

# Faculty hiring, social class, and epistemic inequality

Allison Morgan

Work w/ Dimitrios Economou, Nick LaBerge, Samuel Way, Daniel Larremore, Mirta Galesic, Aaron Clauset

EDI Spotlight Series @ University of Aberdeen, May 26th





# Academic workforce





## Undergraduate Women in Science and Engineering: Effects of Faculty, Fields, and Institutions Over Time\*

Gerhard Sonnert, *Harvard University*

Mary Frank Fox, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

Kristen Adkins, *The University of Texas at Austin*

## ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND CREATIVITY IN SMALL GROUPS

POPPY LAURETTA McLEOD

*University of Iowa*

SHARON ALISA LOBEL

*Seattle University*

TAYLOR H. COX, JR.

*University of Michigan*

## The Educational Benefits of Diversity: Evidence from Multiple Sectors

by Jeffrey F. Milem  
*University of Maryland*

## The Difference \_\_\_\_\_

HOW THE POWER OF DIVERSITY  
CREATES BETTER GROUPS, FIRMS,  
SCHOOLS, AND SOCIETIES

*With a new preface by the author*

Scott E. Page





**What makes some research more visible?**





**Who becomes tenure-track faculty?**

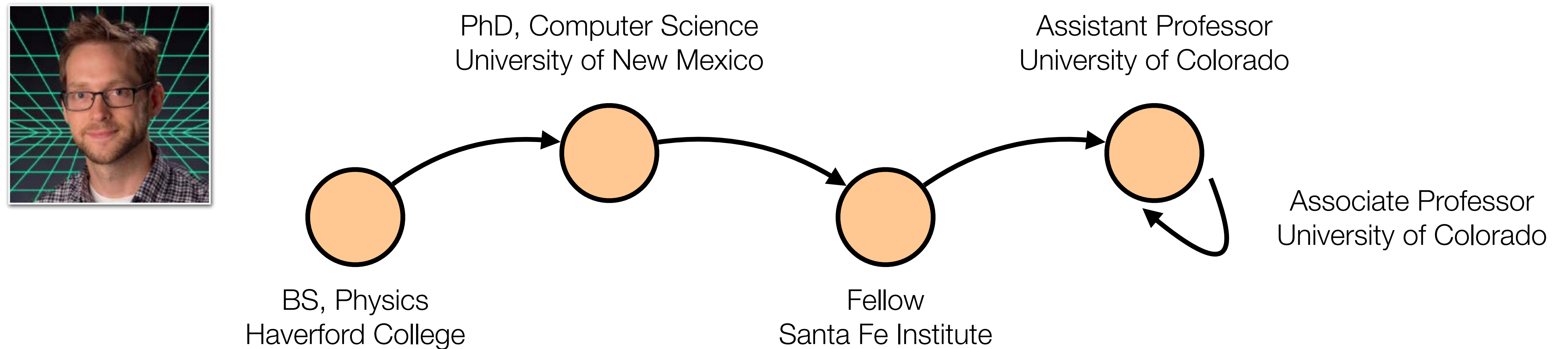
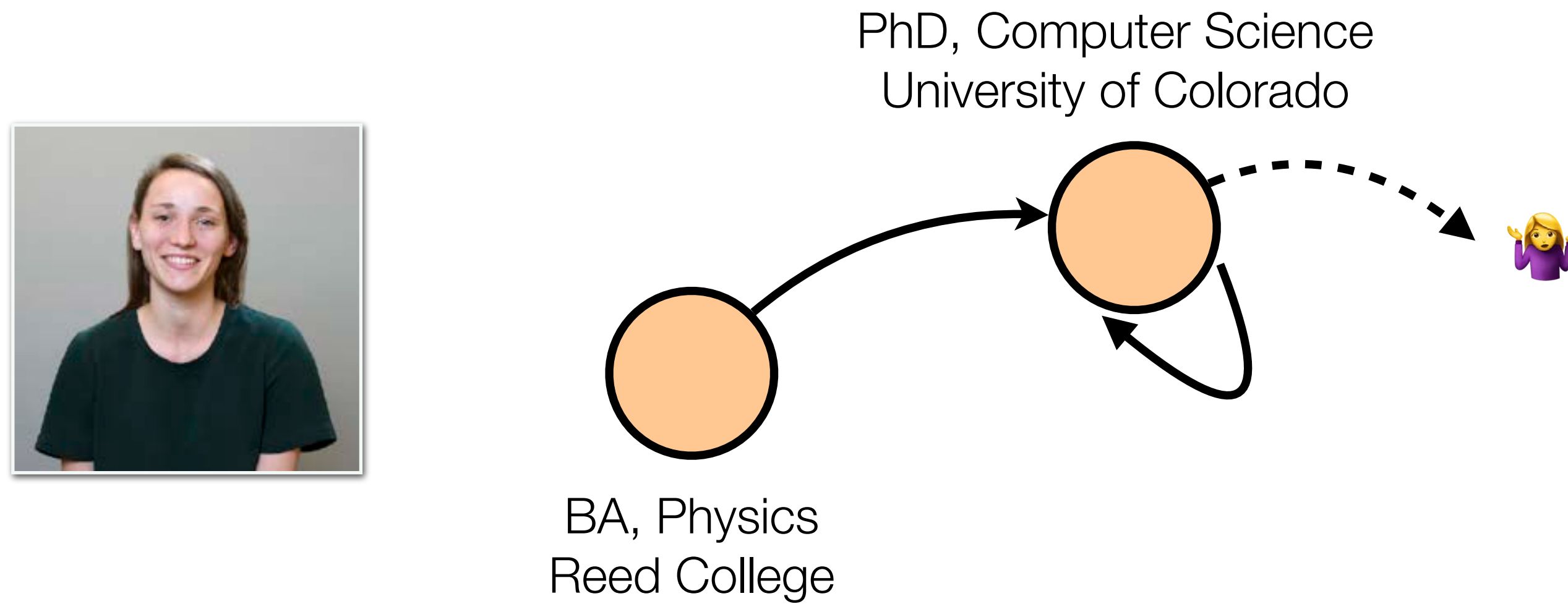




# Outline:

1. Career trajectories and university prestige
2. Institutional prestige shapes scholarship
3. Socioeconomic status shapes academic careers
4. Discuss implications

# Career trajectories form networks

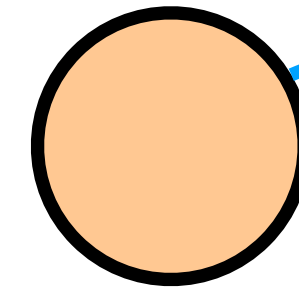


# Career trajectories form networks



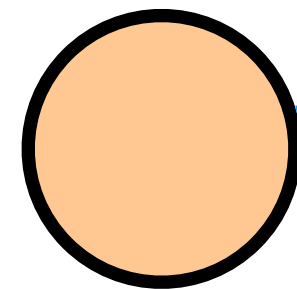
BA, Physics  
Reed College

PhD, Computer Science  
University of Colorado

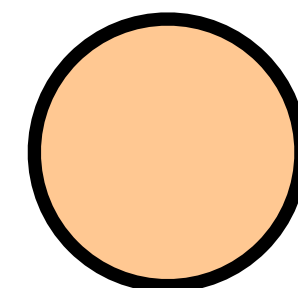


BS, Physics  
Haverford College

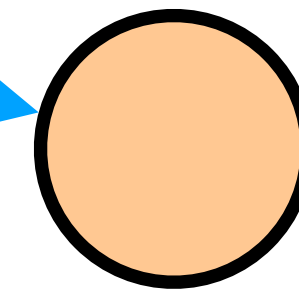
PhD, Computer Science  
University of New Mexico



Fellow  
Santa Fe Institute



Assistant Professor  
University of Colorado



Associate Professor  
University of Colorado



# Faculty hiring networks

Each directed edge  $u \rightarrow v$   
PhD from  $u \rightarrow$  faculty at  $v$

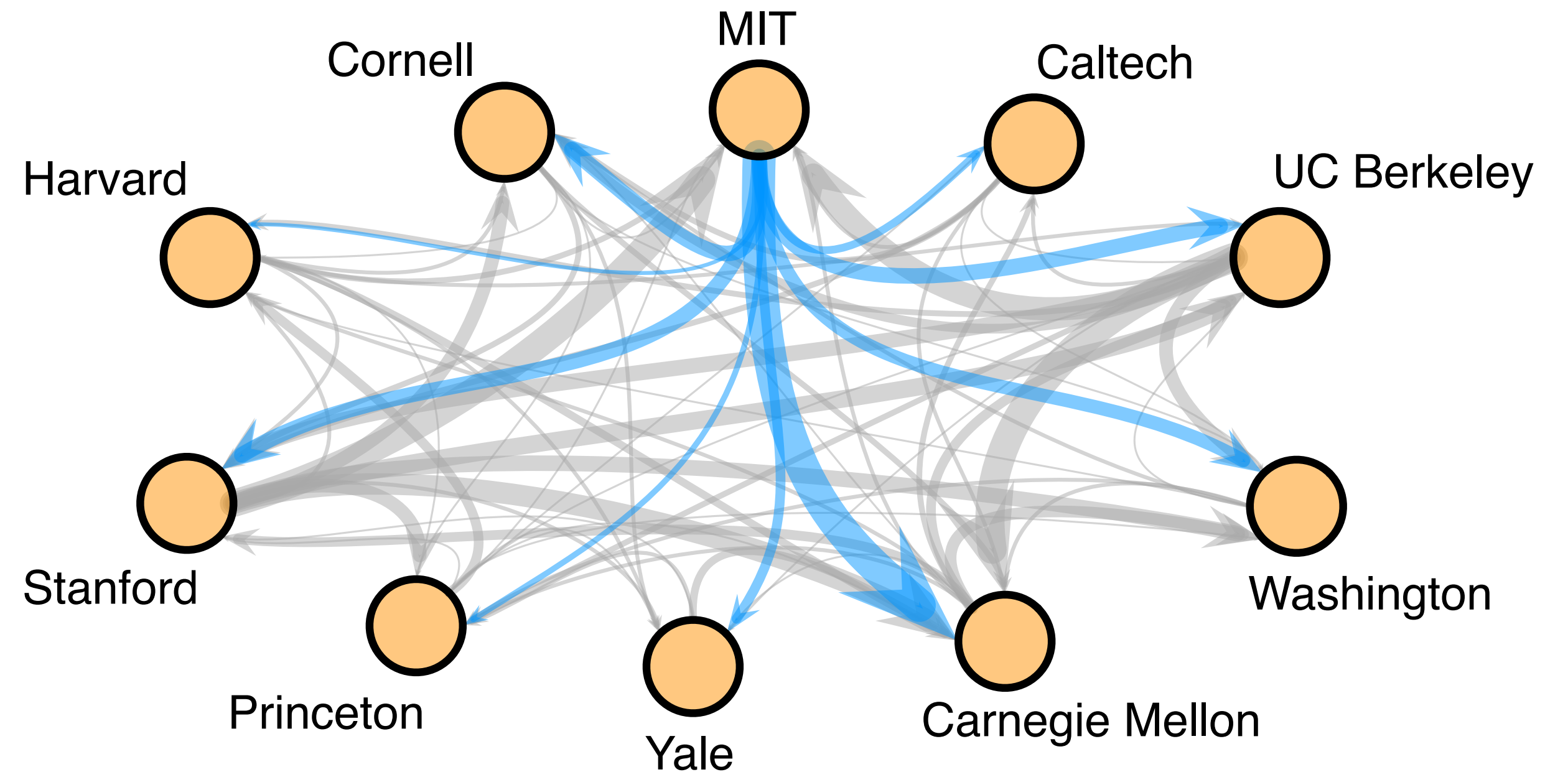
[US academia: big, mobile, self-contained,  
competitive]

Dramatic inequality in PhD production  
[80/20 rule holds]

Common large-scale structure: influential,  
well-connected core

Small percentage of edges are self-loops  
[8% in CS]

Assumption: reveals collective preferences.  
Hiring committees want to hire the best  
candidates



Computer science faculty hiring network;  
<http://tuvalu.santafe.edu/~aaronc/facultyhiring/>



# Features of hierarchy

# systematic

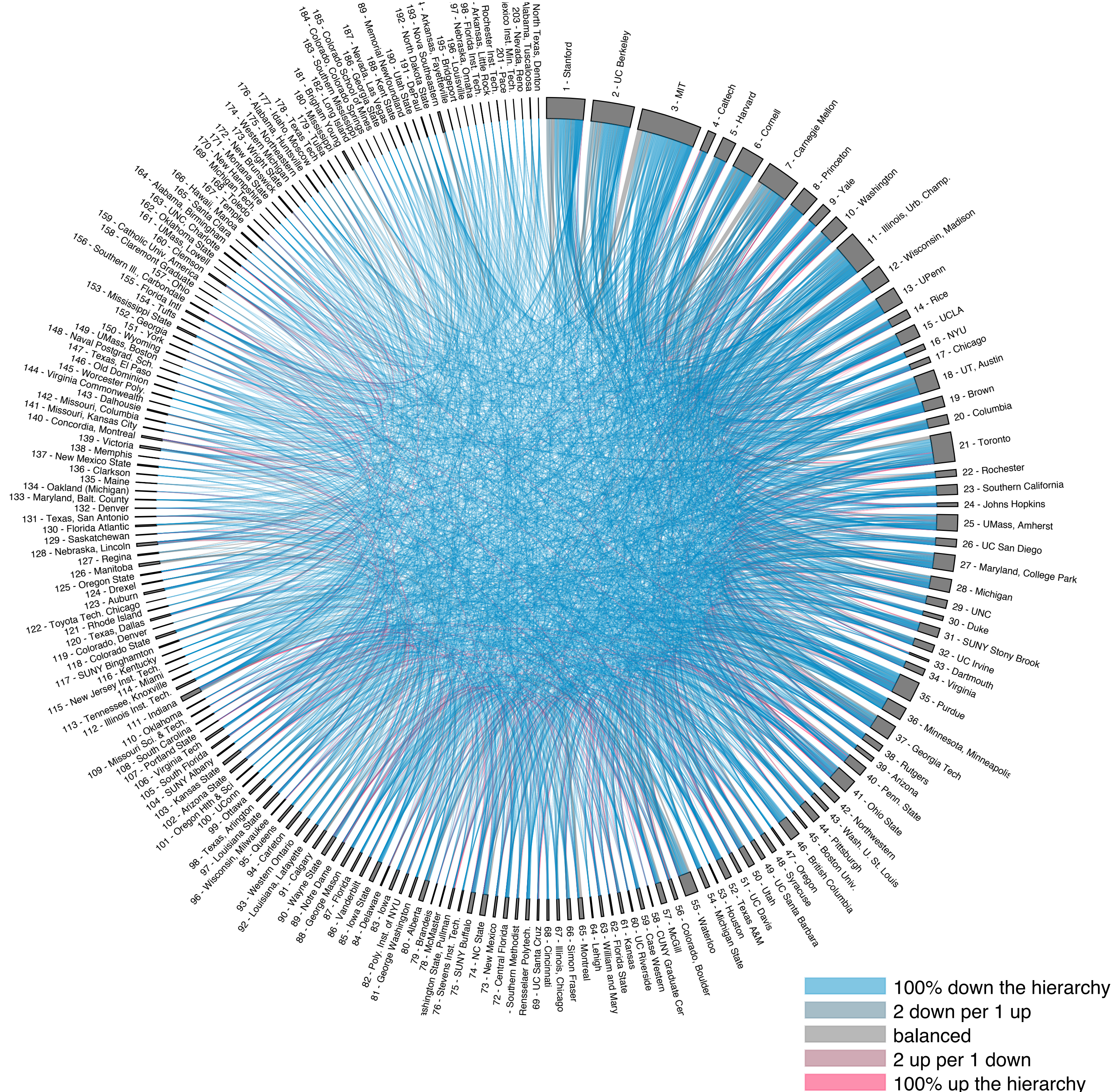
90% of hiring movement  
is “down” the hierarchy

# steep

< 7% of faculty have PhD  
from lower 75% of universities

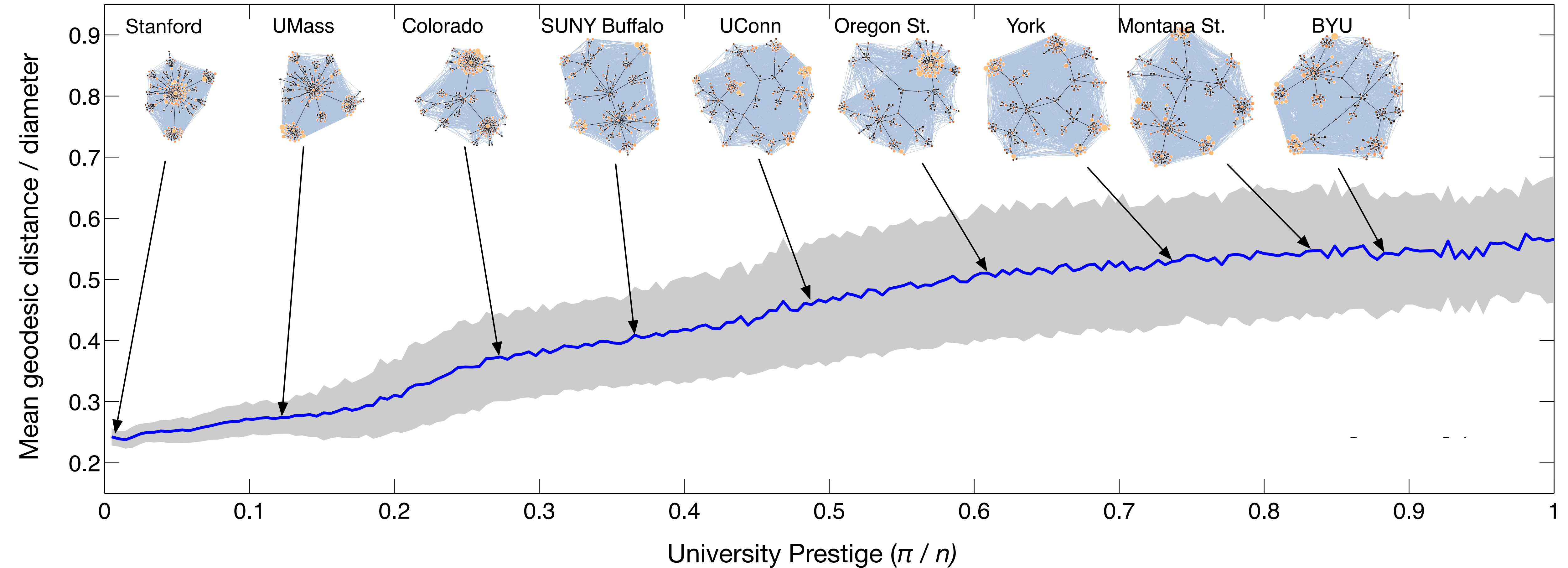
# biased

median change for women  
~3 ranks worse than men





# Core-periphery position changes with rank

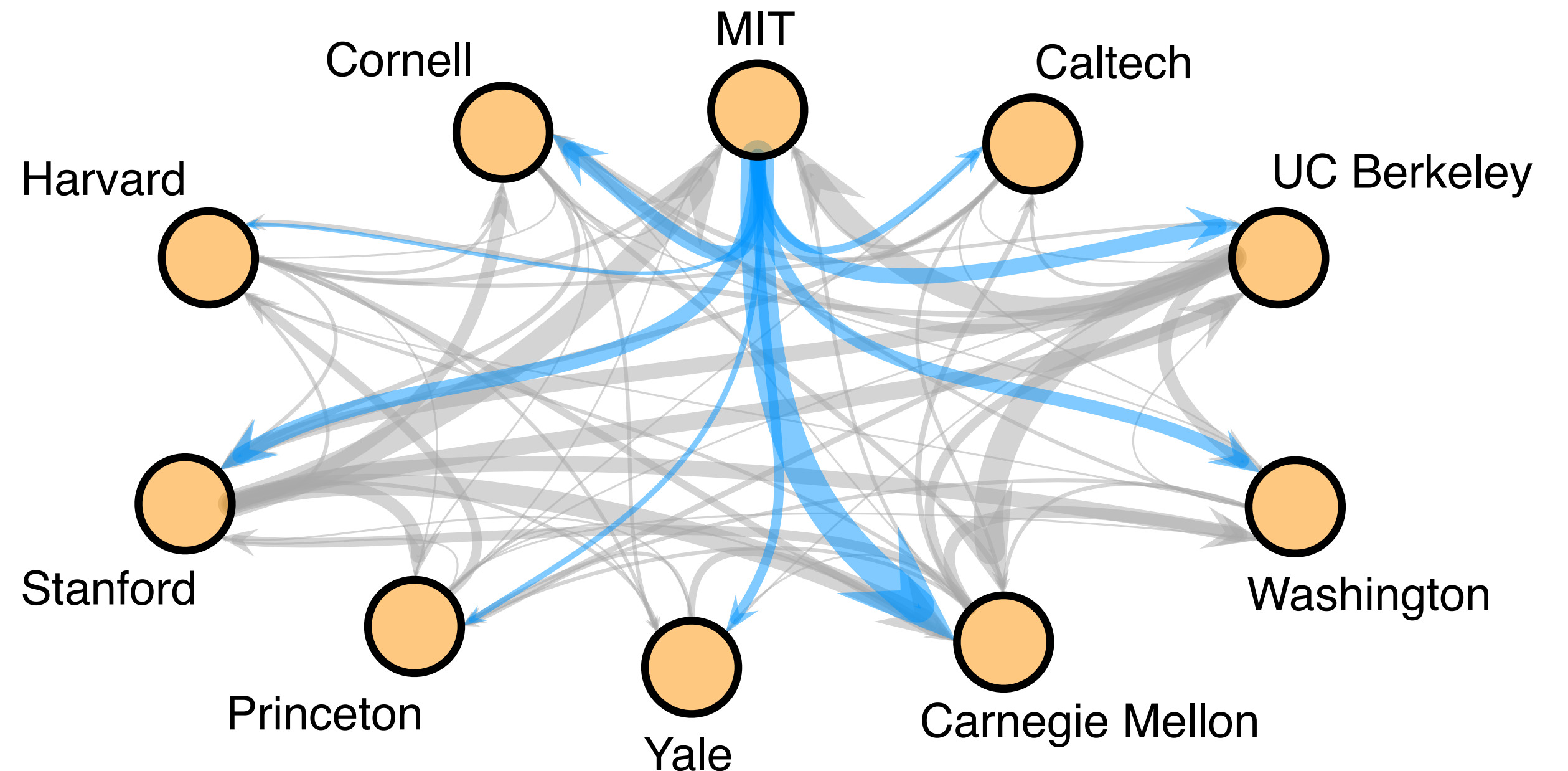


What are the implications?



# Shape of the faculty hiring network

- Large inequalities in placement power
- Faculty flow out of core, into periphery
- Modest fraction stays inside core
- Small fraction flows “upstream”
- Prestige describes influence via individuals placement
- **Next:** How does prestige affect science as a system? How does SES shape researcher prestige?





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## Prestige drives epistemic inequality in the diffusion of scientific ideas

Allison C. Morgan<sup>1\*</sup> , Dimitrios J. Economou<sup>1</sup> , Samuel F. Way<sup>1</sup>  and Aaron Clauset<sup>1,2,3</sup> 

## Visibility of research

<https://pxhere.com/en/photo/950021> (CC 2.0)





Inputs, Outputs, and the Prestige of  
University Science Departments\*

Warren O. Hagstrom  
*University of Wisconsin*

*Sociol. Educ.* 375-397

## DEPARTMENTAL EFFECTS ON SCIENTIFIC PRODUCTIVITY\*

PAUL D. ALLISON  
*University of Pennsylvania*

J. SCOTT LONG  
*Indiana University*

*Am. Soc. Rev.* 55, 469-478 (1990)

## Professional Standing and the Reception of Scientific Discoveries<sup>1</sup>

Stephen Cole

*State University of New York at Stony Brook, and Bureau  
of Applied Social Research, Columbia University*

*Am. J. Soc.* 76(2), 286-306 (1970)

## The Matthew Effect in Science

The reward and communication systems  
of science are considered.

Robert K. Merton

*Science* 159.3810, 56-63 (1968)

Prestige drives epistemic inequality in the  
diffusion of scientific ideas

Allison C. Morgan<sup>1\*</sup> , Dimitrios J. Economou<sup>1</sup> , Samuel F. Way<sup>1</sup>  and Aaron Clauset<sup>1,2,3</sup> 

# Visibility of research

<https://pxhere.com/en/photo/950021> (CC 2.0)



# Three explanations

- (1) genuine differences in merit
- (2) non-meritocratic social processes
- (3) non-meritocratic structural factors





# Three explanations

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# Faculty hiring as a mechanism

**R1:** Are research ideas carried  
by faculty hiring?



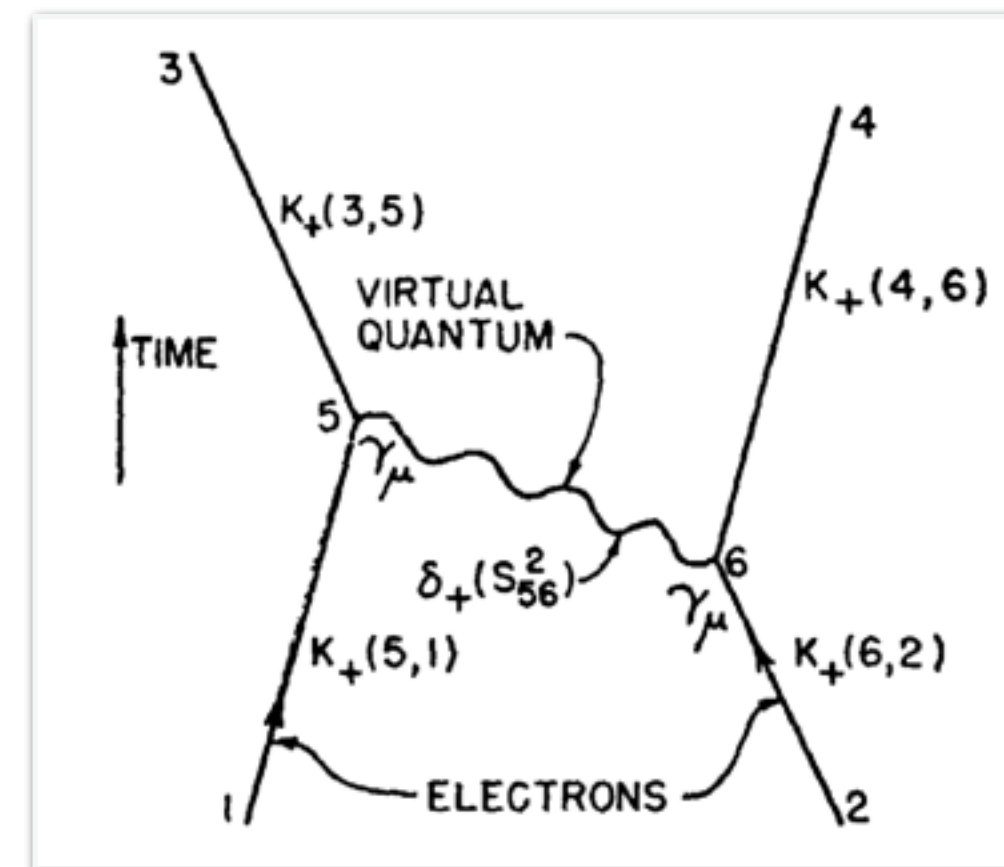
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**R1:** Are research ideas carried  
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*W. Lamb, J. Wheeler, A. Pais, R. Feynman, H. Feshbach, J. Schwinger*

*Earliest published Feynman Diagram*



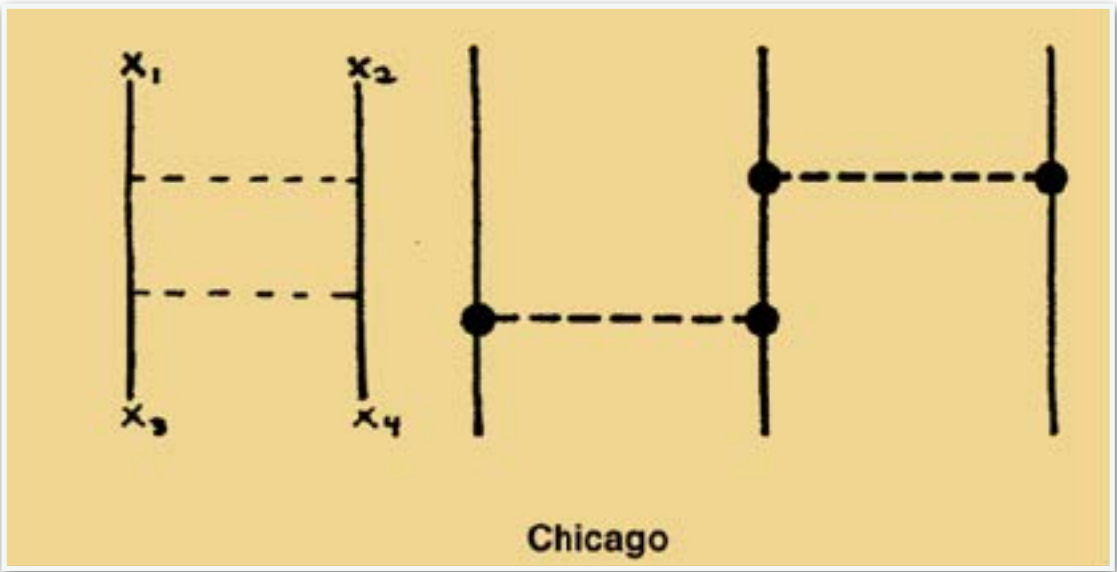
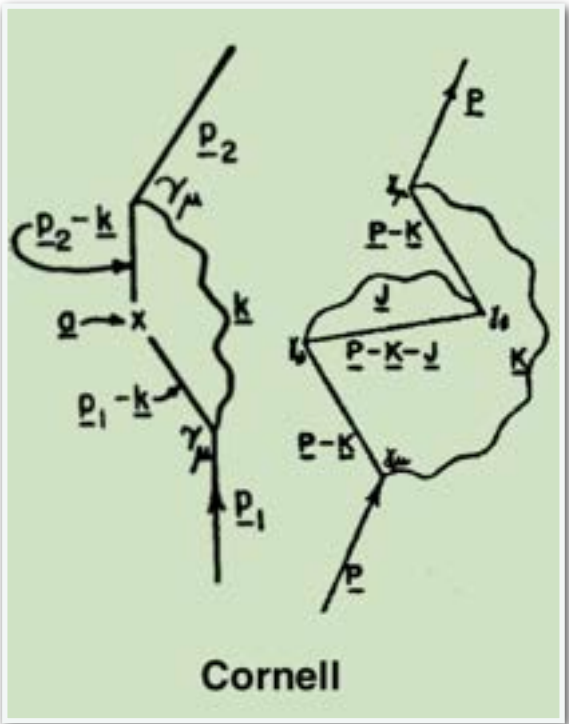
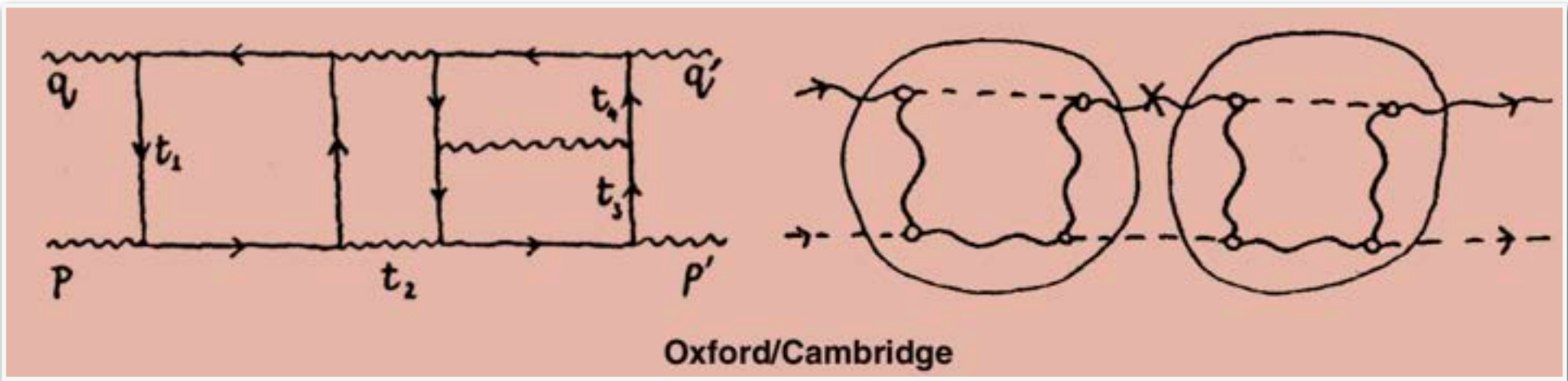
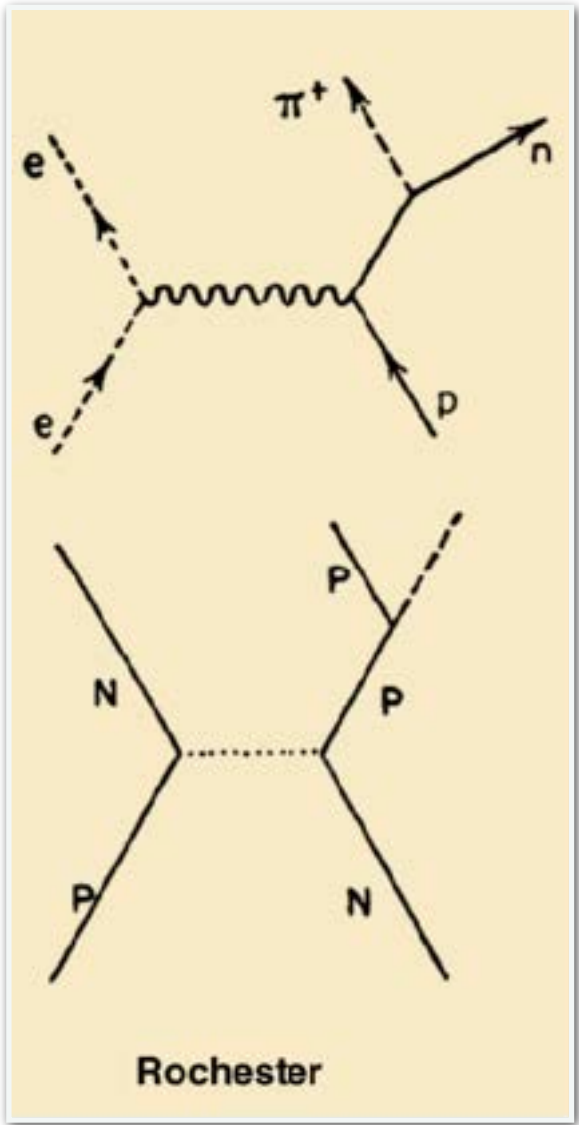


# Faculty hiring as a mechanism

**R1:** Are research ideas carried by faculty hiring? (Yes.)

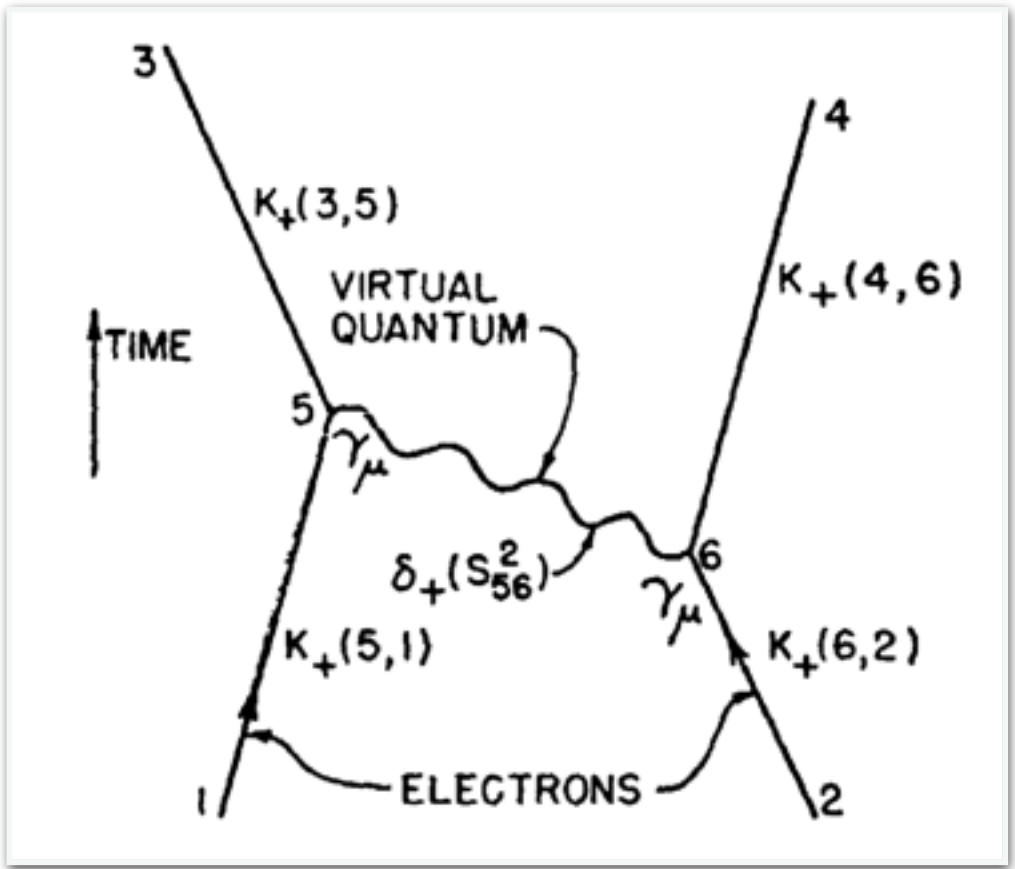


W. Lamb, J. Wheeler, A. Pais, R. Feynman, H. Feshbach, J. Schwinger



American Scientist 55, 156-165 (2005)  
Proc. 11th Conf. on Web and Social Media (2017)

Earliest published Feynman Diagram

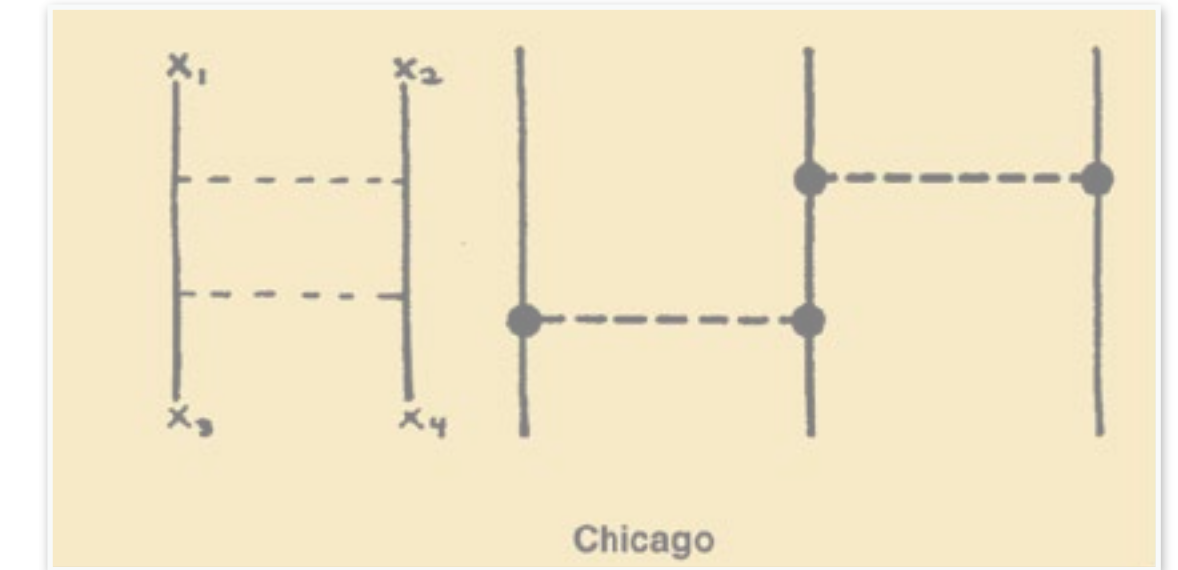
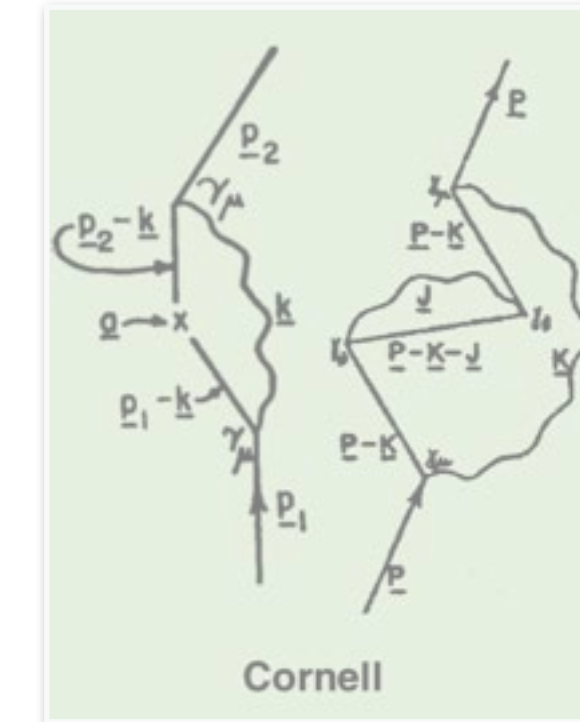
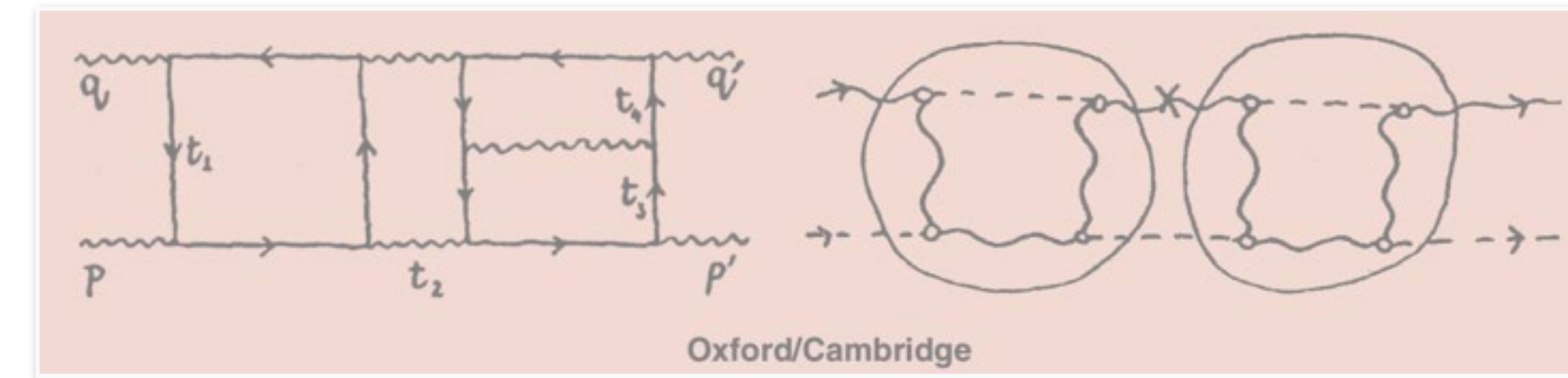
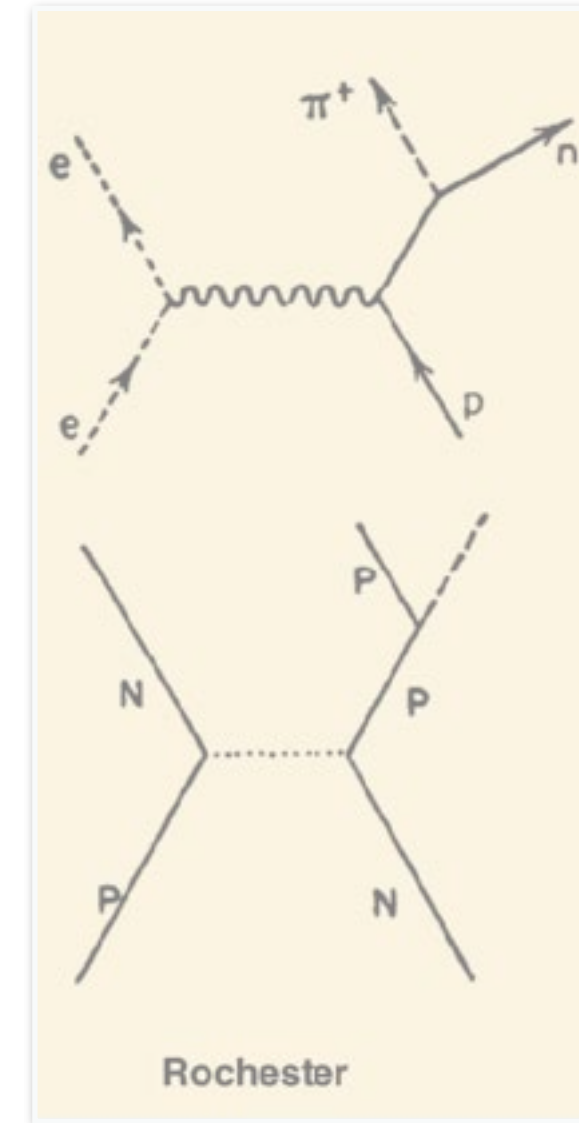




# Faculty hiring as a mechanism

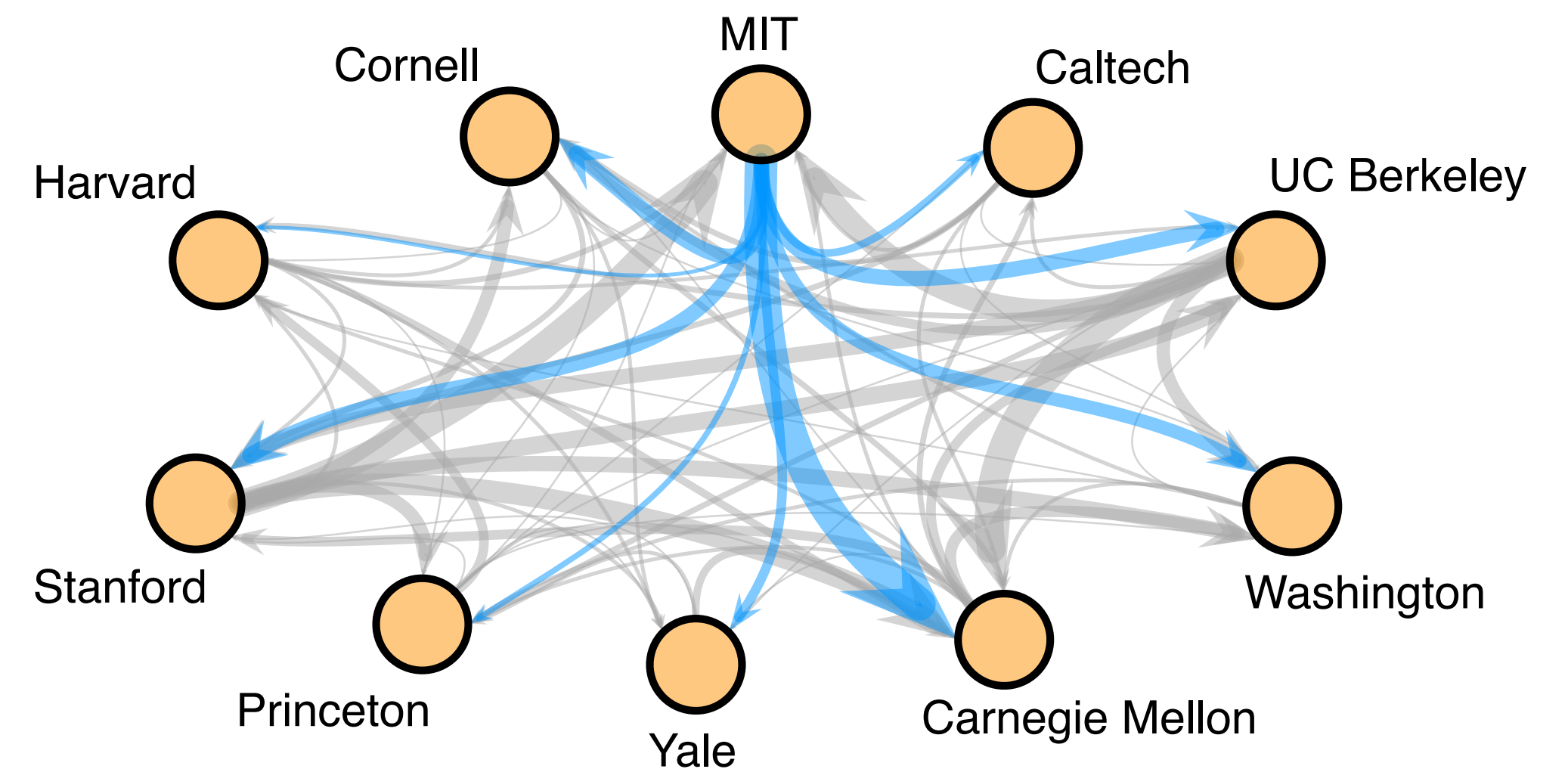
**R1:** Are research ideas carried by faculty hiring?

**R2:** Does the structure of the faculty hiring network affect the spread of ideas?



*American Scientist* 55, 156-165 (2005)

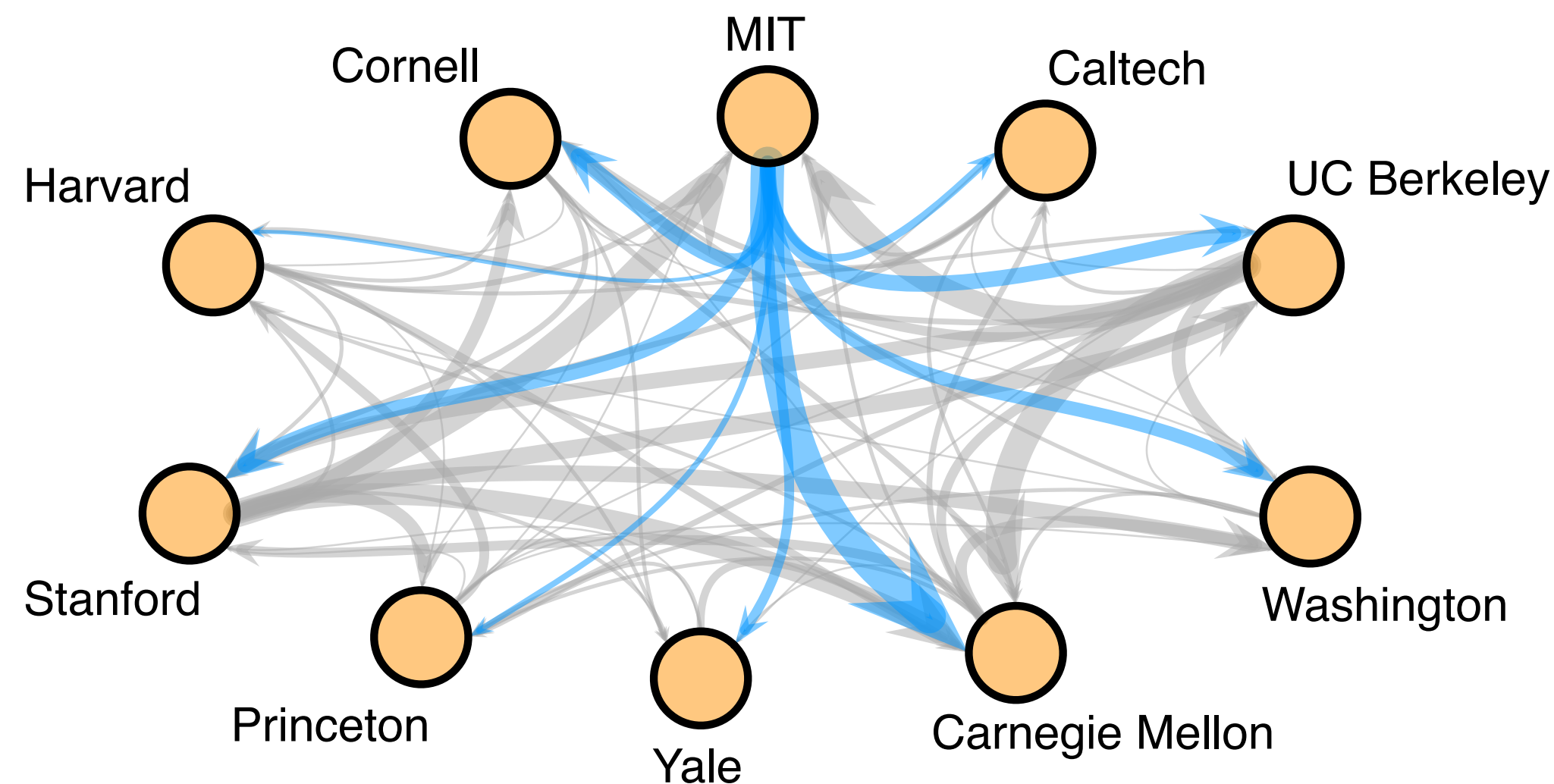
*Proc. 11th Conf. on Web and Social Media* (2017)



*Sci. Adv.* 1(1), e1400005, 2015.



# Does the structure of the faculty hiring network affect the spread of ideas?



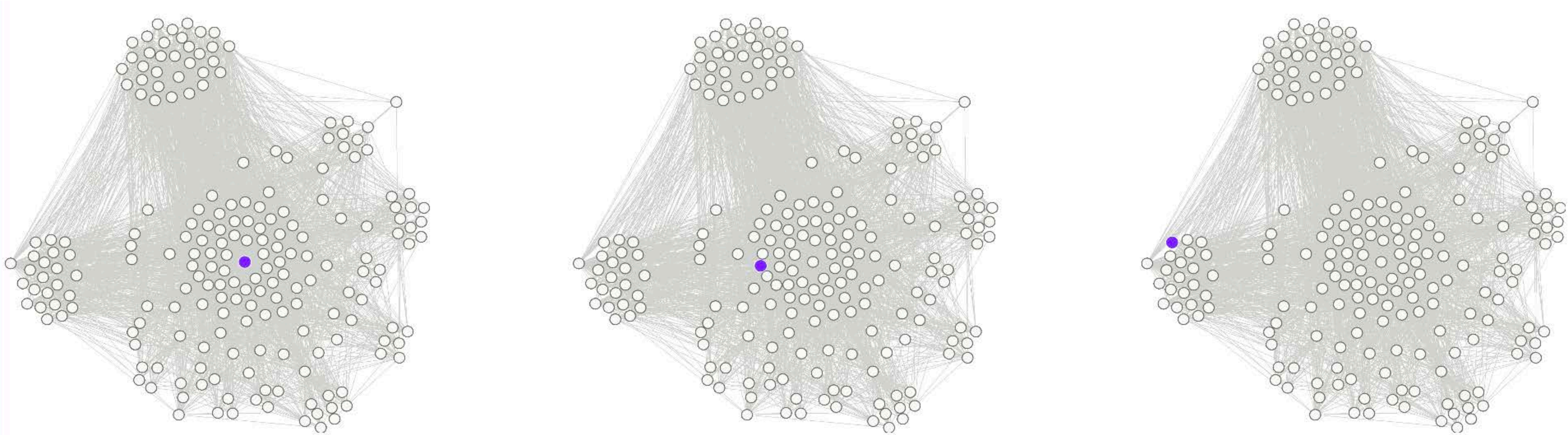
Seed an epidemic at a university with unique prestige  $\pi$ , varying the transmissibility  $p$  (quality of an idea)

Quality of idea relates to how many nodes will adopt an idea (on average)

Measure the fraction of universities which adopted the idea

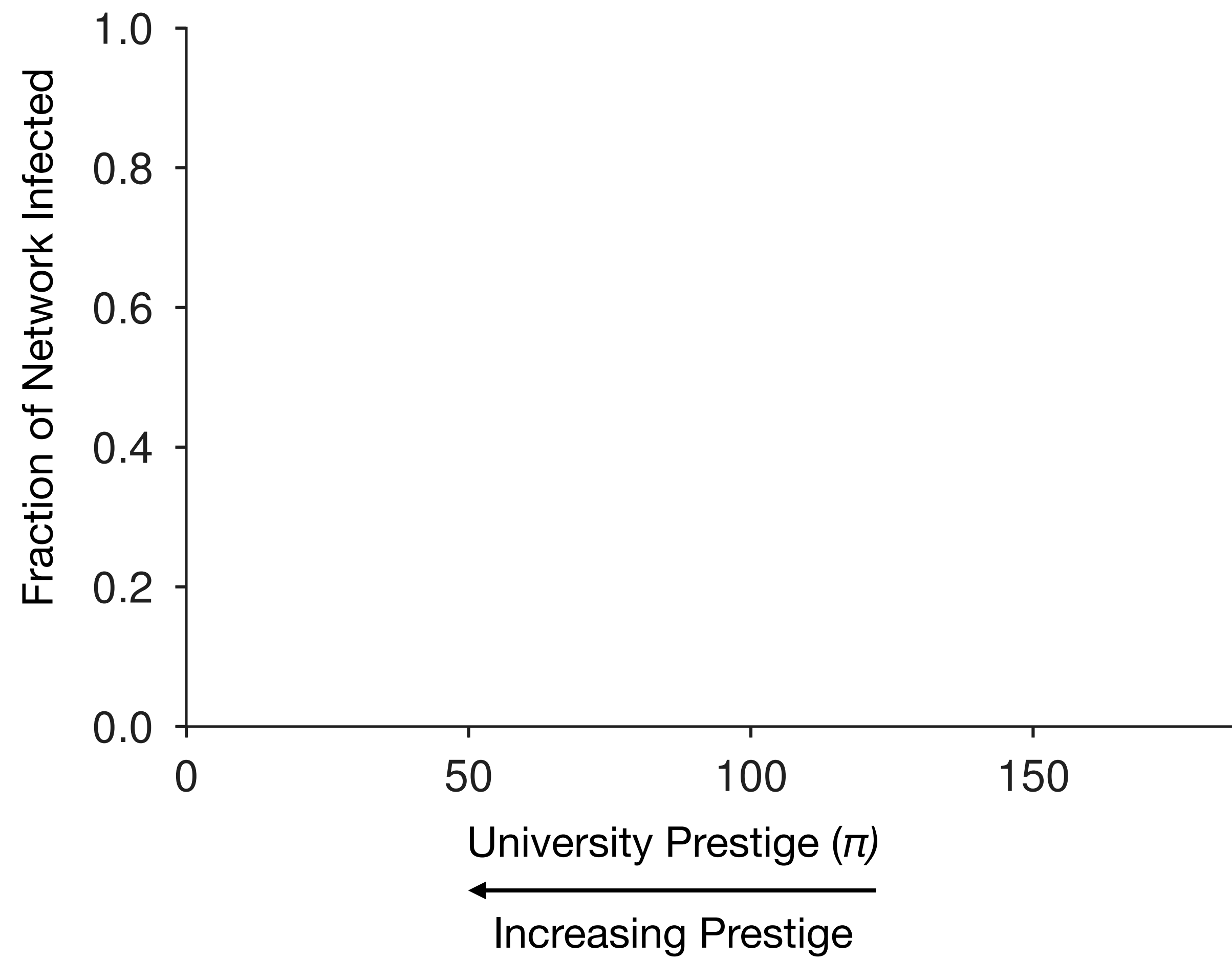


# Does the structure of the faculty hiring network affect the spread of ideas?

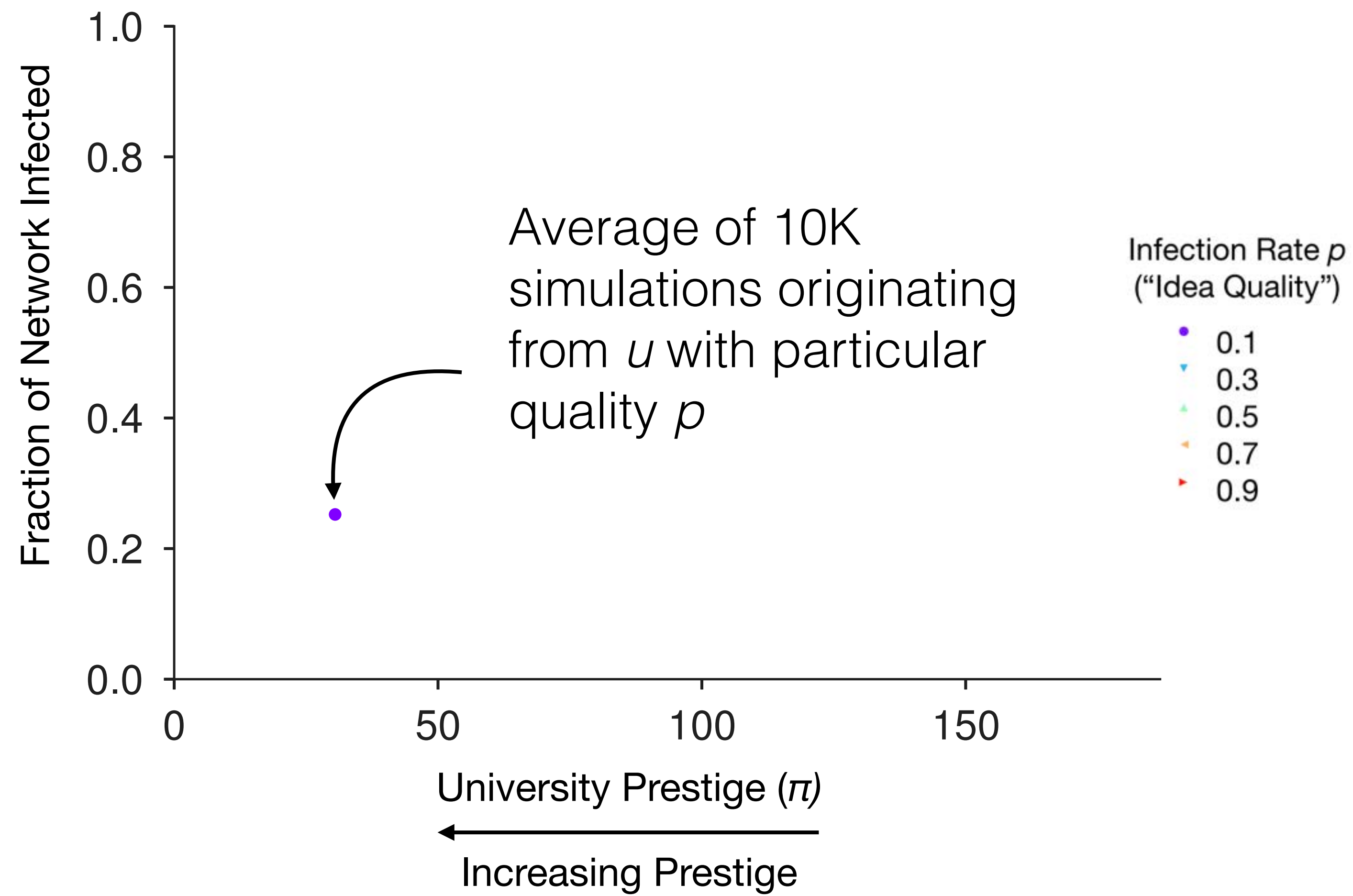


Core-periphery position changes with prestige



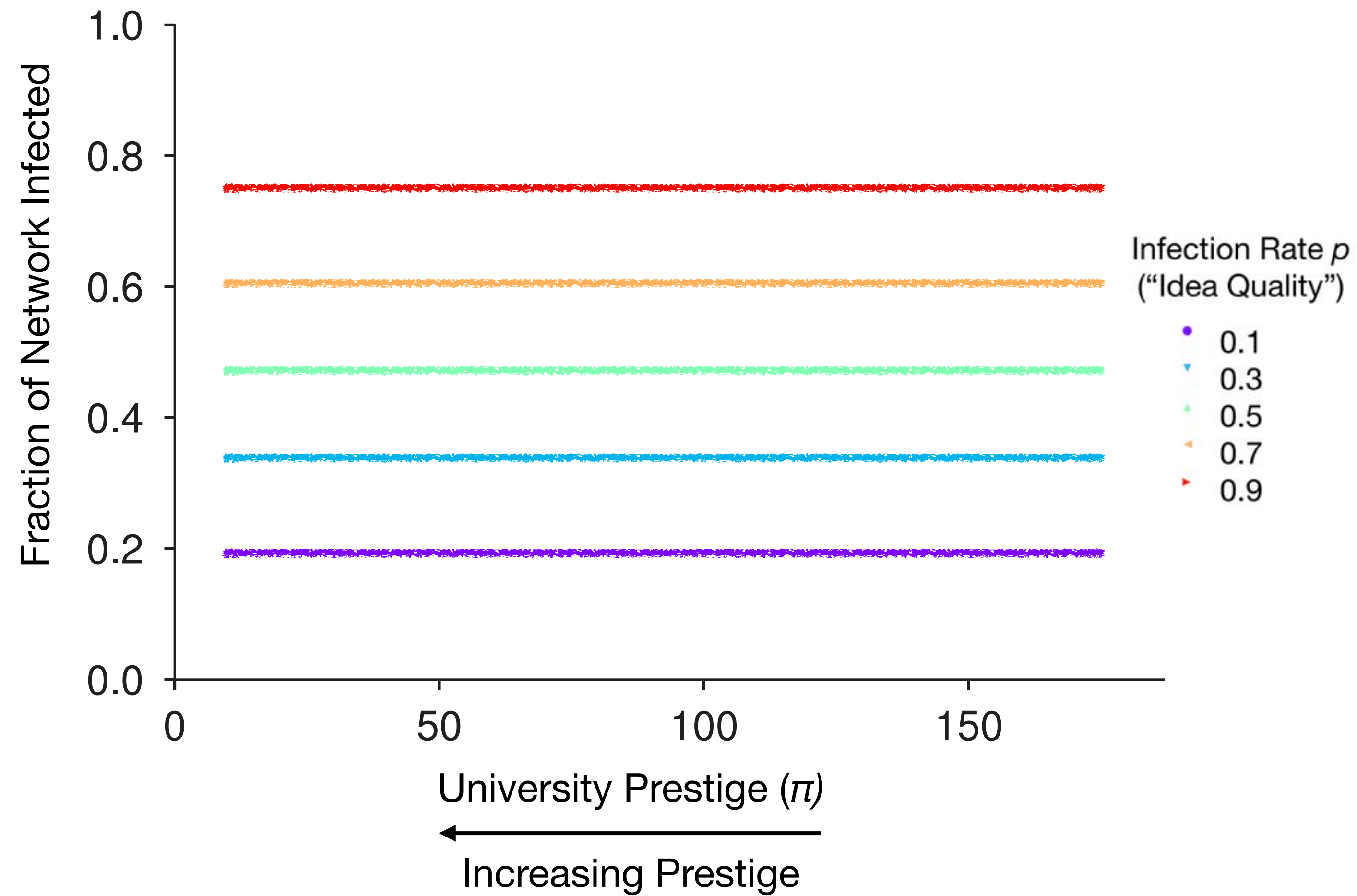




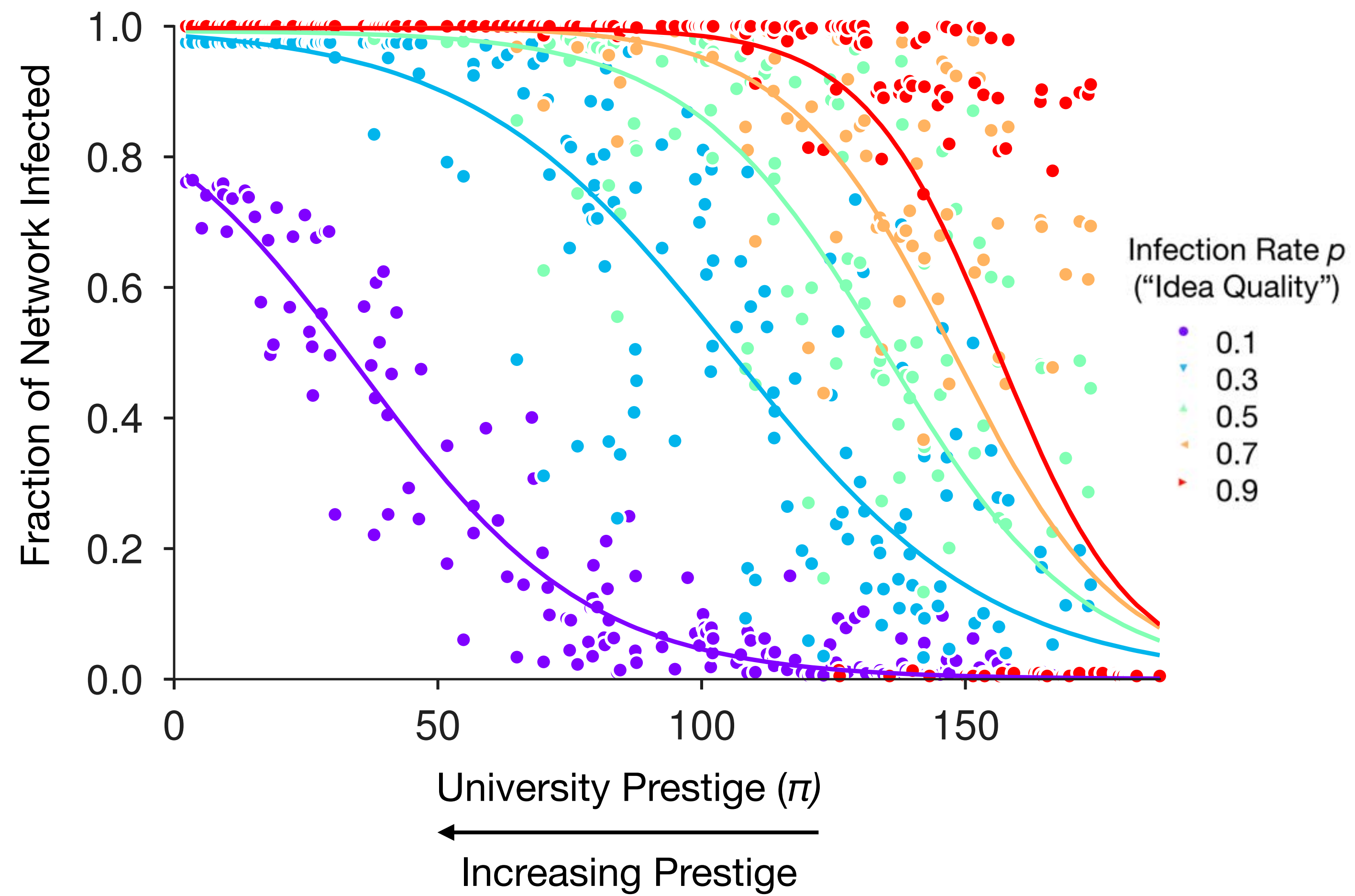




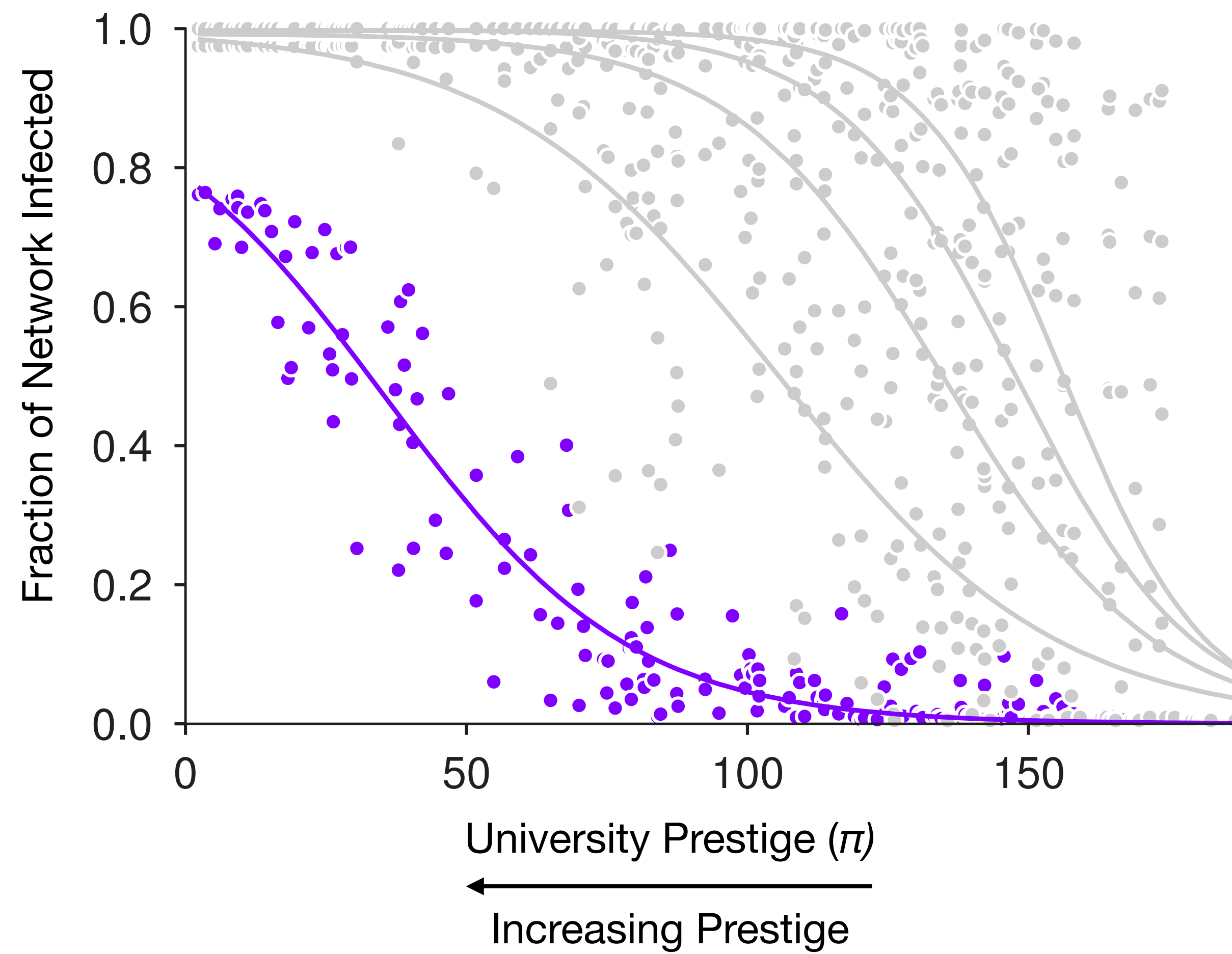
Assuming quality of  
ideas and their origins  
are independent





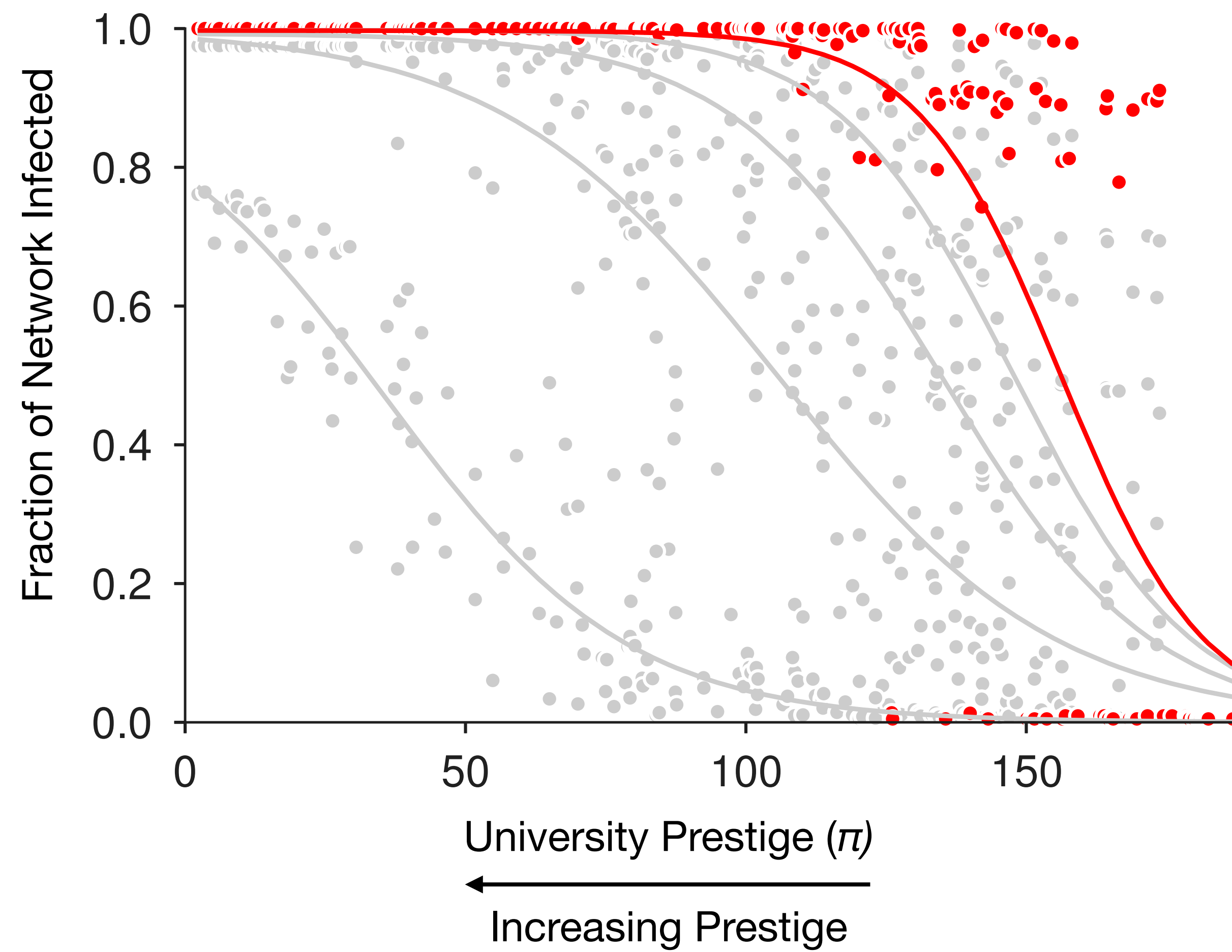






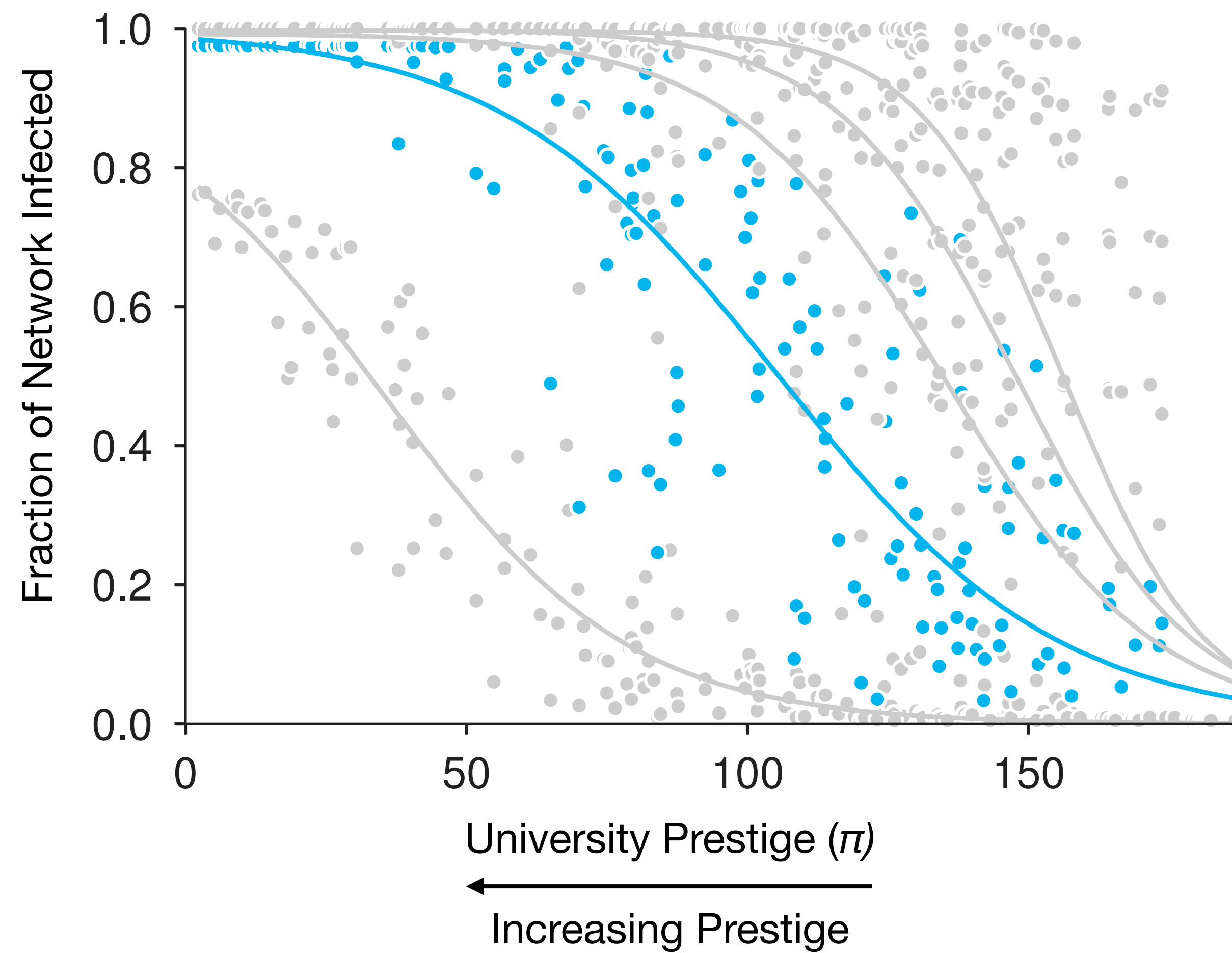
Poor quality ideas spread more easily from high-prestige universities





Great ideas can spread  
regardless of starting place

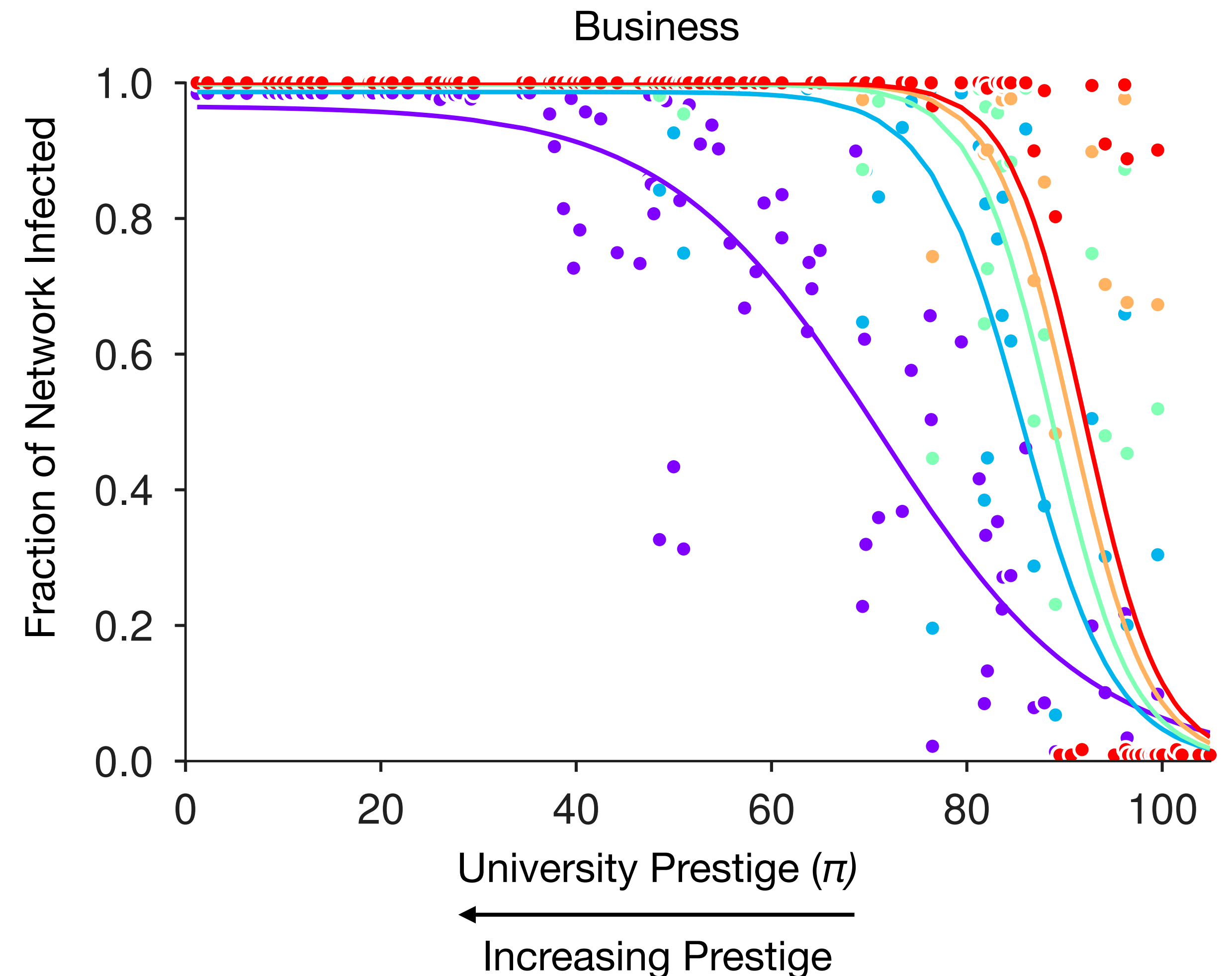
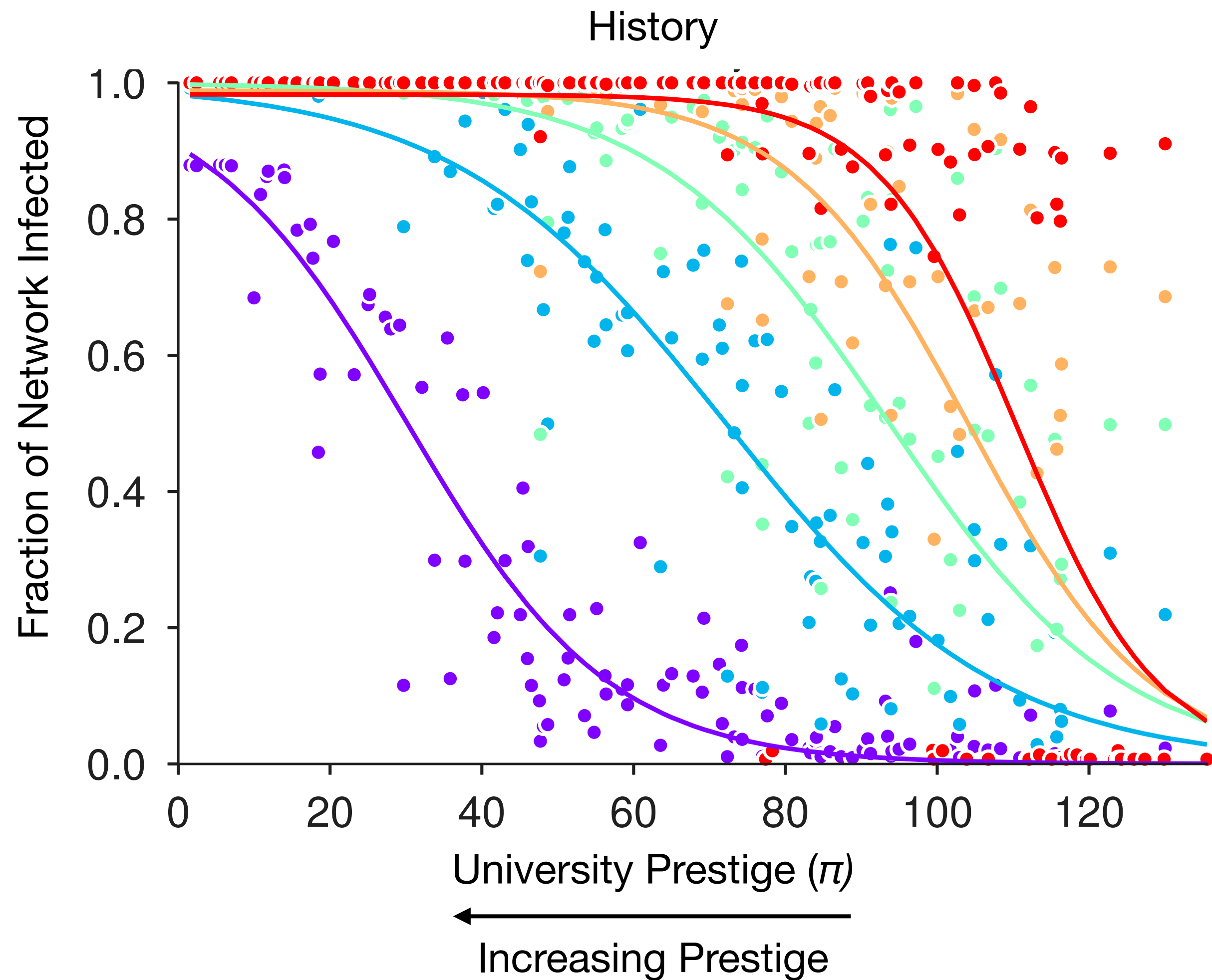




We may lose medium quality research ideas because the system structurally disallows their spread



# Aside: What about other fields?



Gini coefficient for history is 0.72, business is 0.62, and computer science is 0.69.



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**Who becomes tenure-track faculty?**







Demography, Vol. 28, No. 1, February 1991

## Childhood Events and Circumstances Influencing High School Completion

## Mobility Report Cards: The Role of Colleges in Intergenerational Mobility

## How elite colleges fail half of the poor students they admit

"Access isn't the same as acceptance," says Harvard professor  
Anthony Abraham Jack.



# Who becomes tenure-track faculty?



# Measuring SES among faculty

## Socioeconomic Roots of Academic Faculty

Allison C. Morgan,<sup>1,\*</sup> Nicholas LaBerge,<sup>1,†</sup> Daniel B. Larremore,<sup>1,2,‡</sup> Mirta Galesic,<sup>3,§</sup> and Aaron Clauset<sup>1,2,3,¶</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Department of Computer Science, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO, USA*

<sup>2</sup>*BioFrontiers Institute, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO, USA*

<sup>3</sup>*Santa Fe Institute, Santa Fe, NM, USA*

<https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/6wjxc>

**Data:** Survey responses from tenure-track faculty in Anthropology, Biology, Business, CS, History, Physics / Astronomy, Psychology, and Sociology across U.S.

Information about professors' parents' education levels (N = 7218; 90.2%), and zip code of where they grew up (N = 4807; 60.0%).



# Methods

**Income:** Linked respondent provided ZIP with average AGI from IRS (1998-2018) in the year closest to when they grew up. Adjusted for inflation.

**Education:** Respondent provided: What was your parents' highest levels of education? Benchmarks come from the Census Bureau and NSF SED.



# Parental education

	Elementary	Some HS	HS	Some College	College	Masters	PhD
Survey of Earned Doctorates (NSF)	←	25.2	→	14.0	23.1	26.0	11.8
U.S. Population (Census)	8.7	10.5	35.6	23.1	14.6	6.5	0.9

Percentages of faculty by their parents' highest held degree, compared to the closest available data on educational attainment of the U.S. adult population when faculty were born and the education levels of the parents of doctoral recipients when faculty started their tenure-track job.



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# Parental education

29%  
first-gen

	Elementary	Some HS	HS	Some College	College	Masters	PhD
All Professors	2.6	2.9	13.7	9.5	19.5	29.6	22.2

22% PhD  
parents

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All Professors	2.6	2.9	13.7	9.5	19.5	29.6	22.2
Anthropology Professors	0.8	2.3	14.9	7.3	19.4	32.1	23.1
Biology Professors	3.2	3.3	14.3	11.6	19.5	26.2	21.9
Business Professors	2.3	3.3	14.5	8.4	24.1	30.9	16.6
CS Professors	3.2	3.4	10.8	8.9	21.6	26.1	26.0
History Professors	1.6	1.3	10.5	8.6	17.0	34.3	26.7
Physics/Astronomy Professors	4.1	4.1	12.1	10.2	18.3	27.3	24.1
Psychology Professors	1.6	2.1	17.4	9.9	17.1	31.1	20.8
Sociology Professors	1.8	2.7	17.4	6.9	17.0	35.3	18.8
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# Parental education

Blue: highest  
Pink: lowest

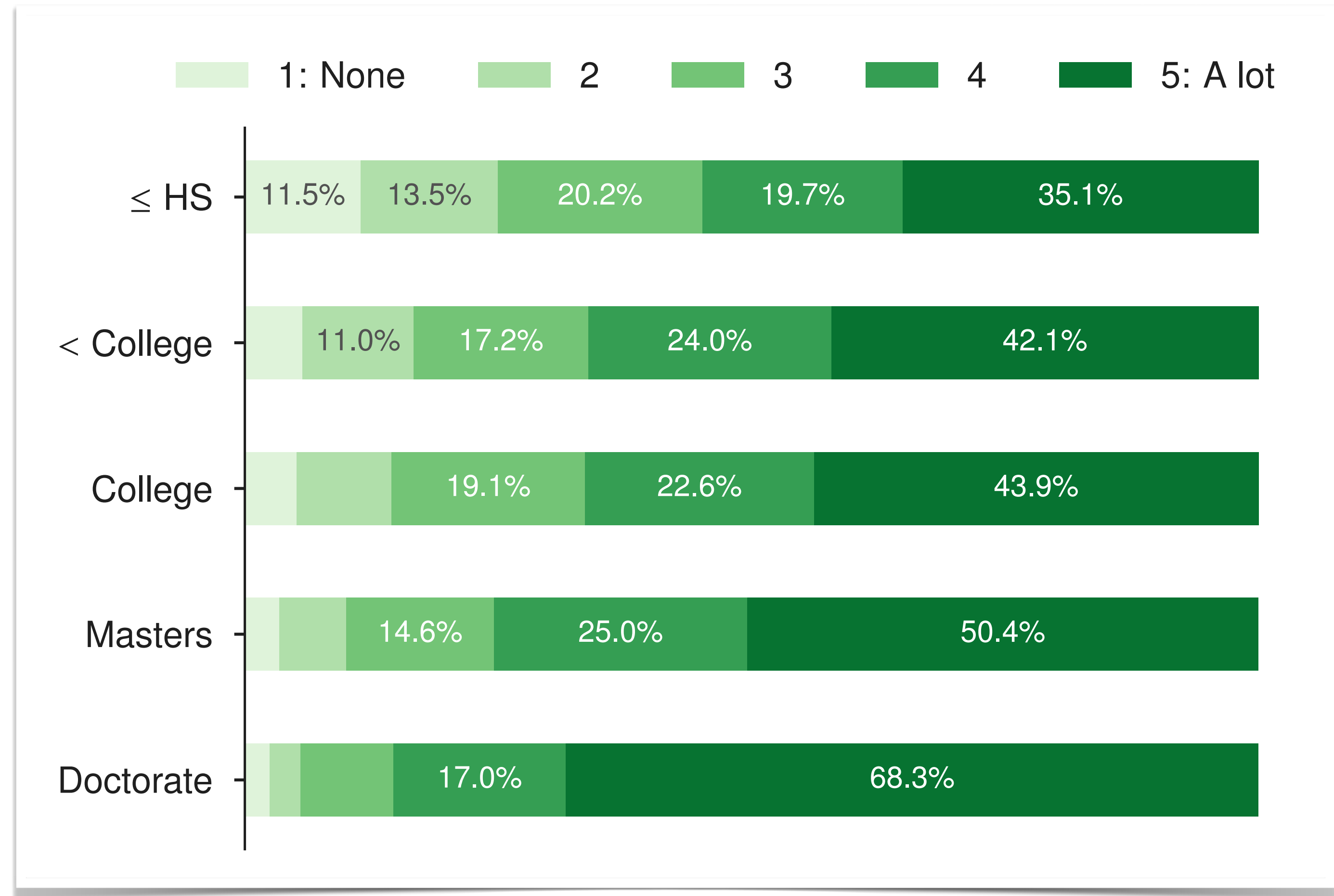
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Psychology Professors	1.6	2.1	17.4	9.9	17.1	31.1	20.8
Sociology Professors	1.8	2.7	17.4	6.9	17.0	35.3	18.8
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# Parental education and career support

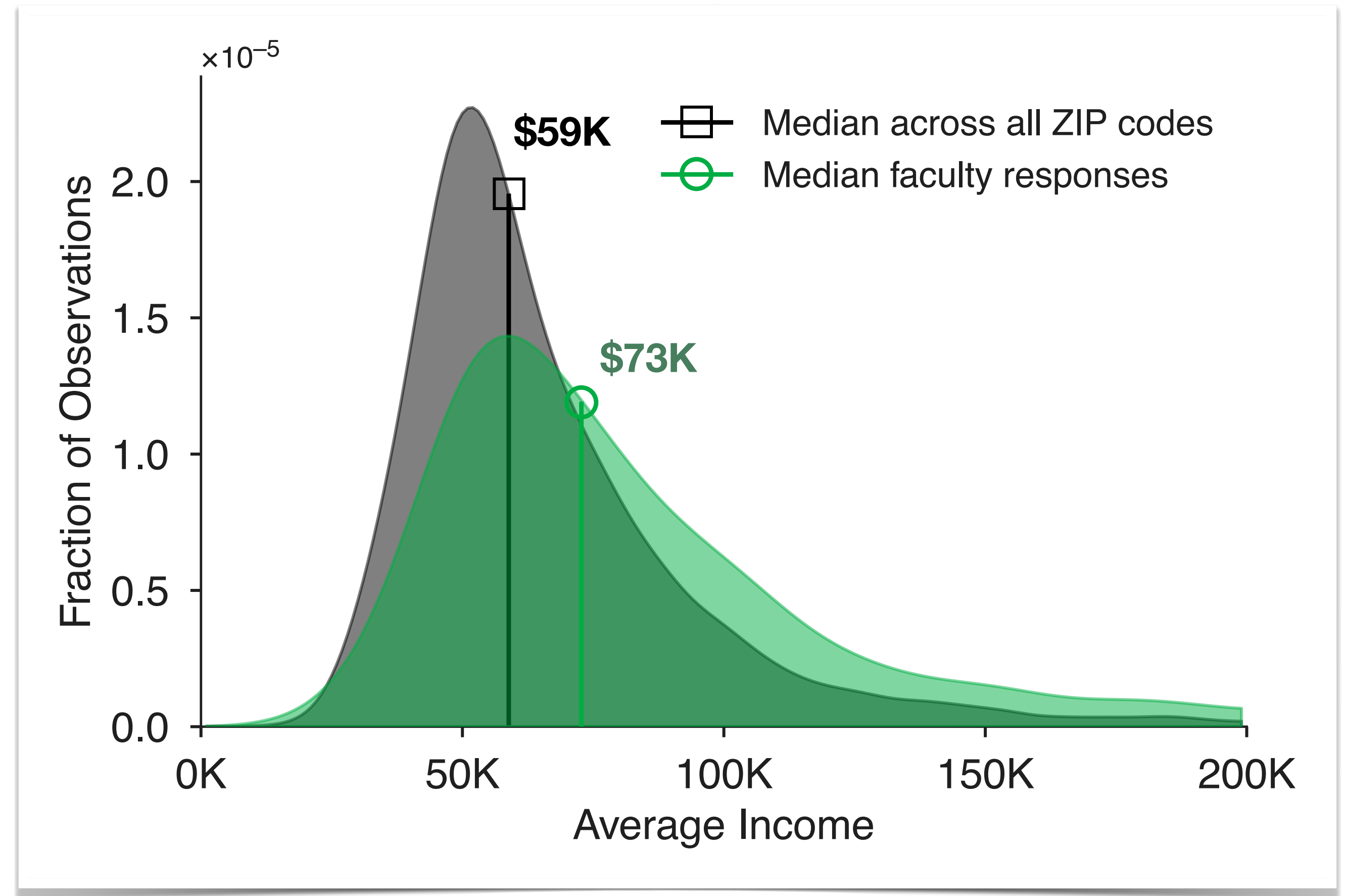
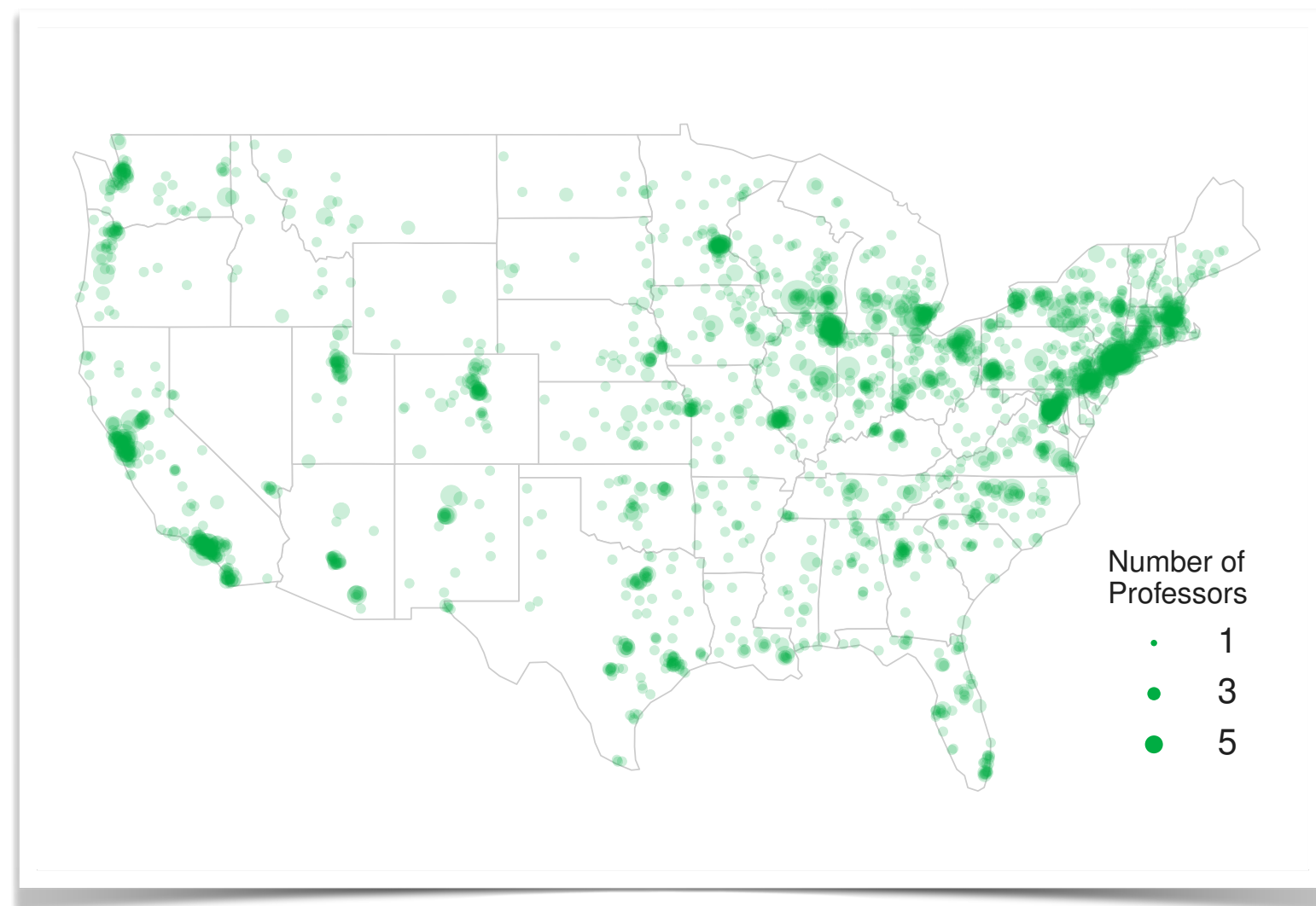
## Parents' Highest Level of Education



Amount of support parents provided for academic careers on a scale of 1 (None at all) to 5 (A lot), stratified by faculty members' parents' highest education levels.



# Estimated income



Average income distribution estimated using faculty members' childhood ZIP codes (green), compared with the income distribution across the 1998 U.S. population (black).



Aside: Isn't this to be expected?

### 12 NASCAR Kids Who Outdid Their Famous Dads (And 13 From Other Motorsports)

Check out the list below of successful NASCAR racers who are already being outshone by their offspring.

BY NATASHA BROWN  
PUBLISHED DEC 29, 2018



### Medical school admission test: advantages for students whose parents are medical doctors?

[Anne Simmenroth-Nayda](#) & [Yvonne Görlich](#)

*BMC Medical Education* 15, Article number: 81 (2015) | [Cite this article](#)

7771 Accesses | 7 Citations | 11 Altmetric | [Metrics](#)

### “IN MY FATHER’S FOOTSTEPS: CAREER PATTERNS OF LAWYERS”\*

by

STEPHEN L. WASBY \*\* & SUSAN S. DALY\*\*\*

### 57 Celebrities with Famous Parents

These stars practically stole the spotlight from their parents.

by CARINE LAVACHE and MEHERA BONNER | JAN 27, 2021

HOLLYWOOD DYNASTIES

### The 25 Most Important Families in Hollywood History

From the Coppolas to the Barrymores to, yes, the Kardashians.



### Kennedy family

The Kennedy family is an American political family that has long been prominent in American politics, public service, entertainment, and business. The first Kennedy elected to public office was Patrick Joseph "P. J." Kennedy in 1884, 35 years after the family's arrival from Ireland. [Wikipedia](#)

Parent family: O'Kennedy

Place of origin: [Dunganstown](#)

Current region: [New England](#)

Founder: [Patrick Kennedy \(1823–1858\)](#)

Probably.



**Aside:** Isn't this to be expected?

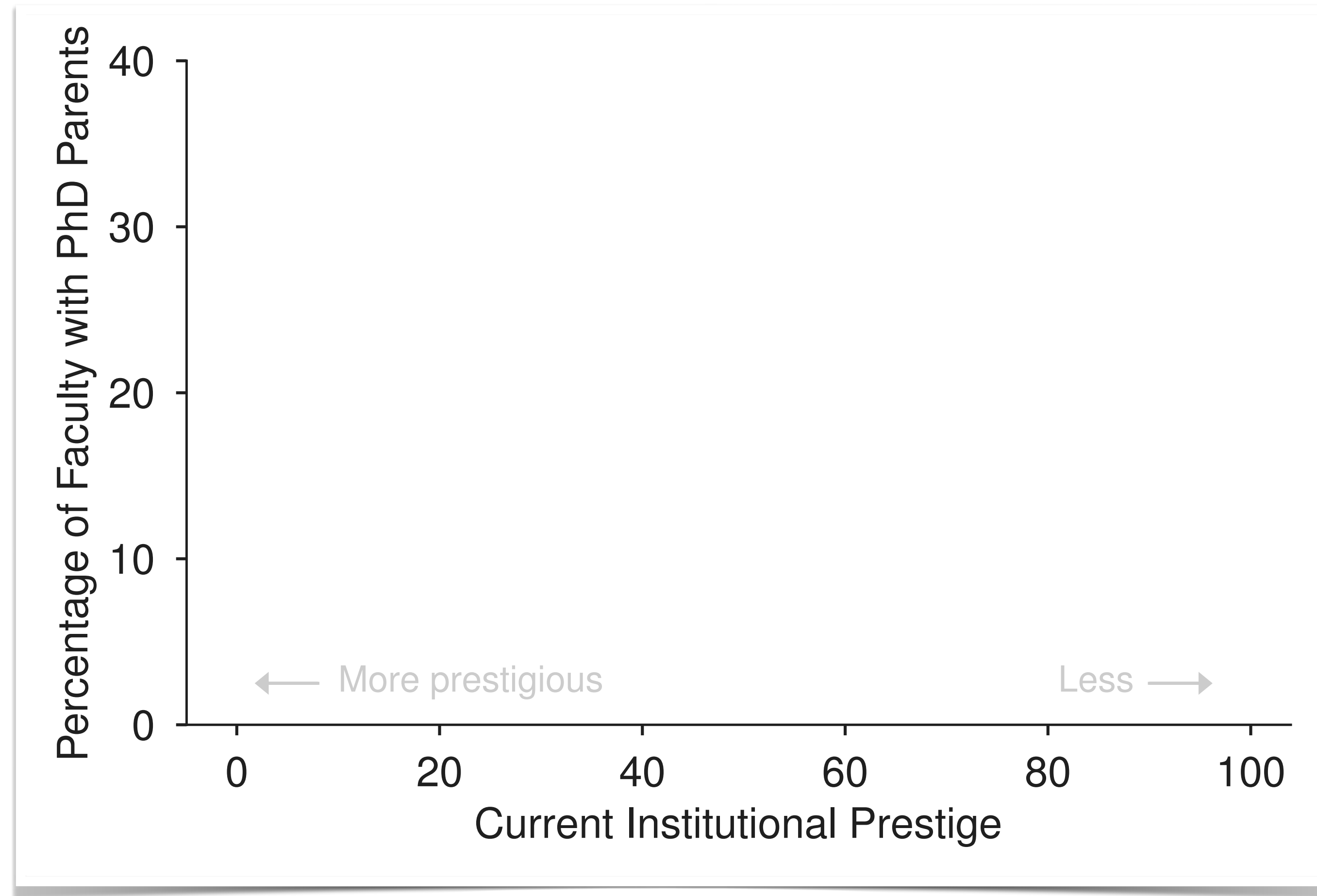
It might be tempting to take the position that the extreme microclass inequalities uncovered here are not all that objectionable. Should we really care, for example, that the child of the truck driver has a special propensity to become a truck driver while the child of a gardener has a special propensity to become a gardener? Must we truly commit ourselves to equal access to truck driving and gardening? If pressed, we would argue that all ascriptive constraints on choice, even those pertaining to purely horizontal inequalities, are inconsistent with a commitment to an open society. By this logic, *all* types of origin-by-destination association are problematic because they imply that human choice has been circumscribed, a circumscription that is wholly determined by the accident of birth. We care, in other

by the accident of birth. We care, in other words, that the truck driver is fated to become a truck driver at birth because that amounts to a stripping away of choice, and most of us would embrace an open society in which choices are expanded, not stripped away. Although our illustrative nonchoice (i.e., being a truck driver versus being a gardener) may not have implications for total rewards (of the sort that are *consensually* valued), it is nonetheless a fateful nonchoice that determines the texture and content of a human life. It is this commitment to an open society, sometimes left quite implicit, that underlies the discipline's long-standing interest in monitoring marital homogamy, occupational sex segregation, and many other forms of ascription that are hybrids of vertical and horizontal processes.

“It’s a Decent Bet That Our Children Will Be Professors Too” Jonsson, Grusky, Di Carlo, Pollak (2009)

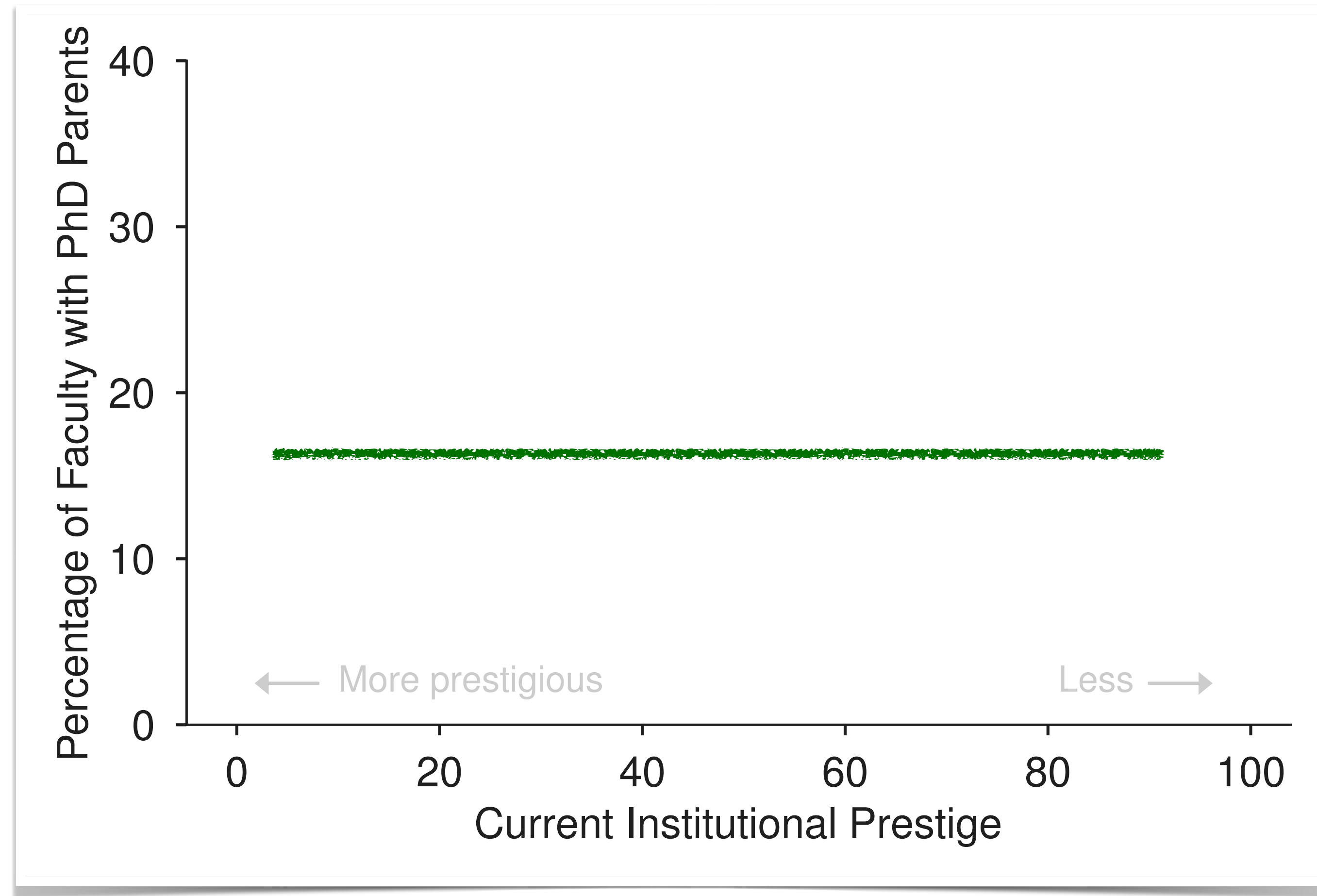


# Relationship between prestige and SES



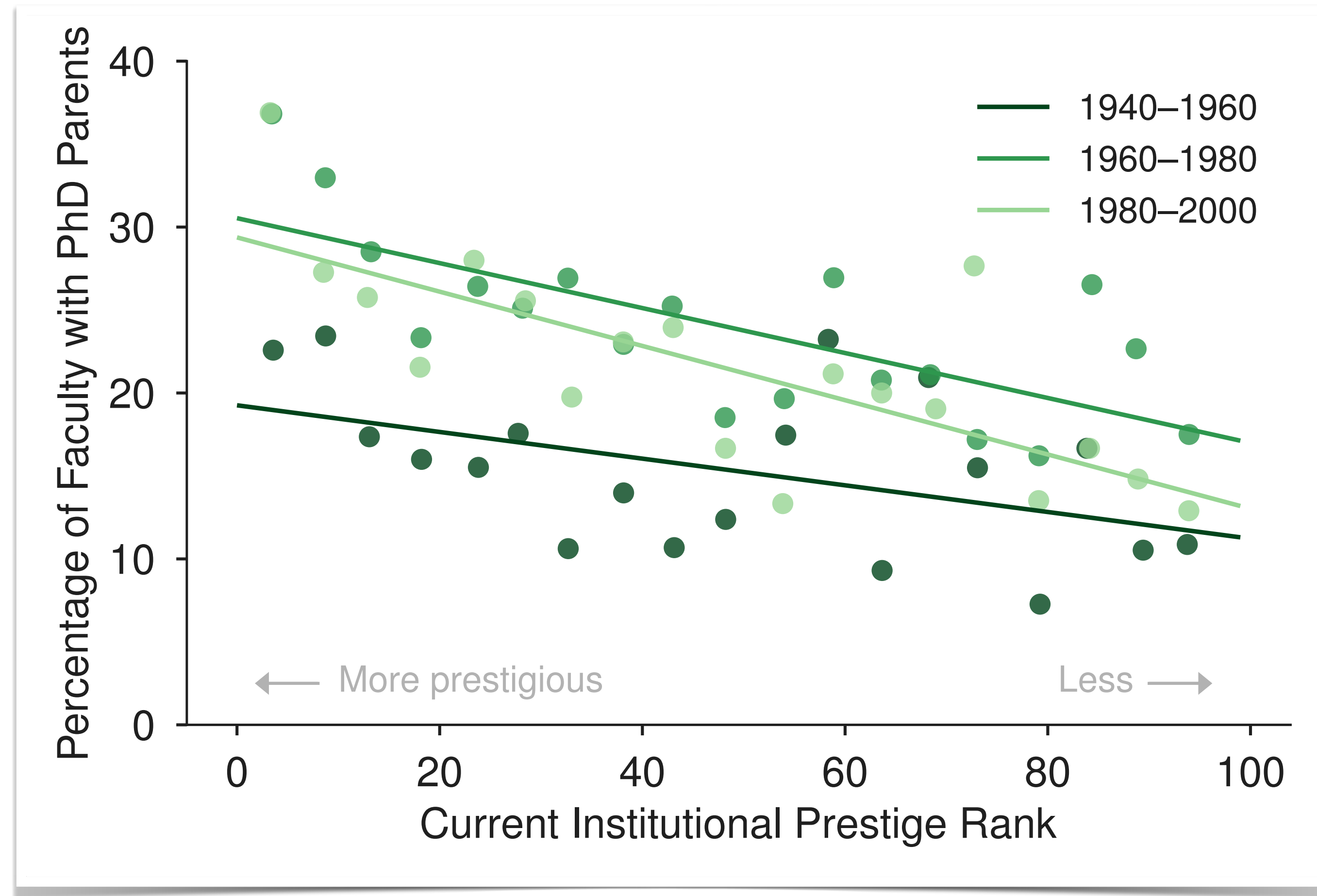


# Relationship between prestige and SES





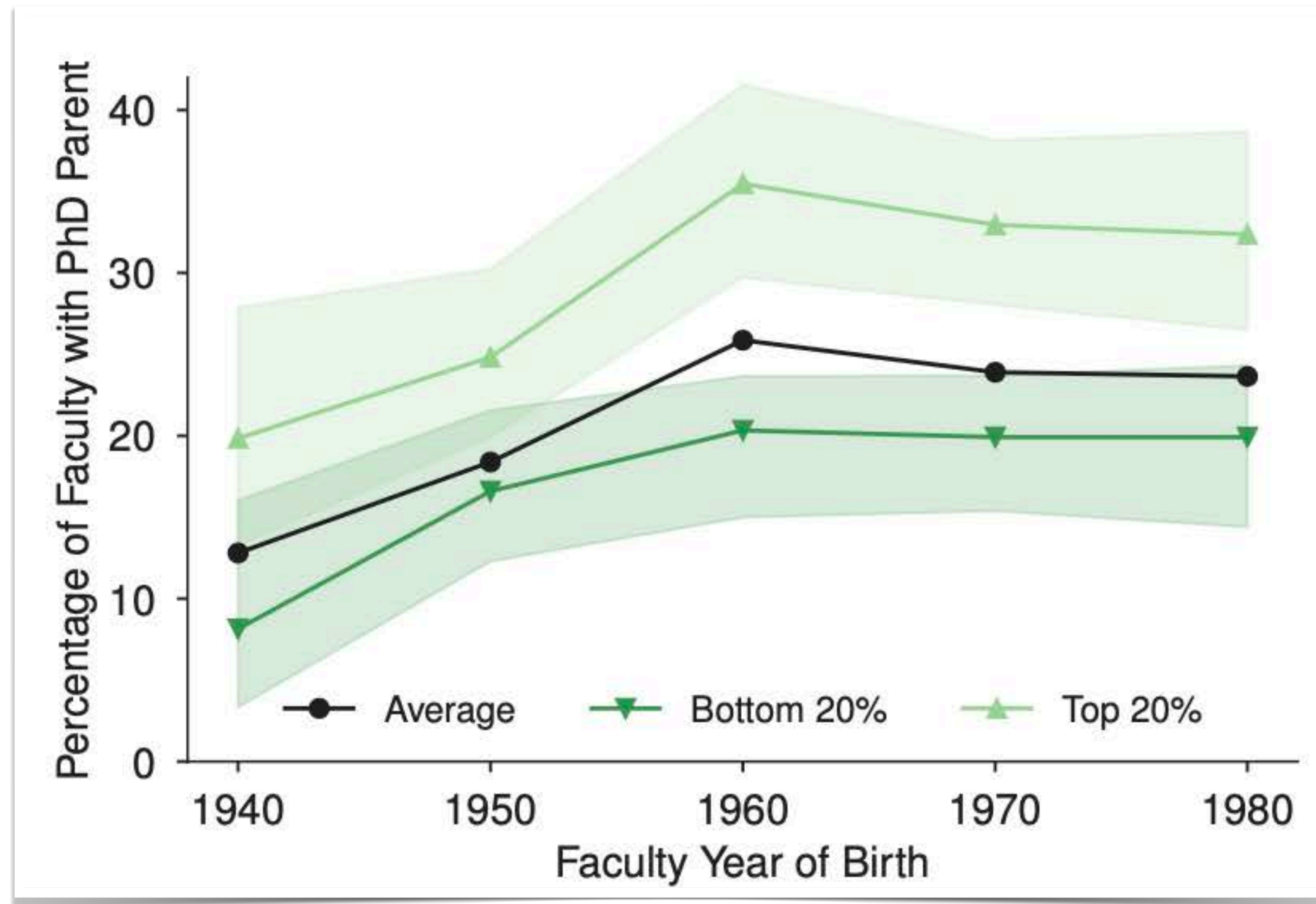
# Relationship between prestige and SES



The relationship between the current institutional ranking of faculty and whether they have a parent with a PhD. Lines show the relationship for faculty born in different time periods.



# Relationship between prestige and SES



Percentage of faculty with at least one parent holding a PhD, stratified by prestige of the faculty's current institution. Green upward arrows describe faculty at top 20% of institutions by USNWR or NRC ranking, and downward arrows the bottom 20% of ranked institutions. The black line describes the average proportion of faculty with PhD parents.



# Relationship between prestige and SES

Linear regression of current institutional prestige as a function of neighborhood, estimated income, and parents' highest education.

	Model I	Model II	Model III
Urban neighborhood	0.129 (0.050)	0.552 (0.052)	0.914 (0.054)
Average income (standardized)		-1.447 * (0.037)	-1.352 * (0.038)
Parents' highest degree:			
Elementary			-2.946 (0.172)
Some high school			-1.816 (0.191)
High school			-4.873 * (0.065)
College			-4.416 * (0.063)
Masters			-5.177 * (0.059)
PhD			-6.889 * (0.061)
Adjusting for discipline, race / ethnicity, gender, PhD prestige	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adjusted $R^2$	0.105	0.107	0.109



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# Outline:

1. Career trajectories and university prestige
2. Institutional prestige shapes scholarship
3. Socioeconomic status shapes academic careers
4. Discuss implications





## Academic workforce



A photograph of a campus scene. In the foreground, two young women are walking away from the camera. The woman on the left has long blonde hair and is wearing a white hoodie and blue jeans. The woman on the right is wearing a blue and grey jacket and blue jeans, and has a backpack. In the background, there is a large brick building, green trees, and a fountain with several water jets. Other students are visible sitting on the ground or walking in the distance.

**Who becomes  
faculty?**

A photograph of a track and field race. Several female athletes are running on a red track. They are wearing athletic gear and have bib numbers on their backs. The track has white lane lines. The athletes are in various stages of their stride, and their shadows are cast on the track surface.

**What influences  
their visibility?**



# Implications

Ideas spread in academia via faculty hiring. The structure of this network can privilege elite institutions.

**Caveats:** Model assumes quality is independent of institution and hiring decisions.

## Effectiveness of Anonymization in Double-Blind Review

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<https://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?doid=3229066.3208157>

## The NIPS experiment

Dec 15, 2014 • Eric Price

<http://blog.mrtz.org/2014/12/15/the-nips-experiment.html>

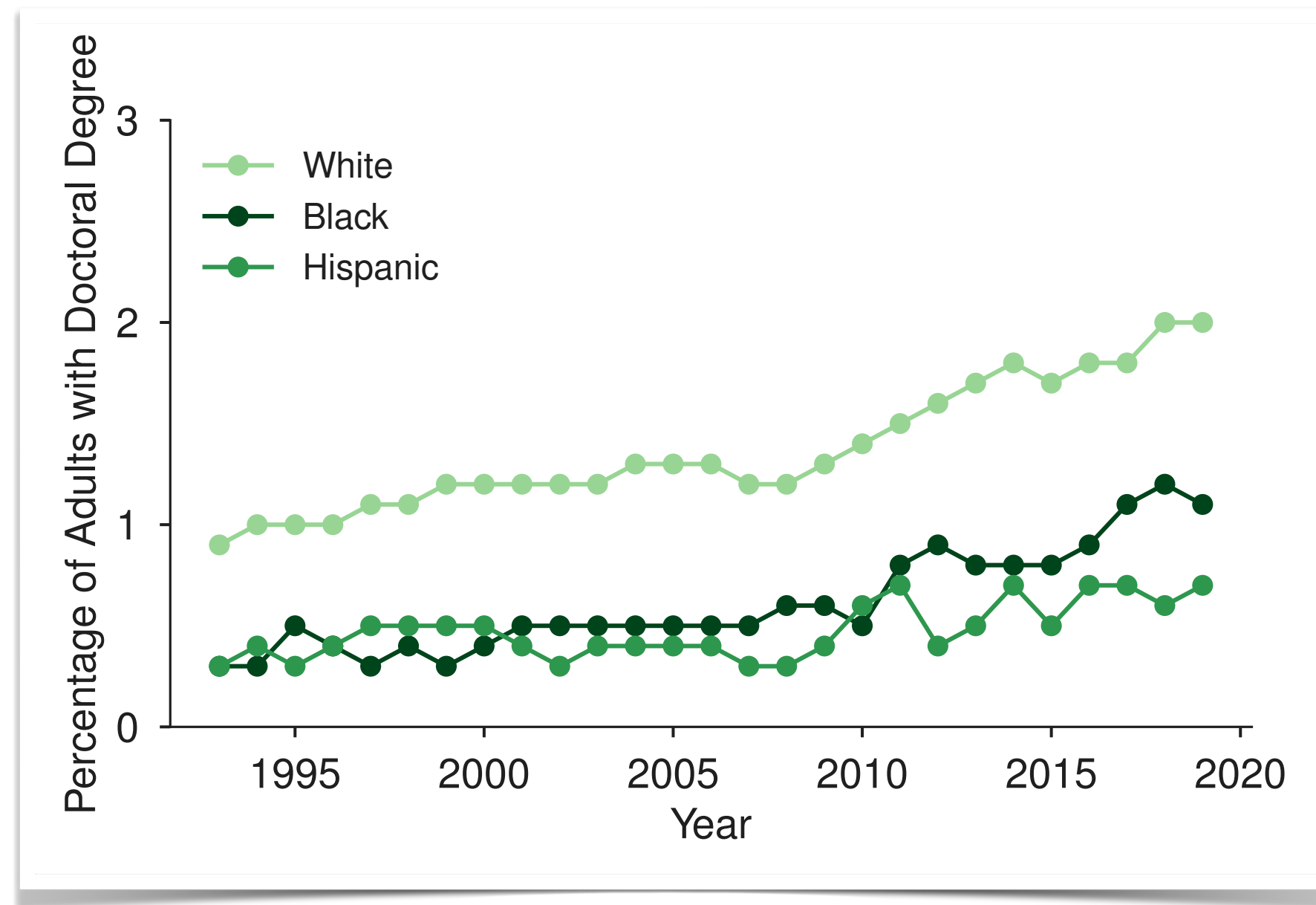
## Reviewer bias in single- versus double-blind peer review

Andrew Tomkins<sup>a,1</sup>, Min Zhang<sup>b</sup>, and William D. Heavlin<sup>a</sup>

*Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. U.S.A.* (2017)



# Implications



Faculty are 2X more likely to have a PhD parent than PhD recipients.

Current placement correlates with having PhD parents.

**Caveats:** This study doesn't speak to barriers once individuals become faculty.

## What should we do?

### The Facade of Fit in Faculty Search Processes

Damani K. White-Lewis

Department of Counseling, Higher Education, and Special Education, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA

*Journal of Higher Education* 9:61 (2020)

### Roles for Computing in Social Change

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*Conf. on Fairness, Accountability, Transparency* (2020)



# Thanks!

Collaborators: Dimitrios Economou, Samuel Way, Aaron Clauset, Daniel Larremore, McKenzie Mae Weller, Mirta Galesic, Nick LaBerge



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## Systematic inequality and hierarchy in faculty hiring networks

Aaron Clauset,<sup>1,2,3\*</sup> Samuel Arbesman,<sup>4</sup> Daniel B. Larremore<sup>5,6</sup>

*Science Advances* 1(1), e1400005 (2015)

## Prestige drives epistemic inequality in the diffusion of scientific ideas

Allison C. Morgan<sup>1</sup> , Dimitrios J. Economou<sup>1</sup> , Samuel F. Way<sup>1</sup> and Aaron Clauset<sup>1,2,3</sup>

*EPJ Data Science* 7:40 (2018)

## Socioeconomic Roots of Academic Faculty

Allison C. Morgan,<sup>1,\*</sup> Nicholas LaBerge,<sup>1,†</sup> Daniel B. Larremore,<sup>1,2,‡</sup> Mirta Galesic,<sup>3,§</sup> and Aaron Clauset<sup>1,2,3,¶</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Santa Fe Institute, Santa Fe, NM, USA

<https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/6wjxc>

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