men did not take into consideration children or family regarding their career choices.

“I don't really think that children or family are a consideration in a career.

Children are a part of life, I don't think that it disturbs anything.” (Man student)

“Children are not a consideration in a career. It is something you handle, I don't think I will have a problem with that.” (Man student).

The norms of the importance and centrality of children in a person's priorities were indeed expressed in the attitude of men, but not in a manner seen as disruptive or worthy of consideration regarding the career. Men do not usually expect a role conflict and they see children as part of life, an important part, but not one requiring compromises in a career.

“Children and family are the most important thing in my life, but this does not clash with work or studies. You have to maintain balance.” (Man student).

Some men mentioned that children and family are a career consideration only in extreme cases, such as wanting a career overseas and the need for moving the family to a foreign country.

“Children are a consideration mainly in special circumstances. For example, I would like to continue my studies abroad and that would mean moving everyone from here. So it is a consideration, but ultimately I don’t think it will be an obstacle.” (Man student)

The norms in Israel correspond to this attitude and support it. In accordance with these norms, the care and management of children and family are virtually the exclusive responsibility of the woman. In spite of the changes in these norms over the past decades, equal role distribution and equal responsibility hardly exist in Israel. These cultural norms are reflected clearly in the findings of the quantitative survey as well as in the interviews. Almost all of the women expected a role conflict throughout their lives and almost all mentioned children and family as a major consideration regarding their career.

“I have two considerations regarding an academic career. How interesting it will be for me, and how I will be able to combine it with family life. I wouldn’t want my career to cause me to devote less time than necessary for their mental and physical development.” (Woman student).

“I definitely want a career, but not at the expense of my children. My children come first.” (woman student).

“It is clear that children and family are a consideration regarding the career. The children are the main consideration.” (Woman student).

Most women place children not only as the main thing to be considered regarding a career, but also as the first on their list of priorities. Most of the women I spoke with see these considerations as slowing down the progress of promotion in a career (academic and non-academic) although not as preventing such a career altogether, and in fact, most women expected role conflicts because they intended to have careers, husbands, and children.

“It is difficult to combine the intensiveness of studies with the need for family life. The family slows down the pace of progress in a career.” (Woman student).

“Of course children are an important consideration. I think they are most important. But this does not mean that I will give up having a career, you have to manage, to make adaptations.” (Woman student).

Some of the women interviewed mentioned that an academic career has advantages regarding the care of children, because it is more flexible in the hours of work, and some of the work can be done at home.

“I prefer working at flexible hours so that I can make time for children. This makes an academic career suitable because the hours are not rigid. It’s not a 9 to 5 job.” (Woman student).

The Department

A relatively high rate of students at the Social Sciences department of Tel Aviv University expected to experience a role conflict should they choose an academic career (61% compared with 49% at the Humanities department Tel Aviv University and 38%-43% at The Hebrew University’s departments; table 35, p. 181). However, no such difference was found when students were asked if they take familial responsibilities into account when considering career decisions (49%-61%; table 36, p. 182).

Summary and Discussion

As expected, significant differences between men and women were found with respect to role conflicts. Women expected to experience these conflicts on a much larger scale than do men. However, no significant correlation was found between the expected role conflicts and the decision to pursue a doctoral degree. Unlike the rest of the variables examined in this chapter, the sample population was not statistically limited and the statistical analysis shows that there was no correlation between role conflicts and the decision to continue studies.

Women in Israel expect to have to maneuver between careers and familial obligations and see this maneuvering as an integral part of working life. It may be that

women studying for an MA degree intended to continue their career outside the home anyway, and so role conflicts did not influence their career decisions.

Another possible explanation is that the system of institutional and familial support for working women in Israel is strong enough to allow the difficulties of role conflicts to be perceived as bearable, and thus, these difficulties did not constitute an inhibitory factor on the decision of women to pursue further academic studies.

	University and Department								Total	
	TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Definitely	13	28%	11	14%	27	31%	7	9%	58	20%
Probably	10	21%	22	29%	26	30%	23	29%	81	28%
Probably not	9	19%	15	20%	16	18%	15	19%	55	19%
Defiantly not	10	21%	14	18%	15	17%	23	29%	62	21%
DK	5	11%	14	18%	3	3%	11	14%	33	11%
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

Table 34: Family as career consideration										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Yes	26	55%	41	54%	53	61%	39	49%	159	55%
No	6	13%	31	41%	26	30%	39	49%	102	35%
Only in special cases	15	32%	2	3%	8	9%	1	1%	26	9%
Other			2	3%					2	1%
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

Table 35: Family as career consideration												
		University and Department								Total		
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %	
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %			N
Woman	Yes	19	73%	32	82%	48	86%	30	81%	129	82%	
	No	4	15%	5	13%	8	14%	6	16%	23	15%	
	Only in special cases	3	12%					1	3%	4	3%	
		4			2	5%					2	1%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%	
Man	Yes	7	33%	9	24%	5	16%	9	21%	30	23%	
	No	2	10%	26	70%	18	58%	33	79%	79	60%	
	Only in special cases	12	57%	2	5%	8	26%			22	17%	
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%	

Table 36: Role conflict											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Hum		Heb. Hum		TA. SS		Heb. SS		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Definitely	13	50%	10	26%	24	43%	7	19%	54	34%
	Probably	6	23%	17	44%	23	41%	16	43%	62	39%
	Probably not	4	15%	5	13%	5	9%	7	19%	21	13%
	Defiantly not	1	4%	2	5%	3	5%	2	5%	8	5%
	DK	2	8%	5	13%	1	2%	5	14%	13	8%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Definitely			1	3%	3	10%			4	3%
	Probably	4	19%	5	14%	3	10%	7	17%	19	15%
	Probably not	5	24%	10	27%	11	35%	8	19%	34	26%
	Defiantly not	9	43%	12	32%	12	39%	21	50%	54	41%
	DK	3	14%	9	24%	2	6%	6	14%	20	15%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Positive and Negative Student Experiences: Summary and Discussion

In contrast to the preceding chapter that examined the different practices creating a “warm” or “chilly” environment regarding the students, this chapter discussed the influence of these practices on the way the students perceive their academic environment. The unequal practices on the one hand, and their perception as equal on the other, generated a feeling of self-blame among the women regarding their choice to discontinue studies. Female students tended to blame themselves for stopping their studies at the end of the MA degree, not being aware of the different channeling systems taking place within academia. Although some of these variables require further and wider studies to examine these perceptions in depth, it seems that the accumulation of negative experiences during MA studies, as well as the women’s perceptions that these experiences are individual and not collective, bring more women to the conclusion that their place is not within the academic framework, and a higher rate of women choose to conclude their studies after the MA.

The perceived set of opportunities also influences the decision to continue studies. Women students examining the career routes of female professors can easily see that the hardships encountered as students will undoubtedly continue further along the academic path. This conclusion cannot but discourage them from continuing for higher degrees.

Conclusion and Discussion

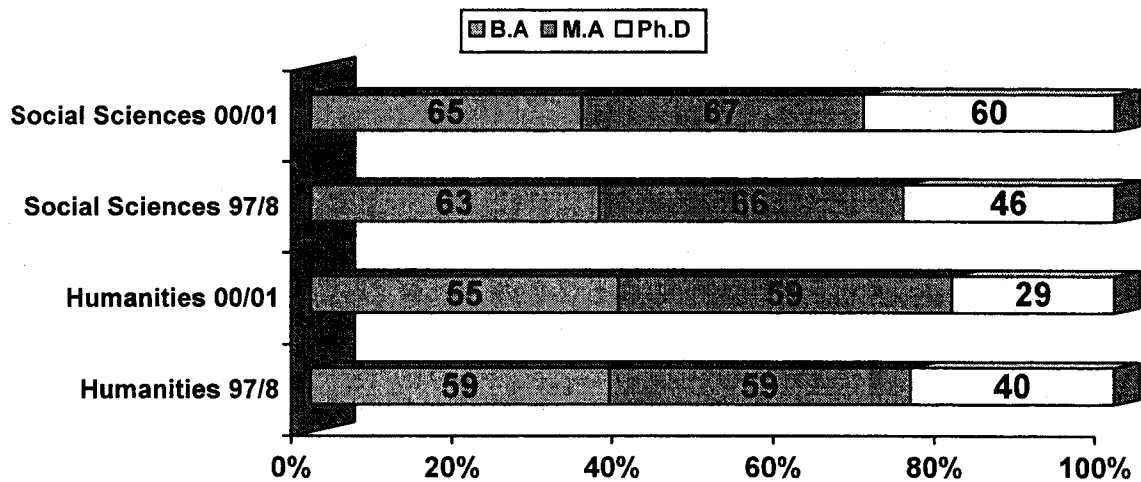
The representation of women at the PhD degree in Israel is improving steadily, but despite this improvement, some gender inequities still persist, as can be seen in the data in figures 6 and 7. Much progress has been made between 1997, the year this research was conducted, and 2001. Census data reported in 2001 show that the proportion of women Ph.D. recipients in Israel was 47 percent, while in 1997 it was only 41 per cent. Still, even in 2001, a gap of 10 per cent existed between women's representation at the M.A. and the Ph.D. levels. This gap is the result of lower representation of women at the Ph.D. level in some departments and fields of study. In the humanities in 2001, women received 55 percent of the B.A.s, 59 percent of the M.A.s, and only 29 percent of the Ph.D.s In the social sciences the gap is smaller and women are more equally represented at the Ph.D. level: They are 65 percent of the B.A. recipients, 67 percent of the M.A., and 60 percent of the Ph.D.

Thus, although the overall proportion of women Ph.D. students has improved, there are great differences between the fields of study. From 1997 to 2001, there was an improvement in the drop-off rate of women between the M.A. and Ph.D. in the social sciences, where the gap in 1997 was 20 percent but was reduced to only 6 percent in 2001. In the humanities, the change in the proportion of women students at the higher levels was for the worse. The gap between the M.A. and the Ph.D. in 1997 was 19 percent, and it grew to 30 percent in 2001.

The findings of this research on gendered enrollment patterns for the Ph.D. program in the departments that were included in this research are in keeping with the broader census data of 2002. Women students in the humanities departments perceived their experience during their M.A. studies as less positive than their peers at

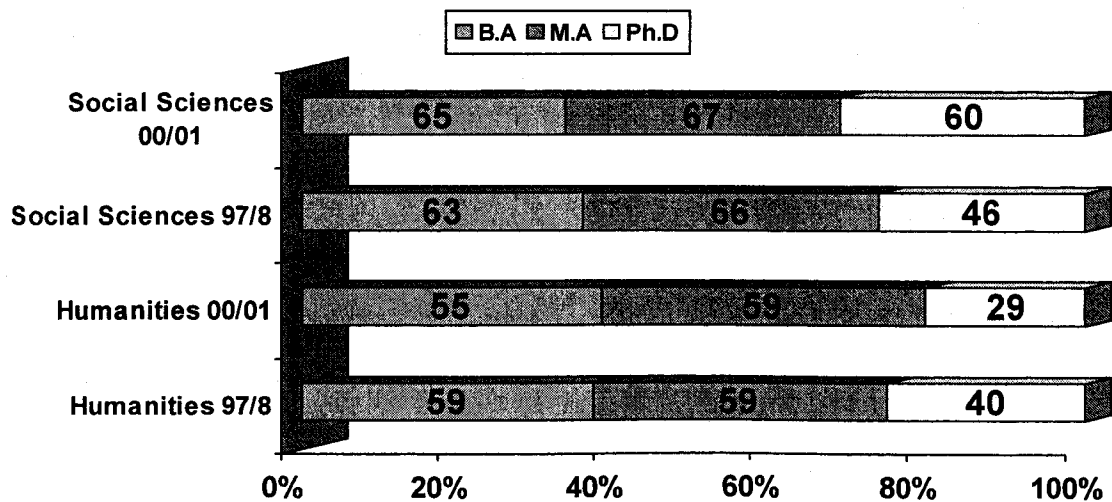
the social sciences departments and were significantly less likely to decide to continue their studies toward the Ph.D.

Figure 12: Percentage of Women Recipients of Degrees, by Field, 1997/2000



Source: The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 1999; 2002.

Figure 13: Percentage of Men Recipients of Degrees, by Field, 1997/2000



Source: The Israeli Central Statistics Bureau, 1999; 2002.

In 2001, the differences between the universities remained; the percentage of women among Ph.D. recipients in the field of humanities in The Hebrew University was 25 percent, compared with 50 percent in Tel Aviv University. In the social sciences at The Hebrew University 45 percent of the recipients of Ph.D. degrees were women, compared with 53 percent in Tel Aviv University

The primary hypothesis of this research was that more men than women would pursue academic careers but that there would be variation across universities and departments in the extent to which this was true. The hypothesis stated that in the course of M.A studies, students would develop diverse aspirations as to an academic career, and that more men than women harbor academic ambitions and go on for a Ph.D. The findings showed that these gender differences were not always in men's favor, but differed by university and by department. The processes that discouraged women from pursuing the Ph.D. were clearly evident in the university departments where women's proportionate representation diminished considerably between the M.A. and Ph.D. Similarly, in departments where women's representation at the M.A. and the Ph.D. level was approximately the same, patterns of interaction between faculty and women students encouraged their continued pursuit of the Ph.D. In these departments, not only did women's representation not diminish, they were on a par with, and in some cases, outnumbered the men students.

The findings of this research indicate that patterns of behavior that are seemingly inconsequential by themselves, each a "micro-interactional practice" accumulate over time and become a gendered pattern of behavior (Martin, 2003). Men and women students' experience and perception of their studies is not similar since they experience different patterns of behavior toward them. This experience is mostly

related to the informal system of values, beliefs, and perceptions that were reflected in the behavior of faculty members. The informal structural patterns in the departments that discouraged women's pursuit of the Ph.D. significantly contradicted the declared and formal structure and the norms embraced by this formal structure: the norms of equal opportunity for all students. The process of channeling men and women into separate career paths was not acknowledged, but its results were tangible in those departments. These patterns of micro-inequities accumulate over the students' studies, become structural patterns, and to some degree determine the opportunities faced by the individual student, but these patterns are covert rather than overt. The structure is mostly invisible to individuals, since they relate to seemingly separate incidents and not to structured patterns, as each incident seems to be specific and unrelated to other incidents, and thus the pattern is hard to recognize. These patterns are not invisible to the students only, but also to those acting as the agents within the structure – the faculty and professors who conveyed the behavioral codes, norms, values, beliefs, and perceptions in their daily actions.

Some of the factors on the individual level became structural factors. One of the most prominent examples was the gendered pattern of interaction between students and faculty, a pattern that included gendered practices that may have been largely unintentional and unreflexive, as has been found in other settings by other researchers (Martin, 2003). Many faculty members in the departments at issue would probably be surprised to hear about these differences. They may perceive differences in how they interact with male and female students to be small and without significance for their career choices. The faculty members are mostly unaware of the effects of these practices that seem to be situational and immediate, without an overall effect. Most of the men professors believed in values of equal opportunity and did not

acknowledge that their behavioral patterns were different regarding men and women students. The differences were perceived as occurring on the individual level and not on the structural levels. Each of these interactions and practices seems to be harmless by itself, but as a pattern they have a cumulative effect on the participants. The individual does not see the systematic patterns, but rather him or herself alone, his or her choices and personal decisions, and is not aware of the structural influences of his/her decisions.

I argue that women students encounter different patterns of behavior from men students, and that these patterns vary by university and department. While in some departments these gendered patterns of interaction are more consistent and pronounced, in others they are less so. In those departments where the cumulative effect is discouragement of women, men and women students have unequal access to the primary resources for continuation of studies including, particularly, access to economic resources (in the form of teaching opportunities) and to emotional resources, in the form of encouragement.

Women students are more likely to discontinue their studies in a department in which gendered patterns of interaction are more pronounced. A department with more of these perceived patterns will have a lower proportion of women M.A. students choosing to continue their studies toward the Ph.D. and thus a higher drop-off rate of women between the M.A. and Ph.D.

The comparison of the data collected in this study with the census data of 2000 shows that the gender gap in enrollments in humanities enrollments increased between 1997 and 2000. This is in keeping with this study's findings that women suffered discouraging circumstances in the humanities. The social sciences, which in the research were found to be more encouraging for women, had a lower drop-off rate

in 2000 compared with 1997. The census data supports the hypothesis that educational environments differ: those that are unwelcoming toward women have the effect of discouraging women M.A. students from pursuing a Ph.D. I argue that these environments are created by institutional gendered practices or discriminatory interaction patterns that have a cumulative effect of encouraging or discouraging women's career decisions.

The difference between the social sciences departments and the humanities departments in the level of encouragement women students receive are probably due to several aspects of Israeli academia. One possible explanation might be related to the number of men and women faculty in these fields. Unlike the United States, where the proportions are reversed, in the humanities in Israel, women faculty comprise only 17 percent of the total faculty members, while in the social sciences women are 30 percent of the faculty.

Another possible explanation might be related to the age of faculty members. Although this data was not available to me, I had the impression that the faculty in the humanities department were generally older than the faculty in the social sciences. An age difference between the faculty members in these fields might influence the encouragement of women, since older people tend to be more traditional in their views toward women. The age difference might be related to the fact that the social sciences have more financial resources available to them than the humanities, and thus have been able to recruit more new faculty members.

Another difference between the fields of the humanities and the social sciences in Israel is their criteria for evaluating students' work. In the social sciences, these criteria are usually more objective than in the humanities, and thus leave less room for subjective evaluation. The difference in the criteria for evaluating students'

work might leave more room for gender to become a factor in the evaluation process in the humanities.

An alternative explanation for the differences in encouragement of women students is that the humanities are generally considered a less prestigious field than the social sciences, and thus the senior faculty might feel more need for “guarding the gates.” Since most of the faculty members in the humanities are men (87 percent), they might feel that allowing women into the field will further lower the prestige of the humanities.

In this chapter I review the findings of my research and offer a possible interpretation for them. This interpretation is not exclusive; the research focused on the change in women students’ proportion between the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees and suggests that the students’ experience and perception might partially explain this phenomenon. But while the students’ experience is important to their decision to continue or discontinue their studies, it does not explain all the variance between women and men students’ decisions. The whole picture is much more complex, with organizational, cultural and societal factors all contributing to the final outcome. Some of the factors that might contribute to the gender differences might be related to the fields of study themselves and their academic standing and status. For example, the social sciences practice more objective criteria to evaluate students’ academic performance than the humanities and thus leave less room for subjective evaluation of the students (that might include gender). The field of study is also related to job opportunities outside the academia. The social sciences offer more job opportunities and more career alternatives than the humanities, and thus students in the social sciences have more career opportunities outside of academia. This might contribute to

the decision of more men students from the social sciences to terminate their studies at the M.A. and to choose a career in another sector.

The academic organization might also be of importance, since different universities and different departments have different accesses to resources and different priorities. The culture of the university and department are probably important to students' decisions to continue or discontinue their studies. A department that encourages its students to study for the Ph.D. abroad might have a different effect on students' decisions than a department that encourages them to complete their Ph.D. in Israel. Other factors that are related to the department might be organizational, such as the resources that are available to the department, or personal, such as the age and gender of the faculty members, or the country in which they studied for the Ph.D. (concerning these factors and a review on the background of the departments, see chapter IV).

The overall social changes in women's status at home and at work might have an effect as well. More and more women in Israel today have careers while raising a family. Although the cultural norms are such that the home and family responsibilities are mostly women's responsibilities, in recent years it became more and more acceptable for women not only to work outside the home but to have careers. This seems like a contradiction, since women now have the "privilege" of having both career and family responsibilities, but practically it is possible because of both state support in the form of affordable daycare and family support, especially from grandparents, who have a second career in caring for their grandchildren. These changes in women's conditions might contribute to the rising proportion of women Ph.D. students and explain why more and more women choose to continue their studies.

These are only some of the aspects that might be relevant to students' decisions and might affect men and women students differently. I believe that this research is only the first step in unveiling the complex factors that affect women and men students and channel them to different career choices.

Review of the Research Results

This research found that in departments where there is a significant drop for women between the M.A. and Ph.D., more women than men students experience elements of the academic environment as discouraging to the pursuit of further studies. With regard to all the variables that were found influential for the students' decisions to continue studies, women students are at a disadvantage in relation to men students in such departments. The significant variables were interpersonal support from the faculty, receiving a scholarship, working as an assistant, working with senior men professors, and having positive interaction with dissertation supervisors and faculty. These elements can be generally referred to as the amount of formal and informal support the student receives from the academic environment. The amount of this support was found crucial to the students' decisions regarding continuing studies. Where women M.A. students were less likely to go on for the Ph.D. than men M.A. students, there was a significant gap between the amount of support men and women students received. Men were significantly more likely to work as teaching or research assistants than women; the rate of men students with a thesis supervisor was higher than that of women; the amount of support the women received from their supervisors and the faculty in general was lower, and the frequency of interaction with supervisors and faculty was less.

While formal support in the form of scholarships or assistantship positions was influential in the students' decision to continue their studies, informal support, such as frequent interaction with faculty, was just as crucial. The student's relationship with the dissertation supervisor encompasses both formal and informal elements, and so the dissertation supervisor has a great influence on the student's decision to continue or discontinue his or her studies. A supervisor supporting a student provides both practical advice concerning professional advancement and personal support and guidance for continuing studies.

This research found that with regard to the dissertation supervisor, women and men students encountered a different set of opportunities, and that women students often experienced a disadvantage concerning the dissertation supervisor. In departments that were not supportive of women going on for the Ph.D., more men than women students had a dissertation supervisor; women students were more likely than men to have formal rather than informal relationships with their supervisors, and fewer women students reported that they received support from their supervisor. In correlation, they reported a lower level of satisfaction with the extent of support and guidance provided by the supervisor.

Where women did not receive encouragement regarding doctoral studies, it did not seem to be a conscious attempt to discriminate against women in any way, but rather behavior stemming on the one hand from the common belief in Israel that caring for the family and children is the primary role of the woman, and on the other hand, the elitist perception of the university as a place where a person must invest all to succeed. These two cultural norms clash because if women's primary role is indeed to care for family and children, then for a long period in their lives they are not seen as suitable for a member of academia. When women students were treated

paternalistically by men professors, they were “concerned about the women’s futures” regarding this double role. As a result, in some of the interviews, the women students reported not only lack of encouragement, but actual deterrence from continuing their studies. The atmosphere at the university and at the department where students study is significantly influential on their decisions about the future. This is not part of the formal and acknowledged system at the university, but stems from a large number of variables working together to create a certain atmosphere for students in general. This atmosphere is influential on the decisions of both men and women, but it seems that in each department the environment is different in the way it is experienced by men and women students, and is generally experienced more positively by men. This environment is not something the students or the faculty are aware of, but in some cases it becomes a system of glass barriers that are invisible on one hand, but on the other hand are influential for those encountering them. In fact, the findings indicate that where women are discouraged from going on for the Ph.D., they encounter a complex system of barriers. Each one of them separately is perceived as specific to the situation or the individual, but together they become a cumulative pattern, with women coming to believe that they do not belong in the system and channeled out of academia.

The third hypothesis regards the interaction between students and the academic faculty specifically, and presents the claim that students with a high level of interaction with faculty have the highest odds of continuing their studies for the doctorate, and that more men than women students enjoy a high level of interaction with the faculty, especially in the humanities.

A strong correlation was found between the patterns of interaction of faculty and students and the decisions of the latter to continue or terminate their studies. The

analysis shows that there are significant differences in the interactions of departments within universities, indicating that the differences stem from the organizational structure and culture of these institutions, where some of these offer a wider scope of interaction for the student than others. The faculty in the social science departments were more likely than the humanities faculties to interact equally with women and men students and to offer them informal mentoring and recognition as future colleagues.

It was found that as the rate of interaction and networking between the student and the faculty grows, the higher are the odds of this student choosing to pursue further studies. Significant differences were found between the genders in the humanities at both universities. In those departments, women students reported lower rates of networking with faculty and less mentoring. While men students in all departments reported receiving support specifically pertaining to continuing doctoral studies, women reported a more general positive evaluation of their achievements, but in the humanities, many women students reported that men faculty did not support their ambitions to continue to the doctorate.

These interactions are on one hand observable on the individual level, but they accumulate to a pattern indicated by the findings that clearly reveals different modes of interaction for men and women students with the faculty in departments where there is a significant drop off for women between the M.A. and the Ph.D. The findings of this research show that in those departments, , the levels of interaction between women students and faculty were lower (for example, fewer women as research and teaching assistants) and that more women than men reported only formal interaction. As a result, the women received less support through mentoring and networking than men students. Because their interactions with faculty were different

than those of men, women's and men's experiences at the same site were of a totally different psychological environment.

Usually, the interactions leading to support, familiarity with the norms, and being included in the professional circle are those informal interactions indicating acceptance of the individual to the academic system as a tutee. This informal system provides support and guidance for those tutee colleagues throughout their studies. Those not within this circle of support still have the possibility of continuing their professional career, but their progress and promotion will be accompanied by more difficulties and will probably be slower than that of those receiving this support.

The findings reveal that the access of men and women students to these informal interactions differs along gender lines in the humanities. For women students, the access to this resource was significantly smaller than that of men. Because these interactions are a basis for transferring information, norms, behavior and progress, expectations, etc., they are meaningful contributors to student progress. The mentoring system is of much importance in many professions and for promotions, and is particularly important so in the academic environment. The options available to those within the academic circle are totally different than for those outside this circle, and the ability to move up in the system depends a great deal on these options. For the student to be "in", he or she must develop a system of sponsorship with one of the senior faculty members. Most of these potential mentors are men. The findings show that faculty members in the humanities were significantly more inclined to mentor men students over women students. Although in some cases men faculty members accepted women as assistants, these women did not receive the same amount of support and sponsoring that men did. It is possible that the reason is

the difficulty of identifying with women students and regarding them as legitimate continuers of the professor's scholarly path.

Significant differences between the genders were also found with regard to having role models. Having a role model and his/her gender is important. Students who had a man faculty member as a role model are more inclined to pursue further studies than those who had a woman role model. It was also found that men students had more men role models than woman role models.

Because women in the academic faculty were mainly concentrated in the lower positions and were perhaps therefore busy with their own careers, men and women relating with a woman faculty member were less likely to continue their studies. Additionally, women faculty members usually face more difficulties throughout their progress in an academic career. The student close to a women professor may observe these hardships and may be discouraged regarding the chances of his/her own success at a similar career.

The primary hypothesis also referred to the students' perceptions of their success and their progress throughout the stages of an academic career, and claimed that women students perceive their chances of success and career promotion as being smaller than those of the men. This hypothesis was also found to be sound. The student's perception of a chance to succeed in an academic career was discovered to be a major variable affecting his or her decision regarding their continuing studies. Students who consider their chances at succeeding in an academic career as slim will be less likely continue their studies towards the Ph.D. degree, since the latter is usually the first step in the direction of such a career. Conversely, students perceiving their chances as good will more likely continue their studies. The research found that the better the students' perception of their chance of success, the greater the likelihood

of pursuing an academic career. As with most variables that were found instrumental to the decision about further studies, this variable was also affected by substantial differences between the genders of the students at universities.

The differences between men and women students regarding the chances for progress in an academic career were significant. Women students in the humanities perceived their chances as smaller than men's perception. This variable was found to be most influential regarding the decision to continue to doctorate studies or the choice of terminal M.A. at the universities studied. The larger the perceived chance of promotion and success, the more likely the student was to continue for doctorate studies. Therefore, because women in the humanities perceived their chances for success as slimmer than those of men, they were less likely to continue their studies for a doctorate. The opposite was true of women in the social sciences. Thus, men and women studying at the same academic institution, who see the odds of their success in this system differently, undergo a different educational experience.

Although men and women's perceptions of success might have been markedly different, they did not attribute the perceived differences to structural or institutional inequality. Most of the students interviewed believed that in academia there is equality for men and women and that promotion and success are based on abilities and achievements, especially when referring to the students themselves. Although most of the students were aware that inequality of promotion is common outside academia, they didn't believe it of academia. The academic structure was perceived as gender-neutral, and the opportunities it provides for men and women students as similar. It seems that, in spite of the fact that the faculty at the universities studied included a noticeable majority of men, and that for women the chances of promotion were slimmer than those of men, the students, men and women alike, "bought" the

myth of the academic ivory tower offering equal opportunity. A student's perception of equal opportunity influences the way the student perceives his/her place within the academic structure and the relative weight attributed by the student to the organizational structure on one hand and their personal decisions on the other. A student perceiving the environment as one that offers equal opportunities will regard his/her decision as a personal decision. The awareness of systematic patterns that offer different opportunities to different subgroups within the organizational framework allows the individual to avoid these patterns. When the organizational structure is perceived as one that supplies equal opportunities, the individual faces decisions as a subject and not as a cog in a system, or a member of a favored or disfavored group.

This myth is a double-edged sword for women, for the illusion of equality in academia and non-discrimination between opportunities provided for men and women indicates that it is the decisions, preferences, and beliefs of women in the humanities that cause them to stop their studies after the M.A., and prevent them from getting the doctorate. Women students greatly believe in these myths and see their choices to stop studying as personal choices. Therefore, the myth reinforces itself by the very self-persuasion of women that their choices are personal.

The amount of support the student receives affects his or her satisfaction with the department. The satisfaction with the department was found to be a significant influence on decisions regarding future studies. This satisfaction was comprised of various factors in the experience of the students during their studies and their expectations regarding these studies. The level of satisfaction the students felt with their M.A. studies greatly influenced the decision whether or not to continue studies, and was a general measure of the students' feelings regarding their studies. This

element is important because students who are more satisfied with their departments are more inclined to continue studies than those who are unsatisfied. A significant gender difference was found concerning satisfaction with the humanities departments but not the social science departments. In the humanities, more men students expressed satisfaction with their M.A. studies than did women students. In this aspect, the study reveals that in the same department, women students could experience their environment differently than men students, and be less satisfied than the men studying in the same department. The findings also show that students who were more satisfied with their studies were those who had more positive experiences than negative experiences or obstacles during their studies. In this respect, women and men students in the social science departments had similar positive experiences.

In addition, a relatively high proportion of women mentioned receiving gender-related comments while men did not mention this at all. In the in-depth interviews it was found that women students described such instances of harassment without classifying it as such.. This was more common regarding gender harassment than of sexual harassment, apparently because of the low level of awareness of this in Israel. These findings are in line with those of other research studies conducted among students in universities in Israel during the same time period (Yosha, 1997). An environment where a woman feels that she needs to protect herself or be guarded is not a productive environment, nor does it encourage the student to stay for a longer period.

Although the findings in this research indicate that a high rate of women at the universities studied expected to experience role conflicts throughout their careers, this expectation did not appear to influence their decisions regarding further studies. No significant correlation was found between the expected role conflicts and the decision

to pursue a doctoral degree. This might be explained by women students' expectation to experience role conflict as part of their career decision, a decision they made before starting the M.A.

The differences between students at universities and departments and the differences between men and women students in the same departments cannot be explained on the basis of individual differences. They show that the source of variance between those continuing for doctorate studies and those not doing so was not based on differences between individuals in the system, but rather in the system itself. These structural differences channeled the students in the different environments to different directions and were stronger than personal preferences and decisions and actually overcame them. This does not mean that personal choice had no place at all, but rather that the individual choice of the student was made within the system of a structure displaying different options. In the humanities, these options tended to support men more than women, while in the social sciences, women and men got equal support.

The analysis of the findings indicates different patterns of behavior and action within departments and universities for men and women studying in them, although these differences did not constitute an official policy. Men and women actually experienced a different environment in the humanities departments, even though they were physically in the same place. Neither of the universities and none of the departments have different policies regarding men and women. The experiences described were related to the informal system of values, beliefs, and perceptions displayed by the universities and the departments. This informal system was different in its meanings and implications for men and women students. In the humanities, the

gatekeepers were saying “keep out,” to women students, whereas in the social sciences, they encouraged them to come in and be colleagues.

One of the most important findings, in my opinion, is that the structure, the one determining the opportunities faced by the individual in the system, is not overt, but covert. The structure indeed exists and its results are manifest for different groups in the system, but it is invisible to individuals within this structure. The dissimilar placing of groups and individuals within the system causes them to face entirely different structures of opportunity. Men and women studying in the same department could face inherently different options regarding their career and in fact face an entirely different structural environment, so that it is not surprising that the choices they make about future studies are different. In this study, the same physical environment presented a markedly preferable environment and opportunities for men in comparison with women in the humanities, but an equal-opportunity environment in the social sciences in the humanities, men faced an environment providing them with support for their continuing studies, and women students faced a reality prompting them to suffice with a terminal M.A. In the social sciences, women were even more encouraged than men students to pursue the Ph.D.

The findings in this study cannot be seen as the result of individual differences among students. Nor are these differences solely between gender groups. Had the different results originated in differences between gender groups only, we would not find consistent differences between departments and universities. But these differences were found between institutions and departments, indicating that they result from differences in placement of students within a certain system and not necessarily from individual variation. There are also differences among individuals themselves, their beliefs and cultural stands, and their interpretations. Had these been

the only differences, we wouldn't find variations between universities and departments.

Individual choices are channeled and guided by the organizational practices in which the individual operates and his/her relative placement within these organizations. These structural elements are not necessarily formal or acknowledged, but they still exert formidable influence, especially since they are mostly covert. The individual, being unaware of these informal elements, regards his/her decision as solely individual, based on free considerations, and does not rebel against lesser opportunities and discouragement.

When women are excluded from an academic career, it is not by the academic system itself; rather they primarily exclude themselves by choosing terminal M.A. The professional academic career in the humanities may be perceived as less attractive for women students because they see few women faculty members and their lack of progress. Therefore, women students may be convinced that they do not belong in academia in the humanities, or that they do not want to belong because of the obstacles and difficulties lying ahead. Other options outside academia become more and more attractive in comparison.

Although the findings indicate that there were many variables affecting the decisions to continue studies, the most powerful were the student's academic environment and the student's gender. Gender affects decisions in one of two ways. One is that men and women may have different preferences regarding academic careers, unrelated to their academic environment. This possibility implies that there are significant differences in preferences between genders, an implication unsupported by the findings, because men and women exhibit similar ambitions at the beginning of their academic studies. A second possible explanation for this finding is

that the research did not locate all the factors influencing the students' decisions, and these factors, like others that were identified, are themselves affected by the gender of the student. It is possible that the research indeed failed to locate all the influential factors and that there are additional influential variables directly related to academia or to other cultural and normative elements. This research is only a basis for a more comprehensive study on this topic, as well as an examination of the degree of influence the academic environment exerts on the decisions of students and the channeling of men and women to different career paths. It is plausible that this study located only some of the factors in this channeling process – a process that includes the informal structure of the organization, its values, norms, and practices on one hand, and the culture outside it on the other.

Comparison with Previous Research and Congruence with Current Theories

The findings of this study support the theories that emphasize the influence of structural elements on career decisions of individuals working within these structures. The different results obtained for different groups within the organization are explained by their different placements within the system, which offer them differential systems of opportunities leading to varying career paths results regarding their career paths. The characteristics and ambitions of the individual are channeled by the system to different directions and lead to varying results that are not individual, but rather collective.

The present study found that factors seeming to be individual, such as networking and mentoring, are in fact structural. The differences found between universities and departments are differences that have become structural and

organizational patterns. These structural patterns are not necessarily formal differences but behavioral norms, beliefs, and values that are practiced without reflection. These patterns are structural in that they have systematic effects on different groups of students. The academic structure seems to be gender-neutral, but in practice the academic structure is often gendered. As Acker (1992) suggests, "Gender may be deeply hidden in organizational processes and decisions that appear to have nothing with gender" (pp. 251-252).

The findings support the theory that men and women within the same academic organization can be faced with different sets of opportunities. Men and women may encounter entirely different experiences. The accumulation of these experiences leads to different results for the different genders. Although from the outside the academic structure appears to be gender-neutral, in practice there are often two different structures for men and for women. The academic curriculum is similar, but the practices are different. Therefore, perceptions of the academic world may be entirely different for men and women, and at the end of the process, produce varying results between genders. These findings support Jacobs' (1996) argument that "women and men experience college differently and face markedly different outcomes" (P. 167).

The findings of this research are also consistent with the "chilly climate" theory (Caplan, 1993; Benokraitis, 1997) that suggests that in academia the climate is often "chillier" for women than for men, that is, less welcoming and encouraging. In departments and universities where women do not feel welcome, they experience numerous micro-inequities, which are often subtle and invisible to those within the academic organization. These micro-inequities, in the aggregate, impede women's upward mobility. The current study reveals that for some women graduate students in

Israel, these barriers often become too much of a burden, and they decide to discontinue their studies.

The findings of this research show that the climate in academic environments is not homogenous but varies by different university and department. Some universities and departments provide an environment that is “warmer” to all students, while others do not. In those warmer academic environments students are provided with formal and informal support, and more graduate students, men and women, will choose to continue their studies toward the Ph.D. degree, in contrast to students in less supportive environments. Nonetheless, chillier environments that provide less support for students, provide women students with even less support than men students receive, i.e., a chilly academic climate is likely to be chillier for women students than for men students.

Previous research on networking found that women are largely excluded from collegial networking (Epstein, 1981, 1991; Helfing 1985, Lorber, 1984). This research found similar patterns. In departments where women students were less welcome, they were found to have less interaction with faculty members, received less guidance, and reported having more formal relationships with faculty members, including their dissertation supervisors, than men students. Mentors are an important part of networking and provide both information and practical guidance by offering their mentorees with career opportunities and professional visibility (Fox, 1989). Thus, mentoring patterns have a significant effect on career choices and outcomes (Ash, 1990; Baugh, Lankau & Scandura, 1992, 1996; Chao, 1997; Mobley, Jaret, Marsh & Lim, 1994). Researchers in this area have reported that mentoring is even more important for women than for men (Ragins, 1997; Ragins, Townsend & Mattis, 1998). The current research findings support previous research on this subject.

Mentoring was found to have an important effect on both women and men students, but even more so for women students. Women students who had mentors were found to be more likely to decide to continue their studies than those who did not have mentors. The findings are also consistent with previous research that found different patterns of mentoring for men and women (Burke, McKeen & McKenna, 1993; Gaskill, 1991; Ragins, 1997). Men students in this study were found to receive more practical and career related support from their mentors, while women students received a more general encouragement and support.

Sexual and gender harassment are discriminatory practices, but are not always overt. Attention to a student's gender, instead of her academic achievements, is often unnoticed, and not recognized as harassment at all (Schneider, 1997; Yosha, 1997). Sexual and gender harassment have a negative effect on career choices and outcomes (Fitzgerald et. al., 1997, Morin and Rosenfeld, 1998; Strine, 1992). The current study found that women students experienced more gender and sexual harassment than men students. It was also found that gender and sexual harassment were often not recognized as such. Nonetheless, these practices had a negative effect on women graduate students, some of whom reported having an uncomfortable feeling in the academic environment.

Theories of role conflict suggest that the double burden of family responsibilities and career commitment impedes women careers, and affects women career choices (Baringa, 1992; Florentine, 1988). Although this study found that women students, more than men students, experienced role conflict, I found no effect of these experiences on the decision of students to continue or discontinue their studies. These findings are consistent with previous research concerning the effect of role conflict on Israeli women that found little or no effect of role conflict on

women's career paths (Izraeli, 1988, Kraus, 1998, Lieblich, 1993). Educated women in Israel are expected to have careers, and there is no stigma in using child care services. In addition, grandparents routinely help with children on a regular and extended basis.

Implications for Change

In order to allow women students an academically positive environment in all universities and departments, changes must be made both in the practices of academia concerning women students and in the way women students perceive these practices. The findings of this study do not indicate intentional discrimination, but rather a structural reflection of values, beliefs and behaviors expressed in practices that have become an integral part of some academic institutions. Because these practices seem to be effective in discouraging women students' pursuit of the Ph.D., it is very important to increase the awareness of these practices where they occur. In many instances, practices perceived by the faculty as neutral are, in fact, discriminatory. Students in general and women in higher education in particular, need encouragement, mentoring, and informal interaction with faculty in order to see themselves as future members of the academy. Increased faculty awareness through self-evaluation regarding behavior patterns may result in and choosing different patterns than those practiced to date. In addition to systematic appraisal of common practices, formal means of academic encouragement -- assistantship opportunities, scholarships and the like -- need to be equally distributed between men and women students. Various structural steps can be taken, such as creating a networking system and assigning advisors to all M.A. students, in order to create non-discriminatory practices.

The focus on preventing covert discrimination by unintentional gendered practices through increasing awareness and sensitivity for gendered patterns of behavior assumes that most of the members in the organization are unaware of the variety of ways in which their practices can discriminate against women. Thus, raising the awareness to these practices might bring a significant change in them.

I believe that in addition to these changes, women students' awareness of the fact that the academic system is often not gender-neutral should be increased. The ivory tower myth of gender irrelevance in academia functions as an inhibitory factor for most women deciding not to pursue further studies; they blame themselves for not feeling comfortable in the academic environment. Increasing the women students' awareness of this misconception could lead to a demand for change and corresponding organizational alterations. The lack of awareness of academia's non-neutrality is a crucial factor in the few and slow changes that do take place. A system that encourages awareness on the part of faculty as well as students will also encourage change within these practices.

Notes

1. For a review of inequity between different population groups in Israeli higher education, see Swirsky, 1997; Swirsky and Swirsky, 1997.
2. For a comparison of the proportion of women students in Israeli higher education and other countries, see Hershkovitz, 2000.
3. Toren (1993) points out that there is also a gender gap concerning faculty members in the two groups of disciplines: the humanities, social sciences and education on the one hand, and the exact sciences on the other. In the first group there is a much higher proportion of women (although never more than 40%), but they are mostly on the bottom rungs of the academic ladder. In the second group there are much fewer women, but their placement within the different levels is more similar to the men's. She explains this difference by the relative "youth" of most of the humanity and social science departments, which created an influx of staff into the lower levels in the seventies, but little mobility later, as the growth of academic staff slowed down. Toren argues that since there was more supply than demand it was easier to discriminate against women, particularly as "feminism is low on the agenda" in Israel. In a previous research on this subject, Toren and Kraus (1987) argue that the differences in promotion is that in the exact sciences there is more consensus as to what is considered to be academic achievement, whereas in the humanities, in the relative lack of such a consensus, there is more place for discrimination on the basis of gender, age, etc.
4. For more information on women faculty in Israeli higher education see also Alterman, 2000; Avramovitz, 1996; Bluman, 1999; Chen, Gottlieb and Yakir 1996; Helfing, 1985; Lifshitz, 1995; Maor, 1997; Mizrachi, Nozer and Braun, 1995; 1995; Shenhav and Haberfeld, 1990; Toren, 1999, 1993.
5. For a comparison of women faculty in Israeli higher education and other countries, see Lacy and Sheehan, 1997; Poole, Bornholt and Summers, 1997.
6. See for example: Caplan 1993; Chamberlin 1988; Lorber 1984, 1994; Yentesch 1992; Zuckerman, Cole, and Bruer 1991.
7. Epstein (1981) discusses the same paradox concerning women in law.
8. For a summary of anti-discrimination laws in Israel and verdicts regarding employment, with a strong emphasis on gender, see Ben-Israel, 1998. The chapter on sexual harassment (p. 819-884) includes the text of the new 1998 Law for the Prevention of Sexual Harassment, which replaced the previous article about sexual harassment in the Equality in the Workplace Law (1988).
9. In a research of gender and sexual harassment in Israeli universities, Avni (1990) sampled 169 students from the Psychology department and from the Education, Law and Exact Sciences faculties, both from the B.A. and from the M.A. degrees. She used a questionnaire translated from an article by Fitzgerald et al. ("The Incidence and Dimensions of Sexual Harassment in Academia and in the Workplace", *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 32, 1988). She found that gender harassment was very common, averaging 24%. Certain items were higher than this: 28% reported being treated differently because of their sex, 39% - sexual jokes and comments, and 40% - sexually stereotyped comments. The second level was also quite common, with 7% on average witnessing different types of seductive behaviour. 11% reported unwanted sexual attention by lecturers or tutors, and 10% - attempts of lecturers or tutors to foister sexual relations. The next three levels were relatively rare – 1% for both sexual bribery and sexual coercion (use of threats) and 0.25% - sexual assault.
Pinto (1989) who studied women in 5 Israeli government organizations, found lower rates of sexual harassment. On average, 27.7% received sexual remarks, 11.4% - sexual suggestions, 4% were offered sexual bribery, 2.7% were threatened, and a high 7.7% were physically .

A later study of gender and sexual harassment of women students (Yosh, 1997) found similar rates of harassment as those found in Avni study. Very high percentages of gender harassment (55.2% were harassed by lecturers, 31.5% by tutors), quite high percentages of seductive behaviour (11.5% by lecturers, 8.1% by tutors), and around 1% in each of the other three categories (sexual bribery, sexual coercion, sexual assault – 2.2/1.8%, 0.9%/0.9%, 1.9%/3.0% for lecturers and tutors, respectively. Yosh also found that the majority of harassment in the first two categories was reported to have happened more than once. It is interesting to note that Yosh found a higher incidence of harassment in the M.A and Ph.D. degrees. In fact, it was double in each category (in relation to the B.A degree) for lecturers – but not for tutors, probably because of lesser contact with them in advanced degrees: (70.9%/30.7%, 23.0%/10.6%, 3.9%/1.9%, 1.9%/1.0%, 2.9%/2.0 – for lecturers and tutors in each of the five categories). In spite of all this, 98% answered “no” to the question “have you ever been sexually harassed by a lecturer or tutor?”. This is also similar to the pattern found in Avni’s study (97%).

Appendix 1: Additional Tables

Review of the Determining Factors for the Decision to Pursue Doctoral Degree

Table 1: Intends to study for the Ph.D.						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Yes	63	47%	51	33%	114	39%
No	10	7%	65	42%	75	26%
DK	61	46%	39	25%	100	35%
Total	134	100%	155	100%	289	100%

Table 2: Intends to study for the Ph.D.											
	Gender	University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Yes	8	31%	8	21%	24	43%	8	22%	48	30%
	No	4	15%	20	51%	4	7%	20	54%	48	30%
	DK	14	54%	11	28%	28	50%	9	24%	62	39%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Yes	14	67%	16	43%	17	55%	19	45%	66	50%
	No			11	30%	2	6%	14	33%	27	21%
	DK	7	33%	10	27%	12	39%	9	21%	38	29%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 3: Considered a PhD program before the M.A							
	University					Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Yes	40	30%	50	32%	90	31%	
No	94	70%	105	68%	199	69%	
Total	134	100%	155	100%	289	100%	

Table 4: Intends to study for the Ph.D.:							
	University					Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Not Immediately	32	26%	21	22%	53	24%	
Immediately after the MA	47	38%	28	29%	75	34%	
Did not decide yet	45	36%	47	49%	92	42%	
Total	124	100%	96	100%	220	100%	

Table 5: Considers an academic career							
	University					Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Yes	62	46%	37	24%	99	34%	
No	29	22%	80	52%	109	38%	
DK	43	32%	38	25%	81	28%	
Total	134	100%	155	100%	289	100%	

Table 6: Satisfaction from the MA-general						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	22	16%	22	14%	44	15%
Satisfied	68	51%	81	52%	149	52%
Not so satisfied	35	26%	46	30%	81	28%
Not satisfied	9	7%	6	4%	15	5%
Total	134	100%	155	100%	289	100%

Table 7: Intends to study for the Ph.D.										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Yes	22	47%	24	32%	41	47%	27	34%	114	39%
No	4	9%	31	41%	6	7%	34	43%	75	26%
DK	21	45%	21	28%	40	46%	18	23%	100	35%
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

Table 8: Considered a PhD program before the M.A										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Yes	6	13%	24	32%	34	39%	26	33%	90	31%
No	41	87%	52	68%	53	61%	53	67%	199	69%
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

Table 9: Considers an academic career											
	University and Department									Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Yes	24	51%	18	24%	38	44%	19	24%	99	34%	
No	10	21%	36	47%	19	22%	44	56%	109	38%	
DK	13	28%	22	29%	30	34%	16	20%	81	28%	
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%	

Table 10: Intends to study for the Ph.D.											
Gender	University and Department									Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Woman	Yes	8	31%	8	21%	24	43%	8	22%	48	30%
	No	4	15%	20	51%	4	7%	20	54%	48	30%
	DK	14	54%	11	28%	28	50%	9	24%	62	39%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Yes	14	67%	16	43%	17	55%	19	45%	66	50%
	No			11	30%	2	6%	14	33%	27	21%
	DK	7	33%	10	27%	12	39%	9	21%	38	29%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 11: Considered a PhD program before the M.A											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Yes	3	12%	12	31%	19	34%	11	30%	45	28%
	No	23	88%	27	69%	37	66%	26	70%	113	72%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Yes	3	14%	12	32%	15	48%	15	36%	45	34%
	No	18	86%	25	68%	16	52%	27	64%	86	66%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 12: Intends to study for the Ph.D.:											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Not Immediately	6	27%	6	24%	15	29%	7	41%	34	29%
	Immediately after the MA	9	41%	7	28%	13	25%	3	18%	32	28%
	Did not decide yet	7	32%	12	48%	24	46%	7	41%	50	43%
	Total	22	100%	25	100%	52	100%	17	100%	116	100%
Man	Not Immediately	3	14%	3	12%	8	28%	5	18%	19	18%
	Immediately after the MA	12	57%	8	31%	13	45%	10	36%	43	41%
	Did not decide yet	6	29%	15	58%	8	28%	13	46%	42	40%
	Total	21	100%	26	100%	29	100%	28	100%	104	100%

Assistantship and Scholarship

Table 13: Work as research assistant								
	University						Total	
	Tel Aviv University			Hebrew University			N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Yes	61	46%	37	24%	98	34%		
No	73	54%	118	76%	191	66%		
Total	134	100%	155	100%	289	100%		

Table 14: Gender of faculty member the student works with								
	University						Total	
	Tel Aviv University			Hebrew University			N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Man	42	69%	26	70%	68	69%		
Woman	8	13%	8	22%	16	16%		
Man and Woman	11	18%	3	8%	14	14%		
Total	61	100%	37	100%	98	100%		

Table 15: Work as research assistant												
	University and Department										Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %		
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %				
Yes	11	23%	12	16%	50	57%	25	32%	98	34%		
No	36	77%	64	84%	37	43%	54	68%	191	66%		
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%		

Table 16: Gender of faculty member the student works with										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Man	10	91%	9	75%	32	64%	17	68%	68	69%
Woman	1	9%	2	17%	7	14%	6	24%	16	16%
Man and Woman			1	8%	11	22%	2	8%	14	14%
Total	11	100%	12	100%	50	100%	25	100%	98	100%

Table 17: Work as research/teaching assistant											
Gender		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Yes with 1 faculty member	1	4%	4	10%	19	34%	6	16%	30	19%
	Yes with 2 faculty members					10	18%	3	8%	13	8%
	No	25	96%	35	90%	27	48%	28	76%	115	73%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Yes with 1 faculty member	10	48%	7	19%	18	58%	13	31%	48	37%
	Yes with 2 faculty members			1	3%	3	10%	3	7%	7	5%
	No	11	52%	29	78%	10	32%	26	62%	76	58%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 18: Gender of faculty member the student works with											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Man	1	100%	2	50%	15	52%	5	56%	23	53%
	Woman			2	50%	6	21%	3	33%	11	26%
	Man and Woman					8	28%	1	11%	9	21%
	Total	1	100%	4	100%	29	100%	9	100%	43	100%
Man	Man	9	90%	7	88%	17	81%	12	75%	45	82%
	Woman	1	10%			1	5%	3	19%	5	9%
	Man and Woman			1	13%	3	14%	1	6%	5	9%
	Total	10	100%	8	100%	21	100%	16	100%	55	100%

Influence of the Dissertation Supervisor

Tale 19: Do you have dissertation supervisor?							
		University				Total	
		Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %		
Yes		51	38%	62	40%	113	39%
No		83	62%	93	60%	176	61%
Total		134	100%	155	100%	289	100%

Table 20: Frequency of meeting with the dissertation supervisor						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
More than once a week	<i>12</i>	<i>24%</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>27%</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>26%</i>
Once in 1-2 weeks	<i>8</i>	<i>16%</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>34%</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>26%</i>
Once in 2-4 weeks	<i>19</i>	<i>37%</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>27%</i>
Once inn 1-2 months	<i>4</i>	<i>8%</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>11%</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>10%</i>
Less than once in 2 months	<i>6</i>	<i>12%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>10%</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>11%</i>
Other	<i>2</i>	<i>4%</i>			<i>2</i>	<i>2%</i>
Total	<i>51</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>113</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 21: Relationship with dissertation supervisor						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Mostly formal	<i>23</i>	<i>45%</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>27%</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>35%</i>
Formal and informal with different supervisors	<i>18</i>	<i>35%</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>31%</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>33%</i>
Mostly informal	<i>10</i>	<i>20%</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>42%</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>32%</i>
Total	<i>51</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>113</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 22: Do you have dissertation supervisor?											
	University and Department									Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Yes	19	40%	34	45%	32	37%	28	35%	113	39%	
No	28	60%	42	55%	55	63%	51	65%	176	61%	
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%	

Table 23: Gender of dissertation supervisor							
	University				Total		
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Man	45	88%	39	63%	84	74%	
Woman	2	4%	20	32%	22	19%	
Man and woman	4	8%	3	5%	7	6%	
Total	51	100%	62	100%	113	100%	

Table 24: Gender of dissertation supervisor											
	University and Department									Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Man	17	89%	21	62%	28	88%	18	64%	84	74%	
Woman	2	11%	11	32%			9	32%	22	19%	
Man and woman			2	6%	4	13%	1	4%	7	6%	
Total	19	100%	34	100%	32	100%	28	100%	113	100%	

Table 25: Frequency of meeting with the dissertation supervisor											
	University and Department								Total		
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %			
More than once a week	4	21%	9	26%	8	25%	8	29%	29	26%	
Once in 1-2 weeks	3	16%	13	38%	5	16%	8	29%	29	26%	
Once in 2-4 weeks	6	32%	5	15%	13	41%	6	21%	30	27%	
Once inn 1-2 months	2	11%	4	12%	2	6%	3	11%	11	10%	
Less than once in 2 months	4	21%	3	9%	2	6%	3	11%	12	11%	
7					2	6%			2	2%	
Total	19	100%	34	100%	32	100%	28	100%	113	100%	

Table 26: Relationship with dissertation supervisor											
	University and Department								Total		
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Mostly formal	9	47%	13	38%	14	44%	4	14%	40	35%	
Formal and informal with different supervisors	6	32%	10	29%	12	38%	9	32%	37	33%	
Mostly informal	4	21%	11	32%	6	19%	15	54%	36	32%	
Total	19	100%	34	100%	32	100%	28	100%	113	100%	

Table 27: Gender of dissertation supervisor											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Man	9	90%	10	59%	17	85%	5	56%	41	73%
	Woman	1	10%	7	41%			4	44%	12	21%
	Man and woman					3	15%			3	5%
	Total	10	100%	17	100%	20	100%	9	100%	56	100%
Man	Man	8	89%	11	65%	11	92%	13	68%	43	75%
	Woman	1	11%	4	24%			5	26%	10	18%
	Man and woman			2	12%	1	8%	1	5%	4	7%
	Total	9	100%	17	100%	12	100%	19	100%	57	100%

Table 28: Frequency of meeting with the dissertation supervisor											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	More than once a week	1	10%	6	35%	5	25%	1	11%	13	23%
	Once in 1-2 weeks	1	10%	8	47%	3	15%	4	44%	16	29%
	Once in 2-4 weeks	4	40%	2	12%	7	35%	1	11%	14	25%
	Once inn 1-2 months					1	5%	1	11%	2	4%
	Less than once in 2 months	4	40%	1	6%	2	10%	2	22%	9	16%
	Total	10	100%	17	100%	20	100%	9	100%	56	100%
Man	More than once a week	3	33%	3	18%	3	25%	7	37%	16	28%
	Once in 1-2 weeks	2	22%	5	29%	2	17%	4	21%	13	23%
	Once in 2-4 weeks	2	22%	3	18%	6	50%	5	26%	16	28%
	Once inn 1-2 months	2	22%	4	24%	1	8%	2	11%	9	16%
	Less than once in 2 months			2	12%			1	5%	3	5%
	Total	9	100%	17	100%	12	100%	19	100%	57	100%

Table 29: Relationship with dissertation supervisor											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %
Woman	Mostly formal	8	80%	8	47%	10	50%	2	22%	28	50%
	Formal and informal with different supervisors	1	10%	7	41%	8	40%	3	33%	19	34%
	Mostly informal	1	10%	2	12%	2	10%	4	44%	9	16%
	Total	10	100%	17	100%	20	100%	9	100%	56	100%
Man	Mostly formal	1	11%	5	29%	4	33%	2	11%	12	21%
	Formal and informal with different supervisors	5	56%	3	18%	4	33%	6	32%	18	32%
	Mostly informal	3	33%	9	53%	4	33%	11	58%	27	47%
	Total	9	100%	17	100%	12	100%	19	100%	57	100%

Mentoring, Networking and Interaction Patterns

Table 30: Relationship with faculty members							
		University				Total	
		Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %		
	Mostly formal	75	56%	49	32%	124	43%
	Formal and informal with different supervisors	34	25%	60	39%	94	33%
	Mostly informal	25	19%	46	30%	71	25%
	Total	134	100%	155	100%	289	100%

Table 31: Relationship with faculty members										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Mostly formal	21	45%	26	34%	54	62%	23	29%	124	43%
Formal and informal with different supervisors	9	19%	28	37%	25	29%	32	41%	94	33%
Mostly informal	17	36%	22	29%	8	9%	24	30%	71	25%
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

Table 32: Relationship with faculty members											
	University and Department								Total		
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Gender											
Woman	Mostly formal	16	62%	15	38%	37	66%	12	32%	80	51%
	Formal and informal with different supervisors	3	12%	15	38%	16	29%	16	43%	50	32%
	Mostly informal	7	27%	9	23%	3	5%	9	24%	28	18%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Mostly formal	5	24%	11	30%	17	55%	11	26%	44	34%
	Formal and informal with different supervisors	6	29%	13	35%	9	29%	16	38%	44	34%
	Mostly informal	10	48%	13	35%	5	16%	15	36%	43	33%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Role Models

Table 33: Do you have a role model?						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Yes, man faculty member	46	34%	47	30%	93	32%
Yes, woman faculty member	15	11%	28	18%	43	15%
No	73	54%	80	52%	153	53%
Total	134	100%	155	100%	289	100%

Table 34: Do you have a role model?										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Yes, man faculty member	15	32%	23	30%	31	36%	24	30%	93	32%
Yes, woman faculty member	2	4%	12	16%	13	15%	16	20%	43	15%
No	30	64%	41	54%	43	49%	39	49%	153	53%
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

Table 35: Do you have a role model?											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Yes, man faculty member	4	15%	5	13%	17	30%	7	19%	33	21%
	Yes, woman faculty member	2	8%	9	23%	8	14%	9	24%	28	18%
	No	20	77%	25	64%	31	55%	21	57%	97	61%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Yes, man faculty member	11	52%	18	49%	14	45%	17	40%	60	46%
	Yes, woman faculty member			3	8%	5	16%	7	17%	15	11%
	No	10	48%	16	43%	12	39%	18	43%	56	43%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

The Student's Perception of Opportunities

Table 36: Advancement opportunities in non-academic career							
		University				Total	
		Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %		
Same for man and woman		25	19%	49	32%	74	26%
More opportunities for woman		5	4%	22	14%	27	9%
More opportunities for man		104	78%	84	54%	188	65%
Total		134	100%	155	100%	289	100%

Table 37: Advancement opportunities in an academic career						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Same for man and woman	<i>46</i>	<i>34%</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>34%</i>	<i>98</i>	<i>34%</i>
More opportunities for woman	<i>6</i>	<i>4%</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>11%</i>
More opportunities for man	<i>82</i>	<i>61%</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>49%</i>	<i>158</i>	<i>55%</i>
Total	<i>134</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>289</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 38: Opportunities and support for students						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Same for man and woman	<i>105</i>	<i>78%</i>	<i>90</i>	<i>58%</i>	<i>195</i>	<i>67%</i>
More to men students	<i>24</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>25%</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>21%</i>
More to women students	<i>5</i>	<i>4%</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>11%</i>
Total	<i>134</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>289</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 39: Advancement opportunities in non-academic career										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Same for man and woman	8	17%	28	37%	17	20%	21	27%	74	26%
More opportunities for woman	2	4%	10	13%	3	3%	12	15%	27	9%
More opportunities for man	37	79%	38	50%	67	77%	46	58%	188	65%
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

Table 40: Advancement opportunities in an academic career										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Same for man and woman	21	45%	27	36%	25	29%	25	32%	98	34%
More opportunities for woman	3	6%	13	17%	3	3%	14	18%	33	11%
More opportunities for man	23	49%	36	47%	59	68%	40	51%	158	55%
Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

Table 41: Opportunities and support of students											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
	Same for man and woman	43	91%	43	57%	62	71%	47	59%	195	67%
	More to men students	3	6%	20	26%	21	24%	18	23%	62	21%
	More to women students	1	2%	13	17%	4	5%	14	18%	32	11%
Total		47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

Table 42: Advancement opportunities in non-academic career											
Gender		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Same for man and woman	2	8%	11	28%	8	14%	7	19%	28	18%
	More opportunities for woman			3	8%			2	5%	5	3%
	More opportunities for man	24	92%	25	64%	48	86%	28	76%	125	79%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Same for man and woman	6	29%	17	46%	9	29%	14	33%	46	35%
	More opportunities for woman	2	10%	7	19%	3	10%	10	24%	22	17%
	More opportunities for man	13	62%	13	35%	19	61%	18	43%	63	48%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 43: Advancement opportunities in an academic career											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Same for man and woman	7	27%	10	26%	14	25%	11	30%	42	27%
	More opportunities for woman			5	13%			3	8%	8	5%
	More opportunities for man	19	73%	24	62%	42	75%	23	62%	108	68%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Same for man and woman	14	67%	17	46%	11	35%	14	33%	56	43%
	More opportunities for woman	3	14%	8	22%	3	10%	11	26%	25	19%
	More opportunities for man	4	19%	12	32%	17	55%	17	40%	50	38%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 44: Opportunities and support of students											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Same for man and woman	23	88%	19	49%	38	68%	20	54%	100	63%
	More to men students	3	12%	16	41%	15	27%	15	41%	49	31%
	More to women students			4	10%	3	5%	2	5%	9	6%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Same for man and woman	20	95%	24	65%	24	77%	27	64%	95	73%
	More to men students			4	11%	6	19%	3	7%	13	10%
	More to women students	1	5%	9	24%	1	3%	12	29%	23	18%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Satisfaction with the Department

Table 45: Satisfaction from support of faculty							
		University				Total	
		Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	19	14%	18	12%	37	13%	
Satisfied	60	45%	73	47%	133	46%	
Not so satisfied	34	25%	54	35%	88	30%	
Not satisfied	21	16%	10	6%	31	11%	
Total	134	100%	155	100%	289	100%	

Table 46: Academic quality of the department						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	23	17%	34	22%	57	20%
Satisfied	78	59%	79	51%	157	55%
Not so satisfied	25	19%	34	22%	59	20%
Not satisfied	7	5%	8	5%	15	5%
Total	133	100%	155	100%	288	100%

Table 47: Academic quality of faculty						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	26	19%	37	24%	63	22%
Satisfied	79	59%	75	48%	154	53%
Not so satisfied	24	18%	35	23%	59	20%
Not satisfied	5	4%	8	5%	13	4%
Total	134	100%	155	100%	289	100%

Table 48: Guidance in thesis						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	<i>13</i>	<i>25%</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>19%</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>22%</i>
Satisfied	<i>15</i>	<i>29%</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>39%</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>35%</i>
Not so satisfied	<i>15</i>	<i>29%</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>34%</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>32%</i>
Not satisfied	<i>8</i>	<i>16%</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>8%</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>12%</i>
Total	<i>51</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>113</i>	<i>100%</i>

Tale 49: Support in the dissertation						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	<i>17</i>	<i>13%</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>11%</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>12%</i>
Satisfied	<i>50</i>	<i>37%</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>32%</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>35%</i>
Not so satisfied	<i>46</i>	<i>34%</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>39%</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>37%</i>
Not satisfied	<i>21</i>	<i>16%</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>18%</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>17%</i>
Total	<i>134</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>289</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 50: Academic career opportunities						
	University				Total	
	Tel Aviv University		Hebrew University		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	<i>6</i>	<i>5%</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>12%</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>9%</i>
Satisfied	<i>50</i>	<i>38%</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>30%</i>	<i>97</i>	<i>34%</i>
Not so satisfied	<i>48</i>	<i>36%</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>28%</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>32%</i>
Not satisfied	<i>29</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>29%</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>26%</i>
Total	<i>133</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>155</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>288</i>	<i>100%</i>

Table 51: Satisfaction from support of faculty										
	University and Department								Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	<i>7</i>	<i>15%</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>14%</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>14%</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>9%</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>13%</i>
Satisfied	<i>20</i>	<i>43%</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>50%</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>46%</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>44%</i>	<i>133</i>	<i>46%</i>
Not so satisfied	<i>11</i>	<i>23%</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>28%</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>26%</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>42%</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>30%</i>
Not satisfied	<i>9</i>	<i>19%</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>8%</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>14%</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5%</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>11%</i>
Total	<i>47</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>79</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>289</i>	<i>100%</i>

	University and Department								Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	5	26%	8	24%	8	25%	4	14%	25	22%
Satisfied	6	32%	11	32%	9	28%	13	46%	39	35%
Not so satisfied	6	32%	13	38%	9	28%	8	29%	36	32%
Not satisfied	2	11%	2	6%	6	19%	3	11%	13	12%
Total	19	100%	34	100%	32	100%	28	100%	113	100%

	Gender	University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Very satisfied	7	27%	13	33%	8	14%	5	14%	33	21%
	Satisfied	18	69%	17	44%	29	52%	22	59%	86	54%
	Not so satisfied	1	4%	5	13%	15	27%	9	24%	30	19%
	Not satisfied			4	10%	4	7%	1	3%	9	6%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Very satisfied	2	10%	10	27%	6	20%	6	14%	24	18%
	Satisfied	15	71%	16	43%	16	53%	24	57%	71	55%
	Not so satisfied	3	14%	10	27%	6	20%	10	24%	29	22%
	Not satisfied	1	5%	1	3%	2	7%	2	5%	6	5%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	30	100%	42	100%	130	100%

Table 54: Satisfaction from faculty's attitude											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Very satisfied	5	19%	11	28%	7	13%	5	14%	28	18%
	Satisfied	17	65%	19	49%	37	66%	20	54%	93	59%
	Not so satisfied	4	15%	7	18%	9	16%	12	32%	32	20%
	Not satisfied			2	5%	3	5%			5	3%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Very satisfied	11	52%	11	30%	6	19%	9	21%	37	28%
	Satisfied	6	29%	15	41%	23	74%	22	52%	66	50%
	Not so satisfied	3	14%	8	22%	2	6%	8	19%	21	16%
	Not satisfied	1	5%	3	8%			3	7%	7	5%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 55: Academic quality of faculty											
Gender		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Very satisfied	6	23%	14	36%	6	11%	5	14%	31	20%
	Satisfied	18	69%	17	44%	35	63%	19	51%	89	56%
	Not so satisfied	2	8%	4	10%	13	23%	12	32%	31	20%
	Not satisfied			4	10%	2	4%	1	3%	7	4%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Very satisfied	7	33%	10	27%	7	23%	8	19%	32	24%
	Satisfied	10	48%	16	43%	16	52%	23	55%	65	50%
	Not so satisfied	3	14%	9	24%	6	19%	10	24%	28	21%
	Not satisfied	1	5%	2	5%	2	6%	1	2%	6	5%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 56: Support in the dissertation											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
	Very satisfied	7	15%	8	11%	10	11%	9	11%	34	12%
	Satisfied	16	34%	21	28%	34	39%	29	37%	100	35%
	Not so satisfied	13	28%	35	46%	33	38%	25	32%	106	37%
	Not satisfied	11	23%	12	16%	10	11%	16	20%	49	17%
	Total	47	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	289	100%

	University and Department								Total	
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Very satisfied	1	2%	9	12%	5	6%	10	13%	25	9%
Satisfied	16	35%	19	25%	34	39%	28	35%	97	34%
Not so satisfied	18	39%	26	34%	30	34%	18	23%	92	32%
Not satisfied	11	24%	22	29%	18	21%	23	29%	74	26%
Total	46	100%	76	100%	87	100%	79	100%	288	100%

	University and Department								Total		
	TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %	
	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %			
Gender	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	
Woman	Yes	8	31%	8	21%	24	43%	8	22%	48	30%
	No	4	15%	20	51%	4	7%	20	54%	48	30%
	DK	14	54%	11	28%	28	50%	9	24%	62	39%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Yes	14	67%	16	43%	17	55%	19	45%	66	50%
	No			11	30%	2	6%	14	33%	27	21%
	DK	7	33%	10	27%	12	39%	9	21%	38	29%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 59: Considered a PhD program before the M.A											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Yes	3	12%	12	31%	19	34%	11	30%	45	28%
	No	23	88%	27	69%	37	66%	26	70%	113	72%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Yes	3	14%	12	32%	15	48%	15	36%	45	34%
	No	18	86%	25	68%	16	52%	27	64%	86	66%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 60: Intends to study for the Ph.D.:											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Not Immediately	6	27%	6	24%	15	29%	7	41%	34	29%
	Immediately after the MA	9	41%	7	28%	13	25%	3	18%	32	28%
	Did not decide yet	7	32%	12	48%	24	46%	7	41%	50	43%
	Total	22	100%	25	100%	52	100%	17	100%	116	100%
Man	Not Immediately	3	14%	3	12%	8	28%	5	18%	19	18%
	Immediately after the MA	12	57%	8	31%	13	45%	10	36%	43	41%
	Did not decide yet	6	29%	15	58%	8	28%	13	46%	42	40%
	Total	21	100%	26	100%	29	100%	28	100%	104	100%

Table 70: Was offered research/teaching assistantship before the MA												
			University and Department								Total	
			TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	%
Gender			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Woman		Yes	1	4%	10	26%	25	45%	14	38%	50	32%
		No	25	96%	29	74%	31	55%	23	62%	108	68%
	Total		26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man		Yes	8	38%	14	38%	23	74%	20	48%	65	50%
		No	13	62%	23	62%	8	26%	22	52%	66	50%
	Total		21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 71: Work as research/teaching assistant											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	Yes with 1 faculty member	1	4%	4	10%	19	34%	6	16%	30	19%
	Yes with 2 faculty members					10	18%	3	8%	13	8%
	No	25	96%	35	90%	27	48%	28	76%	115	73%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	Yes with 1 faculty member	10	48%	7	19%	18	58%	13	31%	48	37%
	Yes with 2 faculty members			1	3%	3	10%	3	7%	7	5%
	No	11	52%	29	78%	10	32%	26	62%	76	58%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Table 72: Non relevant reference											
* Multiple answers		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	To ethnic origin					1	2%	2	5%	3	2%
	To gender	4	15%	7	18%	4	7%	6	16%	21	13%
	To family commitments			3	8%	1	2%	5	14%	9	6%
	To non-academic commitments			1	3%	5	9%			6	4%
	To age	2	8%			1	2%	2	5%	5	3%
	No	19	73%	28	72%	40	71%	22	59%	109	69%
	To academic background					3	5%			3	2%
	Gender and family	1	4%							1	1%
	To physical disadvantage					1	2%			1	1%
	Total	26		39		56		37		158	
Man	To ethnic origin			2	5%			5	12%	7	5%
	To non-academic commitments					1	3%	2	5%	3	2%
	To age							1	2%	1	1%
	No	21	100%	35	95%	28	90%	34	81%	118	90%
	To academic background					2	6%			2	2%
Total	21		37		31		42		131		

Table 73: Support from faculty - relatively to other students											
		University and Department								Total	
		TA Dep.1		Heb. Dep.1		TA. Dep.2		Heb. Dep.2		N	Col %
Gender		N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %	N	Col %		
Woman	More than others	4	15%	4	10%	6	11%	7	19%	21	13%
	Same as others	22	85%	30	77%	44	79%	28	76%	124	78%
	Less than others			5	13%	6	11%	2	5%	13	8%
	Total	26	100%	39	100%	56	100%	37	100%	158	100%
Man	More than others	6	29%	7	19%	4	13%	10	24%	27	21%
	Same as others	14	67%	26	70%	25	81%	28	67%	93	71%
	Less than others	1	5%	4	11%	2	6%	4	10%	11	8%
	Total	21	100%	37	100%	31	100%	42	100%	131	100%

Appendix 1: questionnaires

Questionnaire for MA students

This questionnaire is part of a research regarding processes of decision making regarding continuation of studies. Answering this questionnaire is not compulsory and you do not have to complete it. Notwithstanding, your answers will be a significant contribution to the understanding of the factors influencing students in their decisions to continue studying, and we will greatly appreciate your participation.

This questionnaire is confidential and will be used for research purposes only. The questionnaire or details from it will not be divulged to any authority, including the university.

Part of the questions ask you to express your opinion, not necessarily an objective judgment. Honest answers will contribute to the research and its results.

We would appreciate it if you fill in your personal details so that we may make follow-up contact for complementary information if necessary. This is not mandatory. If you have questions, I would be happy to answer them.

Thank you for your cooperation.

A. What is your department of study?

B. First Year of BA _____

C. First Year of MA _____

D. Are you in a part time or full time curriculum?

E. Part / Full time student _____

F. Gender Male / Female

1. What were the factors included in your considerations regarding MA studies?

(Interviewer: please read answers, more than one can be chosen)

1. Interest in field of study
2. MA studies open doors to financial achievements
3. MA studies open doors to professional development
4. MA studies allow entry to various professions
5. Ambition – personal progress
6. Research interest within the field of study
7. Interest in an academic career
8. Other, please specify _____

2. Were you offered a teaching or research assistantship before beginning your MA studies?

1. Yes
2. No

3. Have your expectations regarding the MA studies been fulfilled? In what way? Specify.

4. Did you consider doctorate studies before beginning the MA?

1. Yes
2. No

5. Do you intend to continue for doctorate studies?

1. Yes
2. No – proceed to question...
3. Haven't decided yet

6. Do you plan on continuing studies immediately subsequent to finishing your MA or to take a break?

1. Continuing immediately – proceed to question
2. Take a break
3. Haven't decided yet

7. What were your reasons not to continue immediately?

8. Are you considering continuing studies abroad?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Haven't decided yet

9. What are your considerations regarding studies abroad? Specify:

Question no.10 for interviewees not continuing for doctorate studies:

10. What are your plans or alternatives for when you finish your MA?

**11. What are your reasons for and against continuing for a doctorate?
(interviewer: please read answers out loud, more than one can be chosen)**

1. Interest in studies
 2. Interest in research
 3. Interest in an academic career
 4. Lack of interest in studies
 5. Financial difficulty
 6. Difficulty combining studies and work
 7. Difficulty finding work after finishing studies
 8. Difficulty combining family life with studies
 9. Other, please specify
-

12. What obstacles or hardships do you think doctorate students may encounter during their studies? (interviewer: do not read answers, more than one answer can be given)

1. Lack of encouragement or support from faculty
 2. Difficulty combining studies and work
 3. Difficulty finding work after finishing studies
 4. Difficulty combining family life with studies
 5. Financial difficulties
 6. Academic difficulties
 7. Difficulty finding a suitable supervisor
 8. Other, please specify
-

13. Are you planning or considering an academic career in the future?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know / haven't decided yet

14. What are your deliberations regarding an academic career?

**15. What do you think are the main advantages of an academic career?
(Interviewer, do not read answers, more than one answer can be given)**

1. Working in a field of interest
 2. Individual work
 3. Autonomy in the workplace
 4. Social prestige
 5. Challenging work environment
 6. Stable and secure income
 7. Flexible working hours / schedule
 8. Other, please specify:
-

**16. What do you think are the main setbacks of an academic career?
(interviewer: do not read answers, more than one answer can be given)**

1. High competitiveness
 2. Lack of positions
 3. Financial disadvantage / low salaries
 4. Slow promotion
 5. Other, please specify
-

17. Are you currently working as a research or teaching assistant?

1. Yes, with one professor
2. Yes, with more than one professor
3. No, proceed to question 20.

18. Do you assist a man or woman professor?

1. Man
2. Woman
3. Man and a woman

19. How long have you been an assistant?

1. Less than a year
2. A year – two
3. More than two years

20. Do you have (a) thesis supervisor/s?

1. Yes
2. No proceed to question 26

21. Is your supervisor a man or a woman?

1. Man
2. Woman
3. Man and a woman

22. How frequently do you usually meet your supervisor/s?

1. More than once a week
2. Once every week or two
3. Once in two weeks or a month
4. Once a month or two
5. Less than once in two months

23. How did you choose your supervisor/s? (interviewer: do not read answers, more than one answer may be given)

1. Personal acquaintance
 2. Student's recommendations
 3. Area of expertise
 4. Personality of supervisor
 5. Other, please specify:
-

24. Would you describe your relationship with your supervisors as mainly formal or informal?

1. Mostly formal
2. Equal to that with other supervisors
3. Mostly informal

25. Does your thesis supervisor provide consultation or support in other issues relevant to your studies such as continuation of studies, scholarships, advice on publication, etc.?

1. Yes – please specify
-

2. No

26. Would you describe your relationship with other professors (not supervisors) as mostly formal or informal?

1. Mostly formal
2. Equally with different professors
3. Mostly informal

27. Were you supported or encouraged by faculty members regarding further studies (MA or Ph.D.)

1. A great deal of support
2. Medium amount of support
3. Little support
4. Did not receive support at all – proceed to question 30

28. How was this support expressed? (interviewer: do not read answers, more than one answer may be given)

1. Help receiving a scholarship
2. Personal encouragement to continue studies
3. Positive assessment of achievements / ability
4. Offer of a job in the department
5. Other, please specify

29. How important was this support to your decision to continue or discontinue your studies?

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Of little importance
4. Not important at all

*(for those who were not encouraged / supported)

30. Do you feel that encouragement or support from the faculty could have influenced your decisions regarding further studies?

1. Yes, to a great extent
2. Yes, somewhat
3. Yes, a little
4. Not at all

31 Is there anyone in the department that you identify with or would like to be like in the future? (interviewer: do not read answers, more than one answer may be given)

1. Yes – man professor
2. Yes – woman professor
3. No

32 Name a professor in the department whom you especially admire. Explain why.

33. In the course of your studies, have you encountered attitudes or remarks that were irrelevant to your academic skills, such as reference to ethnicity, gender, familial status, or obligations outside the department?

1. Yes – regarding ethnicity
2. Yes – regarding gender
3. Yes – regarding familial status
4. Yes – regarding obligations outside academia
5. Yes – regarding age
6. Other, please specify:
7. _____
8. No

**34. Have you encountered problems or difficulties during your studies?
(Interviewer: do not read answers, more than one answer may be given)**

1. Lack of support from faculty
2. Lack of guidance from faculty
3. Financial difficulty
4. Difficulty combining work and studies
5. Difficulty combining family life with studies
6. Academic or learning difficulties
7. Other, please specify:
8. _____
9. No

35. Do you feel that you receive the same amount of support and encouragement as other students in the department?

1. More support than others
2. Equal to that of others
3. Less than others

36. Do you think that promotion opportunities outside academia are equal for men and women?

1. Yes, the options are similar
2. No, men enjoy more opportunities
3. No, women enjoy more opportunities

37. Do you feel that men and women students in the department receive the same opportunities, support and encouragement from the faculty?

1. Men and women share the same opportunities
2. Women get more opportunities
3. Men get more opportunities

38. Have you been offered publication or presentation at a convention?

1. Yes
2. No

39. If today you had to evaluate your chances for success and promotion in an academic career, how would you rate them?

1. High chances for quick promotion
2. High chances for promotion, not very quickly
3. Medium chances for promotion
4. Low chances for promotion

How satisfied are you with the following aspects of your MA studies?**40. With the MA studies in general**

1. Very satisfied
2. Relatively satisfied
3. Not so satisfied
4. Not satisfied

Comments:

41. With the degree of support from faculty

1. Very satisfied
2. Relatively satisfied
3. Not so satisfied
4. Not satisfied

Comments:

42. With the academic level of the department

1. Very satisfied
2. Relatively satisfied
3. Not so satisfied
4. Not satisfied

Comments:

43. With the faculty's treatment of students

1. Very satisfied
2. Relatively satisfied
3. Not so satisfied
4. Not satisfied

Comments:

44. With the academic quality of professors

1. Very satisfied
2. Relatively satisfied
3. Not so satisfied
4. Not satisfied

Comments:

45. With the amount of support and encouragement to continue studies

1. Very satisfied
2. Relatively satisfied
3. Not so satisfied
4. Not satisfied

Comments:

46. With the options for an academic career

1. Very satisfied
2. Relatively satisfied
3. Not so satisfied
4. Not satisfied

Comments:

For students with a thesis supervisor:

47. With the amount of guidance and consultation on thesis

1. Very satisfied
2. Relatively satisfied
3. Not so satisfied
4. Not satisfied

Comments:

48. To what extent do you agree with the claim that men professors prefer to mentor men students, and vice versa, that women professors prefer mentoring women students?

1. I wholeheartedly agree
2. I agree to some extent
3. I don't really agree
4. I don't agree at all

**49. Are children and family considerations included in your career choices?
Explain how:**

50. Do you feel that there is or could be a conflict between career and family in your life?

1. I am sure there could be
2. I think there might be
3. I am sure there won't be
4. I don't know

51. How would this conflict manifest for you?

52. Are you:

1. Married / living with someone
2. Single
3. Divorced
4. Widowed

53. Do you have children?

1. Yes – ages: _____
2. No

54. Is your spouse supportive of your decision to continue studies?

1. Greatly supportive
2. Somewhat supportive
3. Slightly supportive
4. Not at all

55. Do you get help from your family (not spouse) with childcare or household maintenance?

1. Yes, with the children
 2. Yes, with household duties
 3. Other – please specify:
-

56. Do you feel that the responsibilities and duties regarding the home and family are distributed equally between you and your spouse?

57. Who is the primary financial provider in the home?

58. Did you receive a scholarship during your studies? Specify:

59. Age _____

60. County of birth _____

61. Parents' country of birth

Father _____

Mother _____

62. Parents' education

Father _____

Mother _____

63. Do you work outside the university? Where?

General Guidelines for Interviewing MA students

Name _____

Phone _____

Date of Interview _____

Department of Study _____

Familial Status _____

Number of children and ages _____

First Year of BA _____

First Year of MA _____

Age _____

Gender _____

Field of Study, Department _____

Full / Partial Studies _____

What factors did you take into consideration when deciding to study for an MA?
Specify:

At what phase during your studies did you decide to continue for MA studies?

What are your plans for after you finish the MA? If you do not have specific plans,
what alternatives are you considering?

Do you intend to continue studying for a doctorate? If so, what are the considerations?

Were you considering doctorate studies before entering the MA program? Why?

Are you planning to continue studying for a Ph.D. immediately upon finishing your MA studies or to take a break? What are the reasons for this?

What, in your opinion, are the advantages of a Ph.D. degree in comparison with an MA?

What hardships or obstacles may be encountered by doctorate students?

Are you considering studying abroad? What are the factors for consideration in this issue?

Are you planning or considering an academic career? Why?

What do you think are the advantages and shortcomings of an academic career?

Have you considered, at present or in the past, career alternatives outside academia? In which field, and why? Do you work as a research or teaching assistant? Whom do you work with, and how long have you worked with him/her?

How would you describe your relationship with the professor you work with? Does he/she support your continuing studies? How?

Do you have (a) thesis supervisor/s? If so, who are they? How did you choose them? How frequently do you meet with them?

How would you describe your relationship with your supervisor? Do they support you in your decision to continue studying? How?

Would you describe your relationship with faculty professors and supervisors as formal or informal?

Did you receive support or encouragement from faculty members in the department regarding your further studies – for MA or Ph.D.? If so, please specify:
How and to what extent was this support important to you?

If not, do you think that this support could have influenced your decision regarding further studies?

Is there anyone in the department whom you especially identify with or would like to be like in the future? If so, please specify:

Is there anyone in the faculty who was particularly influential on you or your decision to continue studying? Whom? How was this influence expressed?

List three professors in the department whom you admire, and specify why.

Have you, in the course of your studies, received treatment or comments from the faculty that were irrelevant to your academic achievements, such as those relating to ethnicity, gender, familial studies, or obligations outside academia? Specify:

Did you encounter hardships or obstacles during your studies? Specify:

Do you think you receive an amount of support and encouragement equal to that received by other students? Specify:

Do you think that career and promotion opportunities are equal for men and women outside academia?

Do you think men and women faculty members face the same opportunities during their careers? Specify:

Who do you think has a better chance at a successful academic career, men or women? Specify:

Do you think men and women students receive the same amount of support, opportunities and encouragement from the faculty? Specify:

In the course of your studies, were you offered publication or presentation at a professional conference? Specify:

How good do you think your chances are at a successful academic career, should you choose one? Why?

How socially involved are you at your department of study?

Does your spouse support you in the continuation of your studies? How?

Do you include children and family in your career considerations? Explain how.

How are children and family considerations integrated in your career choices?

Do you feel that there is or could be a conflict between career and family in your choices? How? In what way?

Do you get help or support from your family with childcare or the household? Specify:

Do you think that household and family chores are distributed equally between you and your partner? Specify:

Who is the major financial provider in the house?

Who is primarily responsible for childcare?

Who is primarily responsible for household maintenance?

Did you receive scholarships during your studies? Specify:

Do you work outside the university? Where? How many hours a week?

Do you work at the university? If so, with whom?

General Guidelines for Interviewing Doctorate Students

Name _____

Phone no. _____

Date of Interview _____

Field of Study _____

Familial Status _____

Number of children and ages _____

First Year of BA _____

First Year of MA _____

First Year of Ph.D. _____

Age _____

Gender _____

Field of Study _____

What were the factors taken into consideration in your decision to study for a Ph.D.?
Please specify:

During what phase of your studies did you decide to study for a doctorate?

What are your plans upon completion of the doctorate? If you do not yet have specific plans, what alternatives are you considering?

Did you begin your doctorate studies immediately upon finishing your MA, or did you take a break? What were the reasons for this decision?

What, in your opinion, are the advantages of having a doctorate degree?

What difficulties or obstacles do doctorate students encounter during their studies?

Did you consider continuing studies abroad? What were the considerations guiding you for this decision?

Are you planning or considering an academic career? Why?

What, in your opinion, are the advantages and disadvantages of an academic career? Please specify:

Have you, in the past or present, considered career alternatives outside academia? Why, and in what field?

Would you describe your relationship with professors and thesis supervisors during the MA as formal or informal?

Did you receive support or encouragement regarding further studies (MA or Ph.D.) from faculty members in the department? If you did, please describe this support and how important it was to you.

Is there anyone in your department that you especially identify with, or someone you would like to be like in the future? If yes, please specify and explain why.

Is there any professor in the department that you feel was particularly influential on you or your continuing studies? Who was this? How was this influence expressed?

Have you, during your studies, received comments from the faculty that were irrelevant to your academic achievements, such as regarding ethnicity, gender, familial status, or obligations outside academia? Please specify:

Did you encounter any hardships or obstacles during your studies? Please specify:

Do you think that you receive an amount of support and encouragement equal to that received by other students in your department?

Do you think wage and career opportunities are similar for men and women outside academia?

Do you think men and women faculty members in your dept. and university face equal opportunities during their careers?

Do you think that men and women students receive the same support, opportunities and encouragement from the faculty? Specify:

Does your spouse support the continuation of your studies? How?

Are children and family included as factors in your career considerations? To what extent?

How do children and family integrate with your career choices?

Do you feel that combining a career with family life creates, or may create, conflicts? Why? In what way?

Do you receive help or support from your family regarding childcare or the household? Specify:

Do you think that you and your spouse share household and family chores and duties equally? Specify:

Who is the major financial provider in the family?

Who is mostly responsible for childcare?

Who is mostly responsible for household maintenance?

Did you receive scholarships during your studies? Specify:

Do you work outside the university? Where? How many hours?

Do you work at the university? Where and with whom?

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