AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

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This dissertation is situated as the third work in a series on academic women. In 1964, Jessie Bernard published *Academic Women*, which provided a comprehensive assessment of the status of women in academia. Two decades later, in 1987, Angela Simeone offered insight into attempts to achieve equity for women in higher education in her book *Academic Women: Workings Towards Equality*. Now, at the next twenty-five year interval, this dissertation continues the scholarly engagement with questions about academic women. Drawing primarily on in-depth interviews with academic women ($n = 35$), this dissertation is more than a status update. The research presented here furthers the discussion by recognizing the limitations to the use of "academic women" as an all-encompassing category, and it offers a more nuanced approach to understanding their experiences in academia. Drawing on both the individual strategies of women and the organizational structure of the university this dissertation offers a new framework for assessing the various ways in which academic women navigate academic organizations. Additionally, lessons and practices are featured as recommendations and resources for both academic women and academic organizations.

Academic Women: Individual Considerations and Structural Forces in Navigating
Academic Organizations

by
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I understand that my dissertation will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my dissertation to any reader upon request.

_____
        Jennifer M. Almquist, Author

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Introduction

In 1964, Jessie Bernard published *Academic Women,* one of the earliest

comprehensive studies on faculty women. She explores a period of "feminist

enlightenment" where academic women become intently engaged in creating

knowledge, shifting paradigms, and making their own discoveries and contributions.

She considers the differences between academic women and academic men looking at

their background, career patterns, and marital and family status, and the impact these

factors have on productivity and advancement. Bernard highlights the contributions

academic women have made while also exploring the barriers they have faced in an

institution where both subtle and overt biases are perpetuated.

Two decades later, in 1987, Angela Simeone presents *Academic Women:*

Working Towards Equality as an assessment of progress over the nearly twenty-five

intervening years. Using similar methods as Bernard, she considers the extent to which

women have made progress in higher education, using this site as a way to contribute

to broader questions about achieving equity for women in society at large. Simeone

also moves beyond the standard numerical measures of advancement and success of

academic women in order to consider the extent to which behaviors, attitudes, and

institutional cultures themselves have, or have not, changed. As Simeone explores the

pervasive patterns of institutional sexism she ultimately concludes that the status of women has not significantly improved since Bernard's era.

Now, at the next twenty-five year interval, and nearly fifty years since the original *Academic Women,* this research continues the scholarly engagement with questions about academic women. Some attention is paid to quantitative data about promotion, tenure, and retention, as they provide numerical measure of success; however, the statistics alone do not entirely reflect the experiences of women in academic organizations. This research, and the two studies of academic women after which it is modeled, reference data about the progress and status of faculty women in higher education for contextual purposes, but the primary source of information is academic women reflecting on the experiences and processes that are rarely captured by the quantitative data alone.

Through each of the now three studies, the accounts of academic women are also situated in a broader context of feminist thought and perspective, which has shifted in some subtle, and often not so subtle, ways since the time of Bernard's and even Simeone's research. Unlike the situation one sees when looking at the start of the last half-century, sexism is a notion at least basically understood by the general population and women have started to assume places of significance within higher education in the United States. Barriers persist, but scholars and activists continue to offer new insight into the complex ways in which individuals navigate their own identities and interpersonal relationships, as well as the obstructive systems they encounter.

With this changing social and theoretical landscape comes the need to also reconsider the approach to understanding the condition of academic women. The theoretical, social, and even economic contexts in which Bernard and Simeone posed their questions have shifted in ways that compel the reexamination of academic women in the twenty-first century. The purpose here is neither to be the final word on the status of women in higher education, nor is it to dismiss extraordinary efforts that have occurred or are under way; rather, the intent is to make meaningful contributions to the larger conversations about both the status of faculty women in higher education and the status of "women" in critical theories about identity.

Focusing on Women

There are at least three reasons why this research focuses exclusively on the experiences of academic women: 1) Maintaining consistency with the efforts of Bernard and Simeone, 2) Centering the experiences of research participants, and 3) Allowing space to consider the applicability of "woman" as a universal category of analysis. First, in order to fit well as the third installment of what might now be called the *Academic Women* series, it is important to structure the inquiry in a way that is consistent with the previous two studies. Significant alterations might have provided new and interesting insights but would have also impacted the ability to continue the trajectory started by Bernard and continued by Simeone. While I have added more robust participant observation and a dataset of administrators to provide context, the primary emphasis is on the experiences of academic women.

The prominence of the experiences of academic women is also a methodological decision. For a brief period during the time that I was formulating the proposal for this research I had several conversations with various individuals about expanding my pool of participants beyond academic women. The focus of these conversations tended to be on plans to assess the validity of experiences described by research participants. These are reasonable concerns considering that each participant derives meaning about the events of her life through her own filters, and this meaning may or may not be shared by others. The participant who is turned down for promotion and tenure might have a very different understanding from that of her senior colleagues and university administrators about the reasons. I ultimately decided that I am less concerned with whether the experiences shared with me would be found to be "true" when held up against the perceptions of others. Although neither Bernard nor Simeone articulate an explicitly feminist methodology, their approach to conducting and presenting their research brings the lived experiences of academic women to the center of the inquiry in a decidedly feminist way.

As a qualitative researcher, I see this as both challenging and fundamental to my research. I am interested in the lives of my participants as they experience and define them; anthropologists refer to this as the emic perspective. I interpret the stories I hear and, as I retell them, reorganize them, and reread them in the context of my theoretical frameworks I become inextricably apparent in the content. Yet, my role is *not* to try to prove that what my participants say is absolute fact; instead, I embrace the subjectivity of the process. So, in the accounts detailed in the following chapters,

participants say things that other people might not agree with, and participants say things that others might know to be untrue. The point is that they are sharing their understanding in a way that is true for them and the most generous perspective is to view any areas of disconnect as insightful.

In addition to maintaining a consistent methodology and keeping the experiences of participants at the center of the inquiry, the exclusive focus on academic women provides an opportunity to explore the nuances within a group of individuals who all self-identify with at least one common characteristic. Too often research about academic women as compared to academic men focuses on the differences between the two groups and obscures the variations within each. Even research that focuses exclusively on academic women can overemphasize the uniformity of gender. Yet, theories of intersectionality suggest that no aspect of identity exists in isolation from others. For example, one's experience with sexism is also informed by one's sexual orientation, race, and socioeconomic status.

While one component of identity may at times be more salient and provide linkages to other individuals with similar experiences, such commonalities should not be mistaken for universality. Given the stated intent of this research to reconceptualize the experiences of academic women in accordance with shifting notions of identity it is useful to maintain "woman" as a common point of comparison. For that reason, the focus is exclusively the experiences of academic women; however, it can be difficult to negotiate the space between creating solidarity and reifying essentialism. Thus, in detailing the experiences of academic women it is important to be clear that the single

category is being used as a foundation for critical inquiry rather than to reinforce problematic categorization. Indeed, what becomes evident is that there is a range of individual and structural elements that interact to produce a variety of ways in which academic women experience and navigate academic organizations.

Contemplating Higher Education

In March 2000, *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* published an issue titled "Studying Universities." In the lead article, Wisniewski (2000) describes the qualitative research community's apparent avoidance of studies of the academy as a collective "averted gaze." Among his explanations for why this has been the case is the anthropological tradition in which researchers are expected to travel to exotic locations to study something unfamiliar or different. Yet, according to Harrison, "If the diversity of Western society is ever to be reflected in the composition of academic staff in higher education, it is essential to have accurate descriptions of the mechanisms that promote or limit that diversity" (2001:499). In this sense, ethnographic research into these questions is essential for describing the cultural assumptions and organizational structures that shape the policies and practices of academia and inform the experiences of people within them. In the western anthropological tradition, the university may not seem nearly as exotic as the Amazon; however, it is a crucially important site for an inquiry into cultural norms and practices, and it provides a location for testing emergent theoretical and epistemological concepts.

At the same time, I have endured a recurring crisis throughout this process stemming from the realization that academics, even academic women, are members of a privileged class. There are budget cuts and increasingly heavy teaching loads but, at least in terms of cultural capital, academics are among the elite. In a global context where girls and women fall victim to sex-trafficking at alarming rates, yet another study on academic women risks being perceived as effete. My only way out of that despairing cycle is to return to the importance of understanding the racial, gender, ethnic, class, and power issues that persist within higher education. If the basic assumption is that access to exploring and creating knowledge should be a right, rather than a privilege, academia can be seen as a site of ongoing struggle where inequities persist. In this context, it becomes not only relevant but critically important to understand who has access to and who succeeds in institutions of higher education. By averting our gaze, the self-perpetuating academic organization risks becoming obsolete as it fails to adapt to a changing cultural, economic, and political context, but making it the site of critical inquiry provides the opportunity to create a more relevant, navigable institution.

Research Objectives and Questions

This research seeks to join the persistent theoretical and practical questions about gender with the limited availability of anthropological insight into higher education in order to create an opportunity to engage with questions about how academic women are navigating academic organizations. In a deliberate way I rely on

Bernard's and Simeone's benchmark questions, findings, and conclusions to contextualize the progress of women in academia in the two decades since *Academic Women: Working Towards Equality* was published. I also elect to mirror the approach used by Simeone, who replicated Bernard's methods, by relying on open-ended interviews with women from a single large research university presented in conjunction with relevant data about academic women.

Like Simeone and Bernard before her the shared premise is that the story of academic women extends beyond statistical measures of promotion, tenure, and retention; these important quantifiable measures must be understood in the context of the rich experiential and reflective data of faculty women in academic organizations. Where this study diverges is in its effort to not only uncover similarities, but also differences among the experiences of academic women. Structural barriers have been identified in numerous studies about the professoriate, but do all women interact with them in the same way? Individual considerations, including aspects of identity, are frequently noted as impacting the careers of academic women, but are these experienced consistently across all women? That is, within the shared category of gender, are there nuances to the ways in which academic women navigate academic organizations, and specifically the process of promotion and tenure? If so, how does this understanding inform efforts to achieve equity in access and success for women in academic organizations? This study will suggest some answers to these questions.

Organization of the Dissertation

In many ways, this exploration into the experiences of women in higher education is prefaced by the work of both Bernard and Simeone. They have provided the framework for the conversation that continues in this research, and the hope is that the dialogue will persist in meaningful ways beyond these pages. This introductory chapter has provided the rationale for both the population and the general site of inquiry noting that the pursuit of questions about academic women offers insight into both the complexities of gender and the intricacies of academic organizations. I have also outlined the objectives of this research and suggested where it aligns with or extends beyond the works that precede it.

In Chapter One, I provide the conceptual frameworks that inform the questions posed and the analyses conducted as part of this research. The chapter begins by considering broad theoretical efforts to make meaning of work and organizations as a way to more specifically contextualize higher education. I further explore the relationship of anthropology to the study of organizations noting such inquiries were markedly absent during a period in which the discipline as a whole flourished. This supports the rationale outlined earlier in this introduction for focusing a purposeful "gaze" on organizations generally and higher education specifically. I then consider the social constructions of subjects and the relationship between agency and power. This provides a foundation for understanding the structural and cognitive components that impact the way an aspect of identity such as gender is experienced. Lastly, I move to an overview of the ways in which theorists have come to understand gender. This

includes not only gender as a category of analysis, but also the role of gender in the relationship between identity and the creation of subjective knowledge.

Chapter Two extends the conversation about conceptual frameworks by presenting the specific theoretical perspectives that inform my role as a researcher. I explore my particular interpretation of anthropological and feminist methodologies, and I further explain my commitment to negotiating the complex relations of power and centering the lived experiences of participants throughout the research process. Chapter Two also offers an introduction to my participants and more information about the university in which this research was conducted. In this chapter I also discuss several places where tensions emerge, first between engaging in a project that both relies on and endeavors to problematize the category "woman," and between being an "insider" and a researcher in the same organization. My own positionality as a researcher is complicated by the fact that prior to, during, and immediately after this research I am employed as a professional in the same university that is the site of this study. It is impossible to "unknow" information that I have learned in either my role as a researcher or as an employee, so in many instances I find myself trying to allow synergy where it is useful and define boundaries where it is necessary. While it might not always be evident in these pages, the challenges of embodying multiple roles have formed a constant undercurrent in this research.

Chapters Three and Four provide insight into the ways in which academic women navigate higher education. The presentation of ethnographic data in these two chapters is largely guided by *Academic Women* and *Academic Women: Working*

Towards Equality. One significant distinction from the previous two books is that I have separated my research findings, focusing first on how the structures of the university shape the experiences of academic women, and then on how academic women enact individual adaptations in negotiating the university.

The purpose of Chapter Three is to explore both the academy as an organization and the organization of the academy. I detail aspects of the increasingly corporate nature of universities in order to later reflect on how academic women negotiate this emerging landscape. I also consider the extent to which academia is prepared to respond to the embodied experiences of people within the organization, and I conclude with a specific focus on what academic women understand to be expected, supported, valued, and rewarded in the process of promotion and tenure.

In Chapter Four the focus shifts to the experiences of academic women from their decision to become members of the professoriate to the individual and interpersonal strategies they employ throughout the process. The chapter concludes with a look at the ways in which academic women make space for the various components of their full lives, sometimes very successfully and other times less so. Together, Chapters Three and Four tell the story of how academic women access and pursue success in one particular academic organization using the frameworks offered by Bernard and Simeone as guides.

In Chapter Five I present case studies as a way to bring together the previous two ethnographic chapters, and to further explore emergent themes. The decision to present the experiences of academic women in this way came relatively late in the

research process as I was initially hesitant to focus so much attention on specific individuals due to concerns about protecting the identities of my participants. Ultimately, I concluded that the insights participants generously shared with me were too rich to not somehow be used to feature some of both the similar and divergent experiences of academic women as they navigate academic organizations. The case studies in Chapter Five are composites that have been carefully composed both to protect individual identities and to emphasize important themes.

I begin Chapter Six by revisiting the extent to which "academic women" can be understood as a homogeneous category and consider where there are opportunities to develop a more nuanced understanding. What becomes apparent is that existing categories and frameworks do not fully account for the successes of some and the struggles of others. To address this theoretical gap, I propose a framework for understanding the myriad ways in which individual considerations, including aspects of identity, interact with structural forces to shape the ability of women to navigate careers in higher education. I continue this discussion in the final chapter where I offer my conclusions about enacting a more nuanced understanding of the category "academic women." In doing so, I consider both individual and organizational strategies for supporting academic women and creating more navigable academic organizations.

<u>Chapter One: Conceptual Frameworks</u>

In this chapter I review the literature that makes it possible for me to answer my research questions, and I explain how I define, connect, and position my research in relation to these conceptual frameworks. First, I consider the order of organizations and the nature of work as a way to contextualize the impact of an emergent market ethos on the culture, assumptions, and processes of American universities. I then explore the social construction of subjects and the relationship between agency and power in navigating social contexts. Lastly, I investigate feminist paradigms and theories of women's identities. Throughout the literature I offer insight into academic faculty and the organization in which they are embedded. Additionally, in an effort to replicate the methods used by Jessie Bernard in *Academic Women* and Angela Simeone in *Academic Women: Working Towards Equality*, I present a variety of studies pertaining directly or indirectly to faculty women layered with findings from my own ethnographic research. Thus, the theories and literature related to important conceptual frameworks are detailed here, and more trends in research and public discourse and the ways in which they are played out in the lives of individuals appear in Chapters Three and Four.

Work and Organizations

Organizational Theories

To begin, it is useful to contextualize higher education in the broader anthropological and sociological study of work and organizations. A consideration of how work is organized is of interest to scholars in a variety of disciplines, including anthropologists, sociologists, and scholars of business and management. Across disciplines, Karl Marx has had profound influence on organizational theory given his focus on the concept of control as well as his ideas of struggle and resistance, and the tension created between capitalist interest in the maximization of profit and the ability of workers to resist (Jaffee 2001). This insight into the forces of capital provides a foundation for understanding modern organizations and their social relations. Jaffe suggests that Marxist theory highlights the use of bureaucracy as an "instrument of control and manipulation" and a way to exert domination of the labor process, as well as over individual workers (2001:116). Indeed, Marx is very clear in his belief about the extent to which bureaucracy alienates workers through oppressive modes of organization. While this serves the owners of capital who benefit from the accumulation of profit, Marx explains that the individual performing the labor finds, "that, in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind" (in Tucker 1978:74).

Indeed, bureaucratic models and their impact on the workers within them have been a particular focus for social scientists interested in organizations. According to

Weber (1958), a bureaucratic structure offers a number of advantages to organizations competing in a capitalist market economy where there is an emphasis on precision, clarity, and continuity. He also emphasizes a need for clear lines of authority, divisions of labor, and formalized rules (McC. Heyman 2004). Weber suggests that this organizational model is superior to other forms. He outlines the philosophically ideal image of bureaucratic organizations and officials concluding that, were such an image attainable, the efficiency of bureaucratic processes would allow organizations to function at an optimum level. In this sense, the success of the bureaucratic model rests on the ability to remove emotion and irrationality from organizational structures. To structure processes and to coordinate labor in such a way is to operate as a machine with each part designed to function effectively and efficiently (Jaffee 2001).

Modern organizational theory suggests, however, that organizations do not always operate according to such a cohesive design (Hamada 1989). The complexity of individuals within organizations and of organizations themselves renders the ideal bureaucracy unattainable. Not only is such a mechanistic model unrealistic, bureaucracies are often viewed as generating negative consequences for workers by "suffocating the human spirit and robbing organizational participants of their freedom and dignity" (Jaffee 2001:111). In the bureaucratic model, workers are assigned to special tasks that only they perform as a way to ensure the most efficient mode of production (Braverman 1974). Harvey (2000) argues that the conditions for workers have not dramatically changed since the time of Marx and Engles. Workers continue to be subjected to the powers of domination and subordination exerted by production

processes that rely on the principles of bureaucracy; what has changed is the number of workers worldwide that are subjected to work under bureaucratic models.

What will become most important to this study is an understanding of justice or fairness within organizations. Although the anthropological study of organizations is largely devoid of engagement with explicit questions about justice, the focus has been part of organizational theories more broadly since the mid-1960s. The study of organizational justice is primarily concerned with three forms: distributive justice, procedural justice, and interactional justice (Colquitt et al. 2001; Greenberg 2009). The notion of "distributive justice" is one of the earliest conceptualizations of fairness in organizations. Much of the research has been shaped by the work of Adams (1965) and the idea that people are most concerned with whether the distribution of outcomes is consistent with the level of one's contributions or "inputs" compared to others. The focus is less on the absolute outcome and more about whether rewards are fairly distributed.

Distributive justice has been supplemented with the concept of "procedural justice," which focuses less on the nature of specific outcomes and more on the manner in which they are determined (Greenberg 2009). The concept was introduced by Thibaut and Walker (1975) and expanded by Leventhal (1980), who offers six criteria for determining whether a procedure will be perceived as fair: application of procedures in a consistent manner, engagement in a process that is free of bias, collection of accurate information for the purposes of decision-making, creation of

mechanisms to modify or reverse flawed decisions, representation of the perspectives of individuals impacted by decisions, and enactment of moral and ethical values.

The most recent expansion of thinking in justice literature is the importance of not just fair outcomes and processes, but also the polite, dignified, and respectful treatment of people (Colquitt et al. 2001). Bies and Moag (1986), introduce the concept of "interactional justice" to emphasize that the quality of treatment people receive when procedures are implemented also significantly impacts their perception of justice. Together, these three forms of justice will guide an understanding of how academia ought to be organized to support successful experiences for the professoriate.

Anthropological Approaches

Though anthropologists are also engaged in the deliberate study of work, broader ethnographic accounts conducted throughout the history of the discipline have documented human labor across many societies. Anthropologists have provided insight into a variety of approaches to dividing labor as well as to the tools and methods employed, and the work performed. Anthropological interest in the nature of work and the characteristics of organizations can be understood in the context of the discipline as a whole. As theoretical shifts have occurred in the field, they have impacted the study of labor. The trajectory of anthropological involvement in business and industry is often traced to the Hawthorne Project, a study conducted in a factory outside of Chicago between 1924 and 1933. A significant finding of the research is the

extent to which workers exert control over productivity and the influence of more humane treatment by managers on employee performance (Jordan 2003:10).

The organizational theory that emerged from this study, the human relations school, emphasizes the importance of manager-employee relationships in ensuring productivity (Baba 2009; Jordan 2003). Yet, the popularity of the human relations school exemplifies a disconnect between organization studies and the general field of anthropology. While the discipline was exploring new theoretical perspectives, anthropologists studying organizations remained committed to the human relations school, which is rooted in a functionalist belief that characteristics of an organization serve a function, otherwise they would not be present (Jordan 2003:13). During this period, organizational anthropologists were hired by companies to use the theories and techniques of anthropology to understand worker-management relations and to analyze problems within the organization (Baba 2005; Jordan 2003).

While the discipline as a whole flourished during the period between 1960 and 1980, anthropological practice in or for business organizations almost completely ceased (Baba 2005; Jordan 2003). For example, Marxist theories were of particular interest to anthropologists throughout the 1960s and 1970s, yet despite the logical connection, these theories were not incorporated into the anthropology of work and organizations until later. Jordan (2008:13) points to ethical questions as the reason for the decrease in activity, which stemmed from a concern about the possibility of engagement by anthropologists in secret research for the U.S. government. Although research conducted in corporations is distinct from that which might be conducted in

conjunction with secretive government operations, the discipline's code of ethics served to halt developments in business anthropology for two decades.

During this period ethnographic investigation was focused elsewhere; however, by the 1980s, anthropological interest in organizational culture had returned, particularly in conjunction with the emergence of globalization (Hamada 1989). Finally anthropologists had the opportunity to apply the theoretical frameworks developed during the previous 20 years to the study of business. Although there was a delay in their ability to do so, Schwartzman (1993:2) argues that anthropologists are well positioned to explore what she describes as "the processes of organizational life and incorporation that have become so familiar to us that we do not seem to see them." For Shumar (2004), the engagement of anthropologists with institutions is not just desirable, it is crucial because the theories and methods used by anthropologists can benefit the study of organizational behavior. These perspectives on the importance of anthropological engagement with organizations along with the paucity of work by anthropologists about higher education have spurred my own interest in featuring an academic organization as the site of this research.

Organizational Culture

Another topic of interest to anthropologists, sociologists, and scholars of business and management is "culture." As previously indicated, the contributions to the study of work and organizations are diverse and theories of culture are only one component; however, the frequency with which the term is used in organizational

literature indicates that it is an important aspect to consider more fully. According to Jordan, *culture* became a popular term in the 1980s (2003:16), while the term *organizational culture* gained popularity in the late 1990s (2008:3). Despite its popularity as a concept, Martin (2002) notes that there is not one common understanding of culture and while the numerous ways that culture is defined generally share the same components, there is considerable variety to the approaches used in the study culture. Given that modern organization theory is not unified, it is useful to consider some of the perspectives applied to an understanding of culture.

First, it is important to note that approaching organizations from a cultural perspective is different from approaches that view individual workers as parts of a machine (Hamada 1989). That is not to say that culture does not exist in mechanical models of organizations; rather, it is not explicitly a consideration of scholars with an interest in the management of parts over the interactions of people. The cultural approach focuses on social relationships, including conflict, as well as on the motivations and values of individuals within the organization. From this perspective, individuals are seen as creating organizational culture, not simply reacting to their environment (Hamada 1989).

In her work, Baba (1989) is careful to distinguish between societies and organizations. She argues that organizations are not simply small societies and that the socialization of individuals within an organization is different from the enculturation that takes place from birth for members of a society. Further, some anthropologists consider work on organizational culture to be an inappropriate application of the

concept in a way that is "inaccurate and dilutes its value" (Jordan 2008:9). For Baba (1989), while the cultural phenomena that occur in an organizational context may bear some similarities, the scope and duration is not the same as the expression of culture in a broader context. In fact, individuals enter organizations already possessing "multiple social and cultural identities" that impact their interaction with organizational culture (Baba 1989:7). She suggests that the extension of theories of culture to organizations can be valuable and that organizational culture can be seen to influence the formation of relationships, the establishment of networks, and the sharing of knowledge. Nevertheless, Baba (1989) concludes that organizations cannot be understood as societies "writ small" and that it is important to recognize the unique and complex expressions of culture within each context.

Although anthropologists do not agree on a single definition of culture, there are general components that differ from the definitions applied by scholars of business and management. Jordan defines culture as "an integrated system of shared ideas (thoughts, ideas, attitudes), behaviors (actions), and material artifacts (objects) that characterize a group" (2003:2). She further describes the ways in which culture is transmitted in organizations through such means as formal training programs and the informal sharing of stories among employees. Both of these methods are evident in the following chapters as ways in which the culture of the university is defined and disseminated. The sociological approach to such issues tends to focus more on an analysis of social structures and the ways they influence the transmission of an organizational values and expectations (Kuh and Whitt 1988).

Together these disciplines provide the framework used throughout this research for understanding the layered components that shape the nature and experience of workers in organizations. I use these complex conceptualizations of culture in organizations to guide my inquiry and analysis of the university as both an integrated system and a complex social structure. It is also import to recognize, however, that the workplace is not homogeneous and workers within the same organization do not necessarily have the same set of experiences. For that reason, it is also necessary to consider other factors that are evident within organizations.

Workplace Segregation and the Division of Labor

A discussion of segregation in the workplace and an understanding of the approaches used in the study of power and inequality provide insight into the methods and theories of a variety of disciplines. The division of labor, defined generally as the ordering of tasks, and workplace segregation, defined as the observable phenomenon of the segmentation and concentration of workers in different areas, are important components of organizational order. In fact, the sex segregation of work and occupations can be understood as stemming from the same stereotypes that serve as the foundation for the sexual division of labor (O' Brien 2009:353).

Historically, the biological discourse about sex has served as justification for the separation of work between males and females. Despite the theoretical shifts away from biological imperatives toward social constructions that have revealed such divisions as arbitrary, segregation on the basis of sex persists in the workplace. One

possible explanation for the maintenance of sex-ordered job segregation is the role of

men in not only asserting dominance over the labor of women, but in opposing the

inclusion of women in certain jobs through individual acts of harassment and

collective resistance (Hartmann 1976; Reskin and Roos 1990).

A second explanation for the composition of occupations is the job queue

theory proposed by Reskin and Roos (1990), which considers both rankings

established by employers with regard to workers and the processes used by workers to

rank jobs. In each instance, the desire is to select from as high in the queue as possible

so that employers want to hire the best workers, and workers want to accept the best

available jobs. These queues operate as "gender queues" when employers rely on

stereotypes, preferences, and bias to select men over women (Reskin and Roos

1990:38).

Another consideration in the perpetuation of segregation is the way in which

jobs are often conceptualized. For example, many careers are designed with the

expectation that the employee will continuously progress in the same organization

over a lifetime (Lorber 1994). Hochschild (1975) describes this as the "clockwork" by

which workers must order the timeline of their career. Yet these expectations are

devised for an "abstract, bodiless worker" based on a universal concept that does not

account for the material conditions of actual individuals (Acker 1990:151). In fact, the

model for promotion and tenure in universities within the United States has been

criticized for perpetuating an employment structure that is unrealistic for the modern

worker. As Mason and Goulden argue (2004), the present model was instituted at a

time when academic men were supported in their career pursuits by wives who took responsibility for household duties and child-rearing responsibilities. Whatever the cause, segregation is a "fundamental process in social inequality" (Reskin 1993:241), and it is observable across workplaces.

Divisions of labor, or the separation of particular roles and tasks, have been of ongoing interest to scholars in a variety of fields. Philosophers, economists, and notably Marx with his interest in distinctions between those who perform and those who control labor, have all considered various models and motivations for the separation of work. Beyond an ordering of who does what work, divisions of labor are imbued with values and have served to perpetuate other biological and social divisions.

First, it is important to note the use of the terminology the "sexual division of labor." Feminist scholars from a variety of disciplines have challenged the conflation of biological sex with social gender and have made a shift to discussions of the "gender division of labor" (Barfield 1997). This is more than simply a semantic preference and, in fact, has been a valuable approach to countering the notion that divisions of labor, distinctions between production and reproduction, and separations between public and private reference fixed biological realities. Nevertheless, use of the "sexual division of labor" is valuable to encompass the original conception of male and female distinctions, and the contemporary understanding of divisions based on gender. Similarly, "men" and "women" are used here to reflect a commonsense

understanding of the complex ways in which biological and cultural factors are juxtaposed in the creation of these identities.

According to Bourdieu, the sexual division of labor is similar to any other dualistic pairing, that is, "natural, to the point of being inevitable" (2001:8). He suggests that divisions stem from oppositions between male and female, and are thus founded in biology and sustained and reproduced by the actions of individuals. In fact, the body becomes a point of reference for the division of labor through the habits of the body, or the bodily *hexis* (Bourdieu 2001:30). That is, divisions are learned and solidified through the enactment of embodied dispositions. According to Luthar and Šadl (2008), they are also perpetuated by the contributions of those who are in the dominated position via their socially constructed dispositions. This sexual division of labor is further legitimated through not only the separation of production and reproduction, but also the widespread subordination of reproductive activities to those of production (Bourdieu 2001:97).

Brown (1970) also suggests that such a sexual division of labor is universal though it is not due to physiological or psychological reasons. She notes that around the world the rearing of children is primarily the responsibility of women and she argues that across societies "the economic role of women is to be maximized" (Brown 1970:1075). Thus, the contributions of women to subsistence activities must be considered in the context of their responsibilities for child care. While some societies support caretaking arrangements that allow women to balance their economic pursuits

with their care duties, the fact that this is not the case universally has shaped the subsistence activities in which women are able to engage.

Conversely, Slocum (1975) offers a critique of the assumption that child-rearing obligations necessitate the relegation of women to tasks that can be sedentary and intermittent, such as gathering vegetation. She reframes the understanding of the sexual division of labor by noting the male bias in traditional anthropological theories. At the time of her publication, human evolution was assumed to be predicated on hunting conducted by men and complementary gathering activities conducted by women. Slocum's (1975) criticism highlights how biased interpretations and language use skew the understanding of the sexual division of labor, and obscure the range of tasks in which both men and women engage.

Despite the reanalysis of predominate theoretical beliefs, there does not appear to be consensus about divisions of labor on the basis of distinctions between sexes. Nevertheless, one of the consequences of a sexual division is that it that perpetuates the association of women with reproductive labor. First, Lamphere is careful to note that "production" is not intended to be synonymous with "workplace," nor is "reproduction" directly equated with "family" and child-rearing (1986:119). Keeping in mind this complexity, it can be observed that as the contributions of women were rendered invisible within the context of industrialization for not resulting in monetary compensation, so too were women themselves omitted from analyses of productivity. Unpaid work came to be viewed as not "real" work and a woman who worked in the home was "just a housewife" and her work "just housework" (Hochschild 1989:245).

In fact, this view was codified by the U.S. Census Bureau's introduction of the term *housekeeper* to distinguish between a paid position and the non-reportable occupation, "keeping house" (Cohen 2004:242).

This pervasive belief is particularly important in understanding the result of the dramatic increase in the number of women in the paid sector by the 1980s. It is during this time that Hochschild (1989) introduces the term *the second shift* as a way to describe the persistence of the household burden women face in addition to their labor force participation. That is, because "keeping house" is not viewed as work, the time devoted to it is not included in the tally of hours that get counted as "work." Hochschild describes this as a "stalled revolution" (1989:12), where neither men nor workplaces have changed to adapt to the changes in women. To be clear, she is primarily focused on white, middle-class women in the United States; however, to say that Hochschild's analysis fails to address certain demographic segments is not to discount the importance of the phenomenon she observes.

Anthropologists, sociologists, and scholars in a variety of other fields continue to attempt to understand both the origins and persistence of the division of labor on the basis of distinctions between sexes. Part of the debate is whether such divisions have any biological basis, but what is clear is that a sexual division of labor has social implications that extend to academic organizations. This becomes particularly evident in Chapter Three through a discussion of what is valued and rewarded in the university. The belief that the work of women is not valuable, either economically or socially persists. Though the division itself may be arbitrary, the consequences of

allocating tasks in such a way that certain work, and therefore the person who

performs it, are viewed as less valuable is real.

Academic Organizations

In order to understand contemporary American institutions of higher

education, it is helpful to look to their European heritage. According to Lewis, the

English influence on American universities can be seen not only in their organization,

but also their curriculum with an emphasis on producing well-rounded, "cultivated

gentlemen" (1975:2). Early American universities were also closely connected to

Christianity, with many professors trained in theology and many graduates entering

the ministry. Yet, Lewis (1975) notes that the weakening of ties with England

simultaneously lessened the effect of religion and European influence on American

university life. What remained was an interest in the attainment and advancement of

knowledge and the pursuit of the liberal arts by professors and students. In fact,

students interested in studying science received less scrutiny and were subject to lower

standards in the admissions process (Lewis 1975:4).

By the late nineteenth century the laboratory gained favor over the classroom

and the solitary pursuit of knowledge gained preference to engagement with students;

the individual scholar engaged in "the dispassionate search for truth" became the

hallmark of the American university (Lewis 1975:184). Though this change was

significant within the context of higher education, universities remained distinct from

other institutions in modern society in the security provided through tenure and the

autonomy afforded to faculty. Further, Veblen argues that the university holds the unique positions as "the only accepted institution of the modern culture" with the primary, unquestioned responsibility of the pursuits of knowledge (1989:15).

In addition to valuing the pursuit of knowledge over profits, universities are distinct in their arrangement of labor. According to Clark (1983), academics are more closely aligned with their discipline than with the institution in which they are working. Thus, while institutions have some ability to shape the working lives of academics, the university is more akin to a collection of "heavily fragmented" individuals from diverse professions (Clark 1983:36). The result is an institution that is very different from the strongly interdependent model of bureaucratic organizations. Additionally, operational control in universities has historically been distributed among department chairs, rather than held by a single authority, with faculty retaining considerable autonomy over the content and organization of their labor (Clark 1983:46). In fact, Shumar suggests that in their desire to see higher education as distinct faculty often wan to deny "the fact that they are workers" (2004:28). Academics are engaged in scientific inquiry and the quest for knowledge, or what has describes as "the work of intellectual enterprise" (Veblen 1989:16). This is more than an organizational model, it is an ideological justification, and one that is not designed for efficiency, productivity, or profit; rather, it is intended to uphold academic freedom, one of the most strongly-held principles of American universities.

Changing Universities

During their early development, universities in the United States received support first from religious organizations, and later from private businesses; however, the relationship between business and higher education was not the same as the organization of universities as bureaucracies. Lewis (1975) cites the post-World War II engagement with bureaucratic government organizations as the point at which universities started to become bureaucracies. He expressed skepticism, however, that the emerging bureaucratic tendencies he was witnessing in the early 1970s would persist believing instead that American universities would return to their academic pursuits (Lewis 1975:199). Yet, universities have adopted the structural characteristics that were intended to ensure efficiency and productivity, and continue to experience the "self-defeating consequences" of the bureaucratic model (Jaffee 2001:120).

Indeed, one of the notable characteristics of universities is the slow rate at which change within them occurs. In fact, higher education as an institution is so rooted in its own traditions and rationales that Clark remarks, "There is so much observable inertia that we need a theory of nonchange" (1983:182). Though at times imperceptible, change within universities does occur. The change in the direction of their most recent structural model occurred during the unprecedented growth of the student population following World War II (Menges and Exum 1983:123); thus, the subsequent need to institute a more bureaucratic model of mass-education (Washburn 2005:47). However, Barrow (1990) argues that the reorganization of American universities began in the late nineteenth century with administrators turning to

corporate models in an effort to increase efficiency. Indeed, Barrow cites this as the point at which higher education began the process of industrialization.

Tuchman describes the commodification of American higher education as a "de-churching" (2009:41); that is, as the succumbing of universities to a corporate model with a focus on the training of students for jobs rather than providing an education. Ritzer (2002) terms the process of increased interest in efficiency and emphasis on quantifiable measures "McDonaldization." By drawing on Weber's concept of "rationalization," Ritzer clearly links the modern university with bureaucratic organizations. He argues that educational systems have become automated through an increasing reliance on technology and streamlined to produce a predictable, routinized educational "product" (Ritzer 2002:27). Following Ritzer, Tuchman notes that "each increase in efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control produces yet more efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control" (2009:186).

These accounts suggest that university structures and processes have changed considerably from a time when institutions of higher education espoused devotion to the unfettered pursuit of knowledge. The new paradigm for American universities is one in which they are attempting to revise education in an era of increased corporatization and heightened commercialization. Indeed, the location of universities is in increasing proximity to other forms of organization in modern societies.

The Corporate University

According to Tuchman (2009), little question remains as to the corporate nature of the structures and processes of universities. She argues that institutions of higher education have become increasingly interested in the values of business where knowledge is a commodity and students are the customers; that is, she suggests that "education has become a market transaction" (Tuchman 2009:13). In order to support this transformation into "explicitly capitalist institution[s]" (Tuchman 2009:4), universities hire more administrative personnel, increase centralization, and focus their attention on revenue-generating auxiliary functions. Similarly, Shumar (2004) notes that university administrators are increasingly driven by the consideration of finances in their decision-making processes as well as a desire to appease customers (students) in their consumption of a product (education). What Washburn finds particularly disturbing about what she terms "the academic-industrial complex" is the extent to which universities appear and act similarly to "for-profit commercial enterprises" (2005:140).

As Lewis notes, during the early years of American universities the "academic man" was evaluated on "religious orthodoxy and, later, moral character" (1975:7). These standards of evaluation have since changed due to a growing interest in producing and disseminating original scientific research. Lewis traces the origin of the emphasis on research in faculty promotion over teaching to a decision made at the University of Chicago in 1892. This marks a fundamental shift in the nature of work within universities from an emphasis on teaching students to conducting research.

Now, American universities have entered a new paradigm that is shaped by neoliberalism and globalization. In addition to an ever increasing emphasis on conducting research, faculty are experiencing pressure to engage in funded research and they are also seeing the classes they do teach increase in size while their autonomy and ability to shape university affairs diminishes (Shumar 2004; Tuchman 2009).

The experience of faculty is further impacted by financial pressures. In order to continue to perceive themselves as professional members of an academic community, faculty must "blind themselves to the ever increasing number of largely invisible colleagues" (Shumar 2004:35), those part-time and contingent employees hired by the administration to bear the teaching responsibilities of the university. Indeed, one component of capitalist pursuits of profit is the expendability of laborers so that when a worker's labor becomes inefficient or costly, a new worker is ready to be substituted (Harvey 2005). Ong (2006:161) describes this phenomenon as "labor arbitrage," or the outsourcing of work to laborers who will accept the lowest wages under the poorest conditions.

Despite the historically slow rate of change within American universities, their development in an increasingly corporate direction continues apace. The impact of a neoliberal ethos can be seen in the business-like structures and bureaucratic processes, as well as in the changing nature of work. Indeed, the values of higher education have shifted from an emphasis on education as a source of enrichment toward education as a source of profit. Though American universities and the nature of work within them maintain unique characteristics, higher education does not exist apart from modern

society and must be considered within the context of global social and political economic changes.

Social Agents and Social Relations

The neoliberal restructuring of academic organizations has also directly impacted the experiences of individuals within them. Therefore, it is necessary to consider relations of power, the construction of subjects, and patterns of domination and marginalization as they are foundational to understanding social positions in organizational contexts. The broad understanding developed in this section will serve as a basis for revealing operations of power and marginalization in the university that is the site of this research.

Identity and Social Structures

The formation of identities and the development of conceptions of self are not isolated processes. While the concept of "identity" is rooted in psychoanalytical and psychological interest in the "individual self" (Bendle 2002:2), it is not always clear what meaning is attached to the term. Though gender, race, and age, for example, can be understood to be components of identity, there is also a sense in which "identity" is used to describe something equally intangible, but also more holistic. There are numerous theories of identity across disciplines and scholars do not agree about the extent to which subjects construct themselves or are constructed by factors outside of themselves. Additionally, debates are shaped in accordance with various

understandings about whether identity is essential and deeply embedded, or whether it can be constructed and manipulated (Bendle 2002).

The concept of a social structure is similarly complex and can be viewed as a "peculiar realm of phenomena" consisting of the various patterns and relationships of society (Jenks 1993:25). Jenks defines *structure* as the real, but intangible, routine components experienced by, but existing independent of, all members of society as explicitly or implicitly constraining their conduct (1993:119). Giddens regards structure as "rules and resources recursively implicated in social reproduction" (1984:xxxi); that is, as the visible patterning of social relations. In this sense, he is more interested in social practices than in the independent status of structures. Giddens (1984) proposes structuration theory to counter theories of social structures in the traditional functionalist sense suggesting instead that agency and structures are intertwined and that reality is created through social practice. Further Giddens argues that in the context of "high modernity" identity is not simply ascribed; rather, "the self becomes a *reflexive* project" (1991:32) in which identities are constructed and reconstructed through the processes of everyday life.

Foucault (1979) is also concerned with the way that meaning is produced and reproduced through social structures, and in the role of disciplinary systems in ordering individual and collective actions. Through an exploration of the evolution of the form and function of discipline, Foucault analyzes the structures of complex social systems—the military, the hospital, and the school—that serve unique disciplinary functions on their surface, yet are structured similarly at their core. His focus is on the

role of discipline in literally making individuals by bringing them into being and shaping at least the basis of their identity. He argues that the evolution of discipline as a "technique of power," or a form of social control, would not have been possible had there not been a corresponding shift away from the conceptualization of biology as immutable and toward a view of the body and its functions as malleable (Foucault 1979). Foucault also goes on to illustrate how power and knowledge are interrelated through "discourse," which disciplines subjects in particular ways. The knowledge, thoughts, and behaviors of subjects are produced through discourses, made powerful by the ways in which particular ways of being become accepted as natural. The introduction of the idea of the body as a form that could be manipulated provided the foundation for the ability to train the physical form to fit within the operations of social structures and to meet particular needs. Thus, social intuitions became involved in developing methods to control bodies toward the goal of increasing efficiency and discipline.

Bourdieu (1977) is similarly interested in structures of power, particularly as they affect what he terms *habitus*, or the dispositions that exist in the bodies and minds of individuals thus structuring their everyday practices. He suggests that patterns of habitus not only shape the tendencies and inclinations of individuals, they operate in such a way that their functioning remains imperceptible. Bourdieu's notion of "habitus" suggests that tastes and preferences are erroneously presumed to be manifestations solely of individual desire. In this sense, individuals do not realize that they are following rules or favoring tastes they have acquired as a result of their

placement in particular social structures. Bourdieu uses the notion of "doxa" to describe that which is taken for granted in society suggesting that the function of classification—arbitrary divisions based on identity—goes unnoticed and undisputed. With this in mind, Bourdieu links the impetus of particular actions to deeply ingrained thoughts and beliefs based on an understanding primarily of one's social class, or a desire to change it.

Though individuals might not entirely understand the ways in which they are shaped by mechanisms of discipline or structures of practice, both Foucault and Bourdieu emphasize the idea that individuals monitor and regulate their own actions as well as the actions of others. In this sense, power is not restrictive, it does not prevent individuals from engaging in certain behaviors; rather, it ensures an individual and collective willingness to accept various norms and practices (Bordo 1989). As Luthar and Šadl explain, "Structures of domination do not exist without the contribution of subordinates" (2008:250). That is, there is an extent to which individuals in positions with less power contribute to their own domination through enactment of their dispositions.

According to Foucault (1979), this social regulation is so effective that, as he notes in his description of the panopticon, individuals learn to regulate their own actions even when faced with the mere potential of being monitored. The disciplinary, disembodied power of "panoptic surveillance" is such that subjects actually construct themselves within the limits of the categories to which they are assigned; that is, they constitute themselves within the confines of their identity status under the ever-present

threat of power (Ehlers 2008:339). This serves as an example of Foucault's notion of "the omnipresence of power"; rather than presenting itself as one particular institution, power "comes from everywhere" and is produced in a variety of ways and at multiple points in any given context (1980:93).

While Foucault is focused on the regulatory power exercised by structures of discipline, Bourdieu suggests that it is the practices informed by the habitus that regulate the actions of individuals. In this sense, each individual is aware of what Bourdieu terms "the rules of customary law" (1977:17), and they adhere to these rules knowing that any one individual might act as a judge of another. By this theory, individuals adhere to rules not only to avoid retribution or the scrutiny of others, but also because observing proper social order and custom is rewarding in ways ranging from a sense of satisfaction to the acquisition of prestige (Bourdieu 1977). This is because the effect of the habitus is to shape norms and expectations, thus defining acceptable ways of being within particular structures. In this sense, the habits and inclinations that go without saying are at the foundation of Bourdieu's understanding of habitus.

While this discussion may seem tangential to questions of identity formation and the conception of self, these processes neither occur nor can be understood in isolation; rather, theories of identity and debates about the social construction of the subject are inadequate without a context. Further, questions of identity are inextricably linked with understandings of power because the "power to name, to define a social identity and to ascribe characteristics to that identity is a political power" (1994:92).

Thus, it has been necessary to review key social, political, economic, and theoretical shifts pertaining to social structures and their influence in shaping individuals. With this in mind, it is now important to consider the creative, active role of individuals in the construction of identities.

Social Agents

One of the important theoretical trends within a variety of disciplines has been the focus on resistance and agency (Lewin 2006). The term *agency* describes the capacity of individuals to affect their own experiences and their interactions with others (Barfield 1997:4). Ortner's definition of *agency* as "the capacity of social beings to interpret and morally evaluate their situation and to formulate projects and try to enact them" (2006:56) is similar, though she provides more room for the active engagement of "agents" in constructing and transforming themselves *and* society. One aspect of the debate with regard to agency is whether social structures act on individuals, or individuals act upon society. For Giddens (1991), identities are constructed through reflexive interactions, thus "self-identity" is dynamic rather than characterized as a fixed set of traits. In this sense, the participation of individuals, or agents, in constructing social realities is emphasized over the aforementioned determination by social and cultural structures.

For a number of theorists, an important consideration in determining how individuals negotiate social landscapes is their accumulation of various forms of capital, most commonly cultural capital, economic capital, social capital, and symbolic

capital. The use of "capital" in this sense is different from Marx's use of the concept to criticize capitalism; rather, in this way it is conceptualized as a form of wealth to be acquired and used in maintaining social positions (Leeb 2004). Cultural capital can exist in the form of dispositions inscribed on the minds and bodies of individuals, as material possessions, or as credentials, such as those acquired through education (Bourdieu 1986). *Economic capital* is most simply defined as the physical and monetary aspects that comprise of an individual's fiscal wealth (Melguizo 2011). While these forms of capital are easy to quantify, social capital is less tangible. As Portes explains, "Whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships" (1998:7). This intangible form of capital represents the resources that individuals acquire as a result of their social position. Symbolic capital is similarly intangible, but the resources an individual acquires such as honor, prestige, and recognition can be converted into economic capital (Bourdieu 1986). While Leeb (2004) criticizes Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital for perpetuating problematic class distinctions, his theory is useful for identifying the various ways in which resources are accumulated and distributed. Indeed, as will become evident in the following chapters, the acquisition of various forms of capital impacts the ability of academic women as social agents to navigate the academic landscape.

Of course, the relationship between power and subjects is complicated. As Butler (1997) argues, power is both exerted over and assumed by subjects so that there is no subject prior to power; rather, subjects only come to have a sense of identity once

they have been designated as such through popular discourse. The formation of the subject in discourse recognizes the shifting nature of power enacted both locally and more broadly (Ehlers 2008). The process of becoming a subject is not one-sided; rather, it is something in which subjects themselves engage (Hall 1996). In this sense, the relationship to power is complicated through the persistence of a link between individuals and the very power structures that subordinate them. Further, Butler's understanding of power has been used to highlight the way it is exercised within groups. For example, as Hughes (2002) notes, power is not only a characteristic of intergroup relationships; power is also exercised by women over other women.

Despite being constituted through subjugation, individuals remain connected to the source of their subordination through a "passionate attachment" (Butler 1997:7), which perpetuates a relationship between individuals' potential for power and the power structures that subordinate them. Indeed, according to Ortner (2006), the agent is always enmeshed, to varying degrees, in power. Thus, to understand expressions of agency, as well as forms of resistance, it is helpful to consider that the process of subject construction creates an ambivalent relationship to power with subjects both dependent on power for existence and able to exercise power in a variety of often unexpected ways.

As conceptualized by Ortner (2006) and Butler (1997), "ambivalence" can serve as a way to understand the variety of responses of an individual to the social forces shaping the context in which they are situated. Sarup defines *ambivalence* as "the possibility of assigning an object or event to more than one category" (1996:50).

As used in relation to individuals, the concept of "ambivalence" provides a way to understand not only the complexities of resistance, but also the motivations of individuals who might appear as non-resistive. Yet, the contradictions inherent in expressions of agency could easily serve as examples of the internalization of dispositions that limit what an individual understands as "conditions of possibility" (Bourdieu 2001:38). That is, a consideration of Boudieu's theory that individuals contribute to their own domination through accepting the parameters of habitus would suggest that what Ortner, for example, views as the ambivalence of agency is in fact evidence of relationships to social structures determined by the fields of power that individuals must navigate.

In this sense, the strategies individuals employ in the construction of identity, regardless of the extent to which agency is emphasized, are most fully understood by the context in which individuals are located. The need for historical and cultural context is also emphasized by Mahmood (2001) who critiques the understanding of agency as synonymous with resistance to social norms and domination. Instead, she suggests that *agency* can be defined as "a capacity for action that historically specific relations of subordination enable and create" (Mahmood 2001:225).

As individuals at multiple sites around the world negotiate the realities of the present era, their "desires, motivations, commitments, and aspirations" are most completely understood when considering the "forms of life in which they are embedded" (Mahmood 2001:225). Shumar (2004) also emphasizes the importance of accounting for the "signifying practices" that are enacted as individuals endeavor to

understand their local context with their experiences of the broader social world. This perspective challenges the predominate conceptualization of agency within western theoretical traditions and instead urges a contextual understanding of agency as possible within structures of domination through complex, nuanced relationships with power.

As an analysis of the debates about the concept of agency suggests, there are a range of theoretical perspectives about the extent to which subjects construct themselves or are constructed. Somewhere in the middle of the agency continuum is the theory that individuals have the capacity to act, but do so within existing structures and processes. Yet, a question remains about the extent to which what Giddens describes as "knowledgeability" (1984:xxiii) and Ortner discusses as "intentionality" (2006:134) are exercised by the agent. Are agents conscious of what they are doing and why, and are they doing so with purpose? Such questions are difficult to answer not only because of the complexity of the actions and motivations of subjects, but also because of the varying extent to which subjects are constructed in relation to power and social structures. Indeed, such considerations are at the core of theoretical understandings of the conceptualization of identity, both individually and collectively. Having surveyed important theoretical shifts in the understanding of the interaction between human subjects and social structures, it is also important to provide a brief analysis of the structural and cognitive components that can create differential experiences.

Inequality

Questions of identity move quickly from a theoretical to an applied realm when considering the ideological implications of relying on categories of identity in the assignment of value. Categorization, whether biologically or socially ordered, has resulted in the disparate allocation of and access to rights and resources. While questions about social agents and social relations produce interesting theoretical answers, the consequences and effects of the social reality of identity and power should not be discounted. For this reason, the disadvantaging of marginalized groups has been a topic of interest to scholars in a variety of disciplines; however, identities, such as gender also present a challenge in that it is important to acknowledge their real impact in the lives of individuals while at the same time exercising caution so as not to assume that because something called "gender" is involved, the social relations are primarily driven by identity. That is, it can be difficult to discuss the marginalization of groups through sexism without reifying the category in problematic ways. In this sense it is important to maintain the distinction between mentioning the taxonomies that delineate identity in order to describe an effect and an acceptance of such methods for classifying individuals and ordering groups.

There are many ways to analyze the disadvantaging of marginalized groups. For example, some scholars consider the myriad factors that motivate certain individuals and groups to rely on identity as a marker of status. Others focus on the perpetuation of discrimination through legal, political, and economic structures that function in such ways as to confer advantage to some and deny opportunities to others.

Though I will introduce these approaches separately, the past fifty years of inquiries into the experiences of academic women suggest that a number of components intersect to inform the ways in which women in academic organizations have experienced oppression and devaluation as individuals and as a group.

<u>Structural Components</u>

It is first helpful to note the use and provide a definition of the term *oppression*. Frye offers a detailed analysis of the function of oppression, which she defines as the confinement and shaping "by forces and barriers which are not accidental or occasional and hence avoidable, but are systematically related to each other" (1983:4). She describes this as different from the ways in which all individuals experience limitations and encounter barriers. Further, Frye employs the image of a cage to convey "the systematic nature of oppression" (1983:7) where each restriction and penalty further constructs the enclosure in which individuals become trapped. This has been an important distinction for gender theorists who recognize the frustration and restrictions that anyone can encounter, but who direct their focus to the particular harm caused by sexism as an experience of oppression.

Structural discrimination occurs when institutional patterns and practices exist that confer advantage to some and disadvantage to others on the basis of identity (Schneider 2004:297). Yet, discrimination is not perpetuated by "special characteristics inherent" in being assigned to a particular category of identity, but by the structural forces that wield power and uphold privilege (Bronstein and Farnsworth

1998:557). Structural barriers can take many forms, but often they are such a part of the social landscape that they become invisible. This is possible because of the extent to which discrimination operates in conjunction with systems of advantage, benefit, and reward.

For example, higher education is assumed to be an institution that holds meritocracy as one of its core values (Fenelon 2003:88). In this context, moving into a position as a higher education administrator is commonly assumed to be a privilege earned by an individual based on the merits of performance in a variety of areas. Yet, research suggests that entry to these positions can be limited by such factors as lacking a mentor or receiving a degree in a discipline or from an institution that is considered less desirable (Warner et al. 1988). That is, individuals who exhibit knowledge and expertise might fail to advance because they lack access to the same opportunities and resources, not because they are personally deficient. Not recognizing the disparate allocation of privilege or the existence of structural barriers obscures the extent to which the concept of merit is socially constructed. Thus, as a way to offer redress for such structural barriers to success, the legal understanding of "discrimination" accounts for disparate impact produced by seemingly neutral practices that systematically disadvantage members of a protected class. Yet structural barriers comprise only one component of inequality; it is also important to consider the impact of cognitive processes.

Cognitive Components

Another definition of the term *discrimination* is "the treatment of a functionally irrelevant status (such as race or sex) as relevant for the distribution of some reward or penalty" (Hirsh and Kornrich 2008:1396). In such instances, there is a decision by individuals to treat people differently; however, the individuals may or may not be aware of the biases motivating their actions, or of the effects of such disparate treatment. While the previously mentioned structural barriers are significant, the persistence of discrimination and marginalization must also be understood as having a cognitive component.

The term *cognitive bias* refers to the unconscious patterns of thought which have the effect of conferring advantage to some and disadvantage to others (Reskin 2000). That is not to say that all cognitive functions are inherently discriminatory; rather, social identity theory suggests that a number of cognitive processes, such as using categories, developing stereotypes, and identifying "ingroups" and "outgroups," are normal cognitive processes (DiTomaso et al. 2007; Fiske 2004). Yet, when these processes function without awareness of the impact they can have the effect of perpetuating bias.

One way in which the perpetuation of bias can impact academic women is through the evaluation of their success in academic organizations. This is particularly evident in student evaluations of teaching where a failure to account for potential biases can damage a faculty member's potential for success in the promotion and tenure process. For example, a review of a number of studies about bias in student

evaluations of teaching finds that one consistent conclusion is that "expectations based on gender-role beliefs play a significant role in student evaluations" where the teachers whose behavior is consistent with gender roles are rated more positively than those who fail to live up to students' expectations (Andersen and Miller 1997:217). Similar results have been noted in other studies where gender, particularly expectations about the roles of women, play a significant role in how professors are rated by their students (Steiner et al. 2006). Indeed, research suggests that evaluations both reflect and reinforce biases based not only on sex and gender, but also race, age, and other identity characteristics (Merritt 2008).

Even though they have been examined independently, it is difficult to extract what is structural and what is cognitive as they are often intertwined to inform patterns of domination and marginalization. This is an important component of the larger discussion about the construction of subjects because it provides additional insight into the relationship between agency and power as outlined in this section. Further, the understanding of academic women as subjects embedded in academic organizations informs the metaphor I introduce in Chapter Six as a way to understand how they navigate their experiences. First, however, it is important to consider feminist theories about gender as they are foundational to understanding why such a metaphor becomes necessary in answering questions about academic women.

Women, Sex, and Gender

Biological and Social Constructions

Social scientists, and anthropologists in particular, are interested in cultural differences among humans, and continue to pursue various explanations for the origins and meanings of such distinctions. Most simply explanations of cultural differences are divided between biological versus historical and environmental origins, and rigid versus fluid boundaries. Indeed, a variety of approaches have been applied to conceptualizing and analyzing components of identity, such as gender.

In order to understand how gender can be studied in anthropology, sociology, psychology, and various other social science disciplines it is important to consider the theoretical beginnings of the category. The study of sex by anthropologists highlights intradisciplinary divisions between biological and physical and social and cultural approaches to the study of human diversity. There are also divisions in other disciplines, for example in sociology over the reliance of sociobiologists on biological evidence to explain social behavior (Nielsen 1994). Indeed, the study of sex has been of interest among scholars in a variety of fields who rely on sex as a category in order to understand differences between men and women. The study of "sex," which prior to critiques by feminist theorists was used without question to mean gender status, involves the use of biological evidence as a way to validate cultural beliefs about sex differences (Worthman 1995:597). Interest in the biological bases of behavior has informed research by social scientists concerning divisions of labor, patterns of disease, and development of differential social strategies and behaviors. The intent of

the reliance on sex as a biological category has been to classify individuals, make predictions about behavioral characteristics, and justify differential policies and practices.

Certainly, there is more to the history of the biological construction of identity. Biology as a basis for human diversity has been the topic of extensive debate and the point is not to dismiss this influence. Yet, while scholars in a variety of fields continue to search for morphological, neurological, and other such "scientific" evidence of the fixity and universality of identity categories, it is the social construction of identity that is particular relevant to an understanding of how gender informs the experience of social phenomena.

To argue that the concept of "gender" is a social construct is to suggest that it does not exist in an objective sense, but it does exist as a social reality to the extent that there is collective knowledge about its meaning and influence. That is, though gender is not real in a biological sense, it can still be real in society. An important recognition in the modern debate about identity is that gender categories have not only been used to describe biological variation, they have also been transposed onto understandings of social variation. Further, such presumed correlations have been used to justify an alarming range of practices from enslavement to genocide. It is this study of the effect of categories of identity that has become of interest to many social scientists, though debate over biological difference continues to inform the study of identity characteristics.

There is an essentialist theme that seems to operate with regard to gender where biological determinism has been influential in shaping the perception that there are such categories as "man" and "woman," and that they are fixed and universal. Anthropologists and sociologists have been influential in refuting this perspective; in particular, feminist scholars in a variety of disciplines have made important contributions by proposing alternatives to an understanding of gender as rooted in biology. Early efforts to counteract bias often focus on the elaboration of differences between societies. For example, Mead (1980) makes an influential contribution to this effort by highlighting cross-cultural variations in the behaviors of men and women. If aggression is not universally a masculine trait, as Mead's research indicates, then new explanations are needed for understanding variations in behavior.

According to Rosaldo, though the expression of behaviors and the distribution of activities vary, what is universal is that every society gives "authority and value to the role and activities of men" (1974:19). Regardless of the social roles they perform, the fact that certain tasks or behaviors are associated with women ensures their devaluation. Ortner describes this subordination of women as a "pan-cultural fact" (1974:67). Given this phenomenon, feminist researchers point to the need to focus not just on variation, but also on the distribution of power and authority and the role of these forces in shaping the lived experiences of women. Thus, feminist researchers engage with the challenge of critically examining "sexual asymmetry [as] a universal fact" (Rosaldo 1974:22).

The universal devaluation of women has been attributed to a belief in biological determinism; however, Ortner (1974) dismisses this perspective. Instead, she considers cultural conditions and social structures, ultimately settling on the universal devaluation of "nature" and the association of women as closer to nature, through their association with the "domestic" domain of social life, as an explanation for their subordination. This has been described as a "symbolic construction" approach to the study of gender (Moore 1988:13). In this sense, the examination of the role of symbolism in the subordination of women stems from a belief that biological differences become problematic as a result of assigned social meanings. It is important to note, however, that this perspective does not refute the idea that there are biological differences, or that these differences are irrelevant. Instead, the focus is on the significance assigned to difference within what Ortner describes as "the framework of culturally defined value systems" (1974:71). Nevertheless, this approach to understanding gender as a cultural construction, not an inherent biological quality, served as the foundation of an important analytical framework employed in feminist research throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Not surprisingly, there is no consensus among feminist scholars as to the universality of the subordination of women. For example, Leacock (1978) argues this assumption stems from an ahistorical perspective and a mode of analysis that operates with limited acknowledgement of the importance of social relationships. Moore attributes this approach to understanding the subordination of women to an interest in "gender as a social relationship" (1988:30), rather than in assigned social value.

Leacock (1978), in particular, considers women's subjugation in the context of the privatization of control over production and their loss of control as a result of the subsequent sexual division of labor.

Another important shift in conceptualizing *gender* is the feminist appropriation of the term to describe social differences and the deliberate use of "sex" to describe biological differences. Making this linguistic and conceptual distinction has helped feminists refute essentialist arguments about the "nature" of women, and to highlight the instability of "gender" as a universal category. Such contributions include Rubin's conceptualization of "the sex/gender system," which she defines as, "the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity, and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied" (2006:88). She uses the phrase to distinguish between sex and gender, and to suggest that differences between men and women are social products and, therefore, not fixed.

For the study of identity categories such as gender, shifts away from biological determinism have led to new ways of conceptualizing identity. These theoretical transitions have also provided opportunities to consider the methods used to analyze gender. Morphology has given way to ethnography and the primacy of the researcher has lessened to make room for subject voices. Yet, understanding human variation in terms of clearly demarcated categories that are fixed and universal does not present the same challenges as trying to record and make meaning of complex, complicated, fluid identities. Further, the social construction of gender can be difficult to extract from

beliefs about biological distinctions as undoubtedly scientific analysis and social discourse are intertwined.

The Dynamics of Identity

Up to this point, I have discussed gender as internally homogeneous and mutually exclusive. This is consistent with early approaches by scholars who considered identity categories to be discrete, rather than dynamic and intertwined. This is not necessarily an intentional omission by these theorists; however, their focus on identifying shared experiences as a means of unifying marginalized groups has resulted in the obfuscation of difference.

Before moving to a discussion of gender as one component of more complex, interconnected identities it is helpful to briefly discuss how efforts to stress equality can encourage the setting aside of difference. The coalescing of a group around a particular, often marginalized identity is commonly referred to as "identity politics." This particular approach to understanding shared identities has been employed by a variety of groups as a way to realize solidarity and advocate for social, political, and economic rights (Kruks 1995). It has also been a way to create a space for individuals to connect with one another outside "the scrutiny of the dominant culture" (Diggs et al. 2009:325).

Indeed, identity politics are evident in second-wave feminist efforts to highlight and celebrate women as unique from men. Within the framework of identity politics the impetus behind group formation and collective identity is often shared

emphasis on a particular characteristic. Yet, as Weber notes, the effectiveness of identity politics necessitates an approach where "differences may and to an extent must be ignored within a group" (in Eller 1999:60). Yet, as Kruks (1995) points out, an emphasis on the identity "woman," and nothing else, has been characteristic of some aspects of feminist movements.

Though the correlation to a biological basis is questionable, gender does have meaning within the social, political, and economic structures and processes of the United States. Yet, the fixity and universality of these meanings is challenged by the myriad approaches to understanding identity throughout history and across societies. For example, Mohanty questions the presentation of "Third World Feminism" in Western feminist texts as "a singular, monolithic subject" (2003:17), arguing instead for the need to recognize heterogeneity. To extend this argument, the identities, strategies, and experiences of women throughout the world can be seen as more complex and diverse than can be adequately contained in a single category.

With this in mind, in addition to ethnographic accounts of cross-cultural variation in the conceptualization of identity, there has been a focus on what might be described as "intracultural" variation. For example, as Lewin (2006) notes, by the 1980s anthropologists interested in gender began to recognize that "woman" is not a universal category representing a set of common objectives and experiences. In this sense, within what might be collectively described as "American society," there is a sense of variation in the understanding of identity across subcultures.

One theoretical framework that has been useful in understanding this variation is *intersectionality*. The interest in intersectionality stems from the lack of attention paid by gender theorists to the "lived experiences at neglected points of intersection," or the failure to account for the complexity of experiences of subordination (McCall 2005:1780). Among the limitations posed by the rigidity of identity politics is the emphasis on one particular aspect of identity, at the expense of others. One of the failures of identity politics is that it "conflates or ignores intragroup differences" (Crenshaw 1995:357). For example, speaking only to one particular conceptualization of "woman," as has been evident in feminist movements aimed primarily at white, middle-class women, ultimately serves to perpetuate difference because this approach leaves little room for multiple dimensions of identity to exist. It also means that members of a group must ignore other forms of oppression in order to pursue a single-minded group purpose (Fowlkes 1997). As an example, Collins (1998) describes the difficulty of maintaining an idealized sisterhood in the context of race and class politics and the problems that stem from obscuring complexities such as sexism and heterosexism within communities of color. Srivastava is more pointed in her criticism arguing that imagining group solidarity is only possible when power relations and anger are "forgotten" (2005:40). In effect, identity politics force individuals to choose either one aspect of identity or another.

Similarly, though without explicitly employing the term "intersectionality," Hall (1996) suggests that no single identity category can ever accurately represent individuals in their entirety. He argues that a defined category of identity is only made

possible by forming boundaries that include some individuals and exclude others, thus leaving little room to understand how multiple aspects of identity inform one another. Instead of relying on the concept of "identity," Hall explores the use of "identification" as a way to describe the process of recognizing "some common origin or shared characteristic" between individuals and groups (1996:2). Thus, identification is an ongoing process of multiple systems "articulating" with one another; that is, of being "multiply constructed" through discourse, relationships, and processes (Hall 1996:4). This is necessary because broad categories of identity never perfectly fit individuals, who must either rework themselves or the available framework in order to be fully represented.

Proponents of intersectionality, or articulation, favor a framework that allows for the convergence of race, gender, and other aspects of identity. This not only allows individuals to express themselves more fully, it also provides the opportunity to combat the combined effects of oppressive systems (Crenshaw 1995). Rather than consider racism and sexism, for example, as "separate systems of oppression" (Collins 1998:61), the concepts of "intersectionality" is a means of exploring how such systems are mutually constructed. This perspective has been helpful in both highlighting the variety that exists within and across categories of identity and evidencing "identity" as a dynamic concept.

An understanding of intersectionality also has methodological implications. This approach considers that identities of individuals within categories such as "women" or "people of color" are constituted by the intersection of a series of

processes. Thus, rather than trying to isolate individuals' experiences by categories, such as race and gender, it becomes possible to consider the ways in which multiple aspects of identity intersect. This involves the creation of theoretical space within which identity is recognized as discursive and multivariate, and the employment of methods that provide opportunities for individuals to consider and express the richness of their identities. Such recognition becomes foundational to understanding the limitations to the extent which "academic women" can be effectively used as a universal category of analysis where "the crucial assumption [is] that all women, across classes and cultures, are somehow socially constituted as a homogeneous group" (Mohanty 2003:22).

Situating Knowing Subjects

As was previously noted, an understanding of the social, political, and economic practices that both discursively form and systematically disadvantage individuals cannot be separated from debates concerning concepts of identity. In response to marginalization, scholars have endeavored to recenter subjects in ways that often involve employing or redefining identity. Such approaches consider ways to reconceptualize knowledge, empower the knowing subject, or engage in new practices of inquiry. In this section I will outline some of the ways in which scholars consider the social location of those who are marginalized to inform their acquisition and articulation of knowledge. In doing so, I further construct the theoretical space in

which to consider how the academic women of this study make sense of and learn to navigate the academic organization.

Standpoint Theories

In addition to debates about gender as a category of analysis, there is also considerable attention paid to women both as legitimate possessors and producers of knowledge. While feminist empiricists believe that objective knowledge is attainable once androcentric bias is counteracted, the feminist standpoint approach emphasizes subjective knowledge. In particular, this knowledge is believed to stem from experiences made unique on the basis of one's identity. Standpoint theories inform much of early feminist work across disciplines, including within anthropology, aimed at bringing "visibility and voice to those who had been long overlooked" (Lewin 2006:9). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s a number of feminist ethnographies were produced demonstrating "how placing women at the heart of analysis yield[s] results very different from what one would find in a traditional, male-centered ethnography" (Lewin 2006:13).

Standpoint theories are closely tied with the notion of "standpoint" referenced in discussions about emic and etic perspectives, which emerged in the 1960s as an important distinction for anthropologists. In particular, researchers began to consider subject representation and the role of the researcher in shaping the power dynamics of the research encounter. Stemming from sound differences recognized by linguists, the term *etic* is used to describe the viewpoint of the outside observer while *emic* refers to

the perspective of members within a group (Duranti 1997:172). These concepts can be taken to suggest that those within a group perceive and interpret their experiences differently than those outside the group. In this sense, the emic orientation is similar to the claim that standpoint theories represent a particular socially situated perspective. Both address issues of authority and the ability to speak about experience and knowledge.

Standpoint theory suggests that the subject not only has access to a "privileged knowledge-seeking position" (McCall 1992:854), but also one in which "difference is subordinated to a unified subject of identification" (Visweswaran 1997:609). Thus, the assumption is that there is a "women's standpoint," which is a claim of epistemic privilege that is central to standpoint theories. For example, Haraway (1988) argues that "situated knowledge," particularly of those positioned to directly experience the oppression and domination of patriarchal society, provides an alternative approach for viewing the world. In fact, not only is the "situated" perspective different, it is viewed as more accurate. To revisit Ortner's (1974) discussion of the association between women and culture, for example, the assumption becomes that women can claim a privilege over men on the subject of nature. In retrospect, the potential risk of essentialism seems readily apparent, particularly when combined with the homogenizing and generalizing effect of the belief that categories of identity are universal. Nevertheless, standpoint theories have been incorporated into research on gender in a variety of ways.

Yet, proceeding with this theoretical framework requires emphasizing commonalities, which can have the unintended result of obscuring differences. Often without knowing it, this perspective is perpetuated by well-meaning individuals who rely on an individual woman or person of color to speak to collective experiences or to represent the perspective of the entire category to which they are believed to belong. In this sense, theories about intersectionality can be seen as stemming from a desire to critique assumptions about universal categories and perspectives. For example, in advocating for black feminist perspectives, Collins suggests that the group with which she identifies is "the only group that has experienced race, gender, and class oppression as Black women experience them" (2002:163). Yet, the critique of standpoint theory is the same whether it is women or black women or Asian lesbians that are claiming epistemic privilege. In this sense, the proliferation of standpoints has led theorists to question their search for a single, overarching standpoint that captures one set of universally shared experiences.

Nevertheless, though it often remains unacknowledged, standpoint theory continues to inform the dominant paradigm in gender studies. While there are problematic aspects to this approach, standpoint theories have also helped to shift the experiences of marginalized groups to the center of research in a variety of disciplines. Indeed, this has been evidenced by the efforts of Bernard and Simeone to feature the experiences of women in the academy. Rather than relying on the researcher to speak as the outside observer, standpoint theories have provided opportunities to claim authority and generate knowledge in ways denied by other theoretical approaches. In

this sense, the recognition that an individual's identity, location, and particular set of experiences shapes what they know and how they know it is not inherently problematic. The primary critiques of standpoint theories have been based on their tendency to rely on universal categories, to obscure difference, and to simply exchange one form of privileged knowledge for another. The argument for standpoint theories compounds the problem of defining individuals in terms of their biological functions by focusing on valuation. For example, McNay (1992) argues that feminists who suggest that the "natural" caring and nurturing qualities of women simply need to be valued are overlooking the complexities of oppression. Yet, these critiques do not suggest that the emic perspective, or a system of knowledge that draws on the insights of various groups, should be wholly abandoned in the efforts to understand and address the disadvantaging of marginalized populations.

Post-modernism

While standpoint theories value subjective assessments of the world, post-modern theories are critical of essentialist claims and the pursuit of stable categories of identity. Features commonly associated with post-modernism, such as "ephemerality, fragmentation, [and] discontinuity" (Sarup 1996:95), impact how individual identities are formed, expressed, and perceived in relation to others. In the context of post-modernism, categories, including categories of identity, are destabilized and deconstructed and an emphasis is placed on contesting the claims of universal, fixed categories (Glenn 1998). Butler (1997) is notably skeptical of the perspective that

there can be one, universal subject. In fact, she criticizes leading feminist theories for being essentialist and exclusionary of those who do not conform to the uniform category of "woman." Butler (1990) is also critical of the distinction made by feminists between the terms *sex*, as biological, and *gender*, as socially constructed. She argues instead that both are socially and discursively constructed, thus deriving meaning within the social context in which they exist. She also draws on Foucault's theories to argue that "gender is performative" (Butler 1997:144). That is not to say that Butler suggests that gender is literally an act; rather, it is an expression of deeply ingrained norms. In various ways and through various expressions these norms constitute a subject's identity.

This theoretical approach to understanding gender by destabilizing the category "woman" and challenging its universality becomes central to this research. In doing so, I endeavor to align the conversation about academic women with the changing theoretical landscape in order to articulate a more nuanced understanding of their experiences. This is not intended to dismiss the important efforts of Bernard and Simeone to acknowledge the ways in which gender and sexism have shaped the experiences of women in academia; however, it is my way of making important contributions to furthering the conversation. Before I introduce the subjects of my research, however, it is necessary to review some of the key findings that have emerged about academic women in the two decades since Simeone completed her analysis.

Academic Women

Nearly fifty years have passed since Bernard first published *Academic Women,* and the intervening half-century has produced a wealth of research on the experiences and advancement of women in academia, although remarkably little has been specifically within the discipline of anthropology. In *Academic Women: Working Towards Equality* Simeone reviews a wide variety of studies published since 1964, so my focus here is primarily on research published over the most recent twenty-five year interval.

Because of the work of Bernard, Simeone, and many others, efforts to diversify the professoriate are now a stated commitment at many American institutions of higher education. This increased emphasis is in part a way to attract and retain new generations of both teaching faculty and students, many of whom expect to engage in working and learning environments that reflect the diversity of the broader population (Gallagher and Trower 2009; Trower and Bleak 2004). The pursuit of the diversification of academia has inspired a number of interventions to promote gender equity. Attempts have included targeted recruitment of applicants, modifications to policies, and the development of formal mentoring programs.

Yet, despite these and other ongoing efforts, equity and advancement continue to be concerns for academic women in all academic disciplines. This has been of particular concern in science where research suggests that at each transition point from high school in a career in academia science loses more females than males (Xie and Shauman 2003). Despite the common perception, being a woman in a field with many

women does not necessarily lead to higher rates of advancement than being in a discipline with few women (Long 2001). That is, women in the social sciences are just as stalled in the progress as women in science and engineering.

When Bernard first published *Academic Women* she was concerned with whether the proportion of academic faculty who are women reflected their limited availability in the qualified labor force. Yet, the gap in representation can no longer be entirely attributed to availability and the fact of women's majority status as undergraduate and, in some disciplines, graduate students, does not mean that equity has been achieved (Glazer-Raymo 2008).

For a multitude of reasons, the professoriate remains predominately comprised of white men despite increases in the number of doctorates awarded to women and people of color (Trower 2002). Recent data show that women earned 45 percent of doctorates awarded in 2006, up from 23 percent in 1976; in the same years minority United States citizens earned 20 percent, up from just 11 percent (Hoffer et al. 2007). Women and people of color represent an increasing proportion of the total number of doctorates awarded each year; however, this diversity is not reflected at the same rate among ranks of tenured university faculty, thus raising the concern that other barriers to advancement exist.

Research conducted at colleges and universities nation-wide suggests that women and people of color achieve tenure and promotion at a lower rate than men and white professors (Trower 2002). While addressing this issue is important, simply creating pathways into higher education is not sufficient given evidence from studies

that find even as the participation of women as academic faculty increases, the experience of an inhospitable work culture does not diminish (Demaiter and Adams 2009). Studies also suggest that male faculty members earn more than their female counterparts, particularly when the data are also disaggregated by race (Toutkoushian et al. 2007).

The differences between men and women do not appear to be due entirely to human capital factors such as level of education or experience (Perna 2005). Research has pointed to a variety of barriers such as discriminatory institutional practices (Hirsh and Kornrich 2008), limited networks of opportunity (McDonald et al. 2009), and campus atmosphere and environment (Bronstein and Farnsworth 1998) as possible explanations for why women do not advance at the same rate as their counterparts who are men. Further, women are less likely than men to follow linear pathways and instead may interrupt their career progression, often for reasons related to family (Astin and Milem 1997). Another explanation suggests that women internalize society's sexist messages in ways that become self-limiting. Such self-deprecating perceptions are what Clance (1985) describes as the "imposter phenomenon" where high-achieving women question whether their success is due to their actual abilities or simply pretense, and they fear their ineptitude may be discovered at any moment.

The challenges and barriers faced by women faculty and faculty of color can impede their success in the institution and may result in the departure of qualified faulty prior to their bid for tenure (Jayakumar et al. 2009). This attrition suggests that to some extent the power, resources, and authority for shaping the norms and

expectations of higher education remain firmly within the grasp of the dominant cultural group (Medina and Luna 2000).

While a number of studies have uncovered the presence of barriers to successful promotion and tenure, following faculty success rates only provides evidence of inequity. Further, the work of changing the culture for academic women is incomplete if efforts simply support individuals to accommodate a university system without also endeavoring to change the system itself. I will build on all of this existing research to construct a qualitative understanding of not just how women navigate academia, but also how academia is organized to be navigable. In the next chapter I will discuss my theoretical perspective and the specific methods I used to collect the data presented in Chapters Three and Four. I will also continue to draw on the conceptual frameworks outlined in this chapter both to make sense of the data and to articulate my own significant contributions to the field.

<u>Chapter Two: Methods</u>

"It could get weird."
~Angela

The above comment was made in response to my explanation that during this study I would simultaneously be a student, a researcher, and an employee in the same organization. Although understated, Angela's straightforward observation concisely captures the complex relationships underlying this research. This chapter begins with a discussion of the benefits and challenges associated with conducting ethnography from within the organization under study. I will highlight my own role as a researcher in an organization of which I am also a member as this tension has been constantly present in some form from the initial design of the research through the final presentation of results. I will then discuss the theoretical perspective and methods that inform the research design, and the collection and analysis of data. Lastly, I will discuss my fieldsite and the participants involved in the study, with particular focus on attending to confidentiality with a potentially vulnerable population.

Researcher Perspectives

Ethnography in Organizations

Despite the valuable theoretical and methodological contributions of anthropologists, professional ethics remain a concern when conducting ethnography in organizations. According to Jordan (2003), the primary concern of anthropologists is

the rights of subjects involved in studies of work and the nature of organizations. There are questions about the partiality of a researcher hired by an organization and the ability to maintain the anonymity of subjects, as well as about the challenges of conducting research with colleagues as informants. Without discounting the validity of these concerns, Jordan concludes that "all anthropologists face ethical problems" (2003:61). That is, the presence of ethical issues in the study of labor and business does not have to diminish the value of the contributions anthropologists are able to make to the field. In fact, Jordan suggests that anthropologists who engage in research within organizations have the opportunity to acts as a "broker" (2003:56), creating avenues for communication and mutual understanding between individuals throughout the organization.

While the study of work and organizations is increasingly an accepted form of anthropological inquiry, a focus on higher education remains largely absent. Even the journal *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* frequently features research on primary and secondary education, with post-secondary education markedly missing. In the previous chapters I describe the initial reluctance on the part of anthropologists to engage in the ethnographic study of organizations and the heightened disinclination when the organization in question is the academy. The reticence to examine higher education may be due in part to the perception of the academy as a club in which discretion is valued; it would be impolite for members to expose the internal workings to public scrutiny (Wisniewski 2000).

Further, engaging in an ethnography of higher education requires what Wisniewski describes as being "grounded in a broad definition of culture" (2000:17); however, I would clarify that it is actually requires a broad*er* definition of culture than that used in some anthropological traditions. My own orientation toward culture is most closely aligned with Jordan's (2003) definition, which considers material objects and individual and group behaviors, in addition to shared thoughts, attitudes, and rules for behavior. By examining the shared characteristics enacted within the university certain beliefs and symbols emerge, but it can be challenging for researchers to focus such critical attention on the context in which we are embedded. According to Spindler, "Making the familiar strange will remain a basic task in transcultural ethnography. Making the familiar strange will continue to be a basic problem in the anthroethnograpy of school in our society" (1988:43). That is, focusing the lens on ourselves and our most familiar surroundings can be difficult for anthropologists.

From the Inside Looking In

I first arrived at Oregon State University as an undergraduate student in 2000 and over the past twelve years I have occupied various positions as a student and as an employee. Not wanting to postpone pursuit of either my academic interests or my professional goals, I decided to engage in both simultaneously, so when I began my doctoral work in 2007 I also maintained my full-time professional faculty position in the Office of Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity. Aside from the logistical difficulties associated with managing what are essentially two full-time jobs, one of

the most challenging aspects of this endeavor has been trying to determine how best to embody and enact two decidedly different personas.

Situated in a reporting line to the Office of the President, my employment involves engagement with a wide range of activities central to the administration of the university, as well as access to information requiring a high degree of confidentiality. This might not have resulted in persistent tensions were the subject of my research completely unrelated to the content of my work. Although I selected a topic that has not strictly been within the purview of the office in which I am employed, my professional position has informed my approach. Supporting faculty development through promotion and tenure is the responsibility of the Office of Academic Affairs; however, my position in what has since been re-organized as the Office of Equity and Inclusion affords me insight into both some of the ways that faculty with various identity backgrounds navigate the university and the ways in which the university is organized to facilitate or hinder their access and success.

At the same time, as a doctoral candidate in a program that emphasizes applied research it is important to demonstrate my ability to answer empirical questions in practical settings. I must meet the program's standards by producing work that is critical, that is consistent with sound research methods, and that makes significant contributions to my discipline. At one point, I was cautioned by an individual who had been a faculty member at another institution about the risks associated with proceeding with my study. She pointed to the inherent vulnerability of my position and the potential threat my results might pose to the organizational status quo as she

urged me to reconsider studying the university in which I was embedded not only as a researcher, but as a graduate student. Although I proceeded as planned, I have been ever-mindful of the risks associated with pinning my success as a doctoral candidate to research that involves exploring so thoroughly my own surroundings.

Yet it is only the totality of these two sometimes conflicting, sometimes convergent positions that has provided me the ability to engage in this research in the way that I have. By virtue of my role as a student researcher, I have had the ability to design a study, pose questions, and connect with participants in ways that might not be afforded to me as part of "the administration." Similarly, while I do not claim to have insight into all of the inner workings of the university, as an employee situated in a central location within the organizational structure I do have a vastly different perspective than most of my doctoral student peers. Given my relationships within and my understanding of the organization, I have been able to produce a more complete picture than would likely be possible by someone less familiar with the context and culture of the university.

While these are examples of how my positionality has resulted in great synergy, there are times when it has raised ethical questions. For example, I concluded one particular interview thinking that the participant had been subject to significant negligence on the part of administrators in her college. Had she pursued certain channels within the institution, she likely would have been entitled to recourse, or at least support. Since what she had experienced was neither illegal nor a clear violation of a specific policy, and because she had shared her experiences with me in the

context of this study, I concluded it was not my role to intervene. Similarly, I have learned of a variety of experiences through my role as an employee that would make for fascinating case studies; however, because I want to be regarded as both an ethical professional and an ethical researcher I have strictly adhered to the approved research protocol for recruiting participants and collecting data. Further, *no one* in either my office or on my committee knows the true identities of all of my participants.

Although I neither highlighted nor denied my role as an employee within the university, the primary identity I presented to participants was that of a doctoral candidate engaged in research. The principal reason behind this decision stems from the interesting tension between the emic and etic perspective as it pertains to this study. While I am familiar with the university via my positions both as a student and as an employee, I am not an "insider" with regard to the process of promotion and tenure. I have observed the process, but I have not myself experienced it. My roles inform my research and they undoubtedly provided me access to the fieldsite and many participants, but I have sought to understand the navigation of promotion and tenure through and to convey the experiences that are meaningful for academic women.

Theoretical Perspectives

While methods focus on the procedures for conducting research, methodologies are the theoretical approach(es) used to understand complex phenomena (Strauss 1987). In this section I will describe the theoretical approaches

that inform this research. I will follow this discussion by focusing more specifically on the methods of data collection and analysis. The methodological approach to this research emerges from two primary philosophical traditions: 1) qualitative methodologies, particularly ethnography and grounded theory and 2) feminist methodologies informed by anthropological perspectives.

Qualitative Methodologies

Qualitative methodologies seek to understand complex social phenomena though an investigation and interpretation of experiential data (Strauss 1987). Further, such approaches allow the researcher to feature the experiences, perceptions, and values of participants in their own words (Madison 2005). Although ethnographic techniques do not fall under the sole purview of anthropology, nor does "ethnography" hold a common meaning for all practitioners, the associated qualitative techniques are often used by anthropologists in the study of work and organizations. What makes ethnography distinctive from other methods is its "commitment to *methodological* holism" and the recognition of the potential relevance of any observation in the research context (Hirsch and Gellner 2001:7). Ethnographic techniques focus on the "everyday routines" and highlight the practices of daily life that other might consider unimportant (Schwartzman 1993:38). Such methods are also useful in uncovering meaning and patterns of which individual participants might not be aware. Though such methods were originally used by researchers in unfamiliar settings, they can be valuable for conducting fieldwork in one's own culture as a way to challenge the

researcher's assumptions and to approach even familiar settings anew (Jordan 2003:21).

This research also involves a grounded theory approach for linking emergent concepts with formal theories. The set of approaches to the collection and analysis of data outlined below do not follow the model of classical grounded theory; however, they do draw on the recognition that "data are co-created" by researcher and participant (Olesen 2007:427). The methods also stem from alignment with Glaser and Strauss's efforts to develop theoretical categories through the process of empirical research (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001). Yet, given the impossibility of abandoning previous theoretical knowledge, it is necessary to employ an approach that both accounts for this reality and supports the emergence of categories from the research data. For that reason, the methods follow what might be considered a modified approach to grounded theory.

For example, Kelle (2007) points to the importance of the concept of "emergence" in the application of a grounded theory methodology that does not begin with hypothesis testing, but which still relies on empirical data in the development of categories. The important distinction for Kelle is between "high empirical content" and "low empirical content," where theoretical concepts with low empirical content are used as heuristic devices in defining categories and coding data (2007:207). While categories with high empirical content are clearly defined and readily measured, those lacking empirical content are more abstract.

For this research, identity is an example of a broad category for which an empirical test to prove or disprove it is difficult to conceive. A number of elements converge to create the totality of what makes an individual who they are. To denote such abstract notions Kelle uses Herbert Blummer's idea of "sensitizing concepts" (2007:207), which guide researchers to observe relevant phenomena, rather than prescribe what to see. Where it would otherwise be difficult to operationalize a category such as "identity," it is used as a heuristic device, or what Kelle describes as "a conceptual frame which helps to understand empirical phenomena found in the research field" (2007:208). Thus, the question here becomes the following: Do aspects of an individual's identity play an important role in the experience of promotion and tenure? This is different from a more commonly articulated hypothesis: White men have a better chance of earning promotion and tenure than women. The emerging theoretical concepts can inform a coding paradigm and in this way previous knowledge can be used to support the emergence of new categories, rather than as a means to match data to a hypothesis that may or may not be accurate.

Feminist Methodologies

This research is also informed by feminist methodologies, particularly as they have been enacted by feminist anthropologists. Approaches to feminist qualitative research are as diverse as the feminist researchers by whom they are employed. In fact, there are multiple feminisms with implications for different research approaches. Though lacking a single definition, Olesen suggests a common theme:

> Feminists should not merely describe women's situations, but consider how race, class, gender, sexual orientation, age, and material circumstances in multiple contexts render the taken for granted problematic in ways that move toward social justice (2007:421).

Leatherby (2003) suggests that feminist research practice is distinguishable from other forms of research because of the selection of questions, the participation of the researcher, and the intention behind the work. Additionally, feminist methodologies encourage attention to possible power relations established through conducting research in order to avoid the production of work in which the researcher's perspective supersedes perspectives held by participants (Lewin 2006). In this sense, feminist methodologies pair well with ethnographic techniques.

Feminist ethnography also emphasizes "the attention to and concern about relationships with subjects" in order to give voice to participants' ways of being and knowing (Pillow and Mayo 2007:163). By centering the experiences of participants in this way, feminist methodologies often converge with epistemological and ontological questions about the extent to which the location and lived experiences of individuals impacts their relationships to knowledge. Yet, if applied uncritically, this approach may result in overgeneralizations about "women's ways of knowing" or "women's ways of being," as if such experiences were the same for all women.

From a philosophical perspective, Clough (2003) argues that trying to assert a feminist claim to knowledge perpetuates an argument about access to objective truth that is, in fact, the wrong argument. If all knowledge is filtered through some sort of worldview, it is not useful to argue about which competing knowledge claim is closer to the "truth." With this in mind, it is important to clarify that the point here is not to

debate the nature of knowledge, nor is it to establish the supremacy of feminist epistemologies in filtering empirical data. The intent is also not to identify a single way of knowing or being that will be true for all academic women. Instead, the purpose of providing space for the voices of academic women is to feature what their experiences bring to bear on how they navigate academic organizations.

In addition to the epistemological and ontological considerations, one of the challenges of conducting research with individuals who all self-identify as sharing at least "woman" as one common identity is creating a shared reference point that allows for solidarity, without necessarily creating a definition that is essentialist. In her own work, Naples (1997) endeavors to create a multiply defined "standpoint" that allows for numerous perspectives that are shaped by various ways in which not only gender, but also race, ethnicity, class, and other aspects of identity better reveal a range of perspectives. Similarly, the particular sample design used for this research is not intended to construct an alternate, all-inclusive category; rather, it takes common points of identity as a way to complicate the category "woman." The reason this distinction is important is that the purpose of this research is to "mention" gender by way of engaging in a critical discussion about identity, rather than to "use" the category to reify particular taxonomies (Zack 2002).

Practically, one approach is to use a sort of "strategic essentialism" in an attempt to provide a view of academic women that advances a collective struggle for equity, while at the same time avoids a homogenizing effect. Most broadly, strategic essentialism is the use of "strong normative judgments" when useful; that is, when

claims about "women's nature" are viewed as serving a particular purpose (Jones 2000:45). This is not driven by what Jones describes as "a view of human nature that includes 'essentials' and 'universals'" (2000:45), or by something that could be described as a shared "women's nature." The approach to "strategic essentialism" employed for the purposes of this research instead stems from a belief that gender shapes the experience of academic women, though not necessarily in the same way. To argue that "woman" only exists as a social construction not only fails to explain evidence of disparities, it also offers little hope for addressing them. Thus, there are times when the ability to speak to some shared experience is important. To be effective as a strategic tool, then, it is important that this approach is open to critique and revision of the "universals" when they "no longer serve emancipatory ends or [may] be intelligible to the community that holds them" (Jones 2000:46).

As described in the Introduction, this approach creates the opportunity to explore distinctions among academic women instead of referencing them as if they comprised a homogeneous group. Where this research diverges from the work of Naples and others who rely solely on theories of intersectionality is in the recognition that in some instances differences may be traced to variable experiences with racism, classism, heterosexism, etc., coupled with the acknowledgement than an overreliance on this approach risks reinforcing exclusion. That is not to deny the various ways in which gender intersects with race, class, and sexual orientation, for example; however, "As a theory of women's identity, intersectionality is not inclusive insofar as members of specific intersections of race and class can create *only* their own feminisms" (Zack

2005:2). In other words, while theories of intersectionality are useful for troubling the heterogeneity of the category of "woman," there are limitations to its applicability as a category of analysis. Instead of looking exclusively at the intersections of identity, the scope of experiences may also be understood through more complex relationships between individual factors and structural forces

Study Area and Population

Officially, the data collection period lasted approximately eight months. I received approval from the Institutional Review Board on February 25, 2011 and conducted a recruitment survey during March and April, interviews between April and early-November, and a focus group in mid-November. Yet, the exact data collection period is somewhat difficult to define because, as an insider in the organization, I have always been engaged in observations of the organization. Even when I was not acting in my capacity as a researcher, I was reading announcements, listening to speeches, and sitting in meetings that provided insight into the culture and processes of the organization. Thus, in many ways, I have been directly aware of the subject of this research for at least five years and draw on a compilation of observations and experiences to inform my conclusions.

Field Location

The study was conducted at Oregon State University, which is the state's largest public research university. Oregon State is a land, sea, space, and sun grant

university, although the land grant mission is particularly significant in understanding how it is organized. While women's colleges provided employment for early academic women, land grant universities have also played an important role in creating rare faculty positions for women at coeducational universities, primarily in the field of home economics (Bernard 1964). This opportunity stems from the land grant mission to extend scientific knowledge directly to people who can use it, which is markedly different from the original efforts of liberal arts colleges to educate the sons of wealthy families in "the classics" (Carter 1981). At the same time, women's academic employment has been largely concentrated to a few sectors within land grant universities making institutional type relevant to understanding how academic women navigate the particular university that is the site of this research.

The site was optimal for such a study because of its previous engagement with various aspects related to equity and advancement for women, its current commitment, and the context in which it is situated. Further, both conversation within the university and research conducted internally suggest that equity among faculty is an ongoing topic of interest, as is the advancement of women. For example, a 2007 report to the university Faculty Senate and Provost's Council presented the results of a promotion and tenure process review project. The study was designed to assess faculty experiences with the promotion and tenure process, paying particular attention to experiences of marginalized groups. Prior to that, the President's Commission on the Status of Women prepared a report assessing the status of women in tenured and tenure-track positions. The 2004 report served as an update to a 1994 study titled

Achieving Parity for Women at Oregon State University. Though previous studies do not specifically address the questions posed through this research, the presence of institutional data provides important historical information that helps provide a point of reference.

That several studies have been conducted to assess equity not only for women, but for a range of groups historically underrepresented in the university leads to the second reason for selecting this site. The university has a stated commitment to diversity that is enacted in a variety of ways. For example, over the past five years the university has developed a process for funding faculty hires that will increase diversity objectives, established an administrative position with an emphasis on advancement and equity, and envisioned ways to support a more inclusive search process. Whether these efforts could be described as successful is not at issue; rather, they are examples of an interest in at least exploring various ways to achieve equity and increase diversity. In addition to these visible results of conversations among administrators, conversations about equity occur both formally and informally across the university. These discussions suggest that some population of the university is concerned about and interested in the experiences of faculty women.

At the same time, the start of this study coincides with the early stages of significant transition and transformation for the university. For reasons including aligning efforts to realize strategic goals and analyzing procedures in anticipation of reduced funding from the state, various sectors of the organization face anywhere from minor to significant reorganization. At the same time, after several years of slowed

and stalled hiring the university announced an ambitious plan to add over 80 new

tenure-track positions. This initiative makes this research timely, and it also raises new

questions about the future.

Lastly, the university fits within the broader context of American universities.

The university mirrors many of the elements of other institutions of higher education

in a neoliberal era, and this undoubtedly affects the experience of its faculty. As

mentioned earlier in this section, the land grant mission is also relevant to how the

university is organized and experienced. Further, the university is also a state-funded

institution that is impacted by the current economic and political environment of the

state and the nation. In this regard, the university is well-situated to serve as a site for

the next iteration of inquiry into the experiences of academic women as they navigate

complex academic organizations.

Participants

The focus of this study is primarily the academic women ($n = 35$) who

participated in in-depth interviews and the subset ($n = 5$) who participated in a focus

group. The sample also includes the administrators ($n = 5$) whose perspectives

contributed to an understanding of the context in which women navigate promotion

and tenure. The sample also includes questionnaire respondents ($n = 52$); however, the

primary purpose of the instrument was to recruit participants so those data are

included where relevant, but are not featured.

As has been discussed, I have had various, sometimes concurrent, roles as a student and as an employee within the university, which have led to my participation in a variety of appointed and volunteer organizations and departments for which women, gender, or feminism are central to the mission. Thus, I entered this study expecting to be at least somewhat familiar with many of my participants, and I was concerned that I might only attract a pool of participants well-connected to the various programs with which I am already familiar. While I knew or knew of several participants, my pool is largely comprised of participants with whom I was not previously familiar. This allowed me to develop insight into a much wider range of experiences and access perspectives that considerably expanded my own understanding of how academic women navigate the systems and processes of the university.

I actively sought the opportunity to interact with women from disciplines to which I previously had limited exposure, so it was particularly important for me to include participants from the disciplines of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. These disciplines, commonly referred to collectively as the STEM fields, have been identified as areas where academic women encounter unique conditions and barriers to advancement (Gayles 2011). Academic women from the STEM[1] fields comprise 34.3 percent of study participants and 34.1 percent of the total population eligible for participation[2], but they also comprise just 32.2 percent of the total faculty

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[1] For the purposes of this research, I have also included the field of forestry, which shares many demographic and disciplinary similarities with other STEM fields.

[2] This includes a total of 40 individuals with a job status listed as "terminated."

hired into tenure-track positions in science, technology, engineering, mathematics, and forestry from 2001-2010. By way of comparison, women comprise nearly 51 percent of the total faculty hired into the College of Liberal Arts during the same period.

In addition to seeking participants from a variety of disciplines with a range of professional and life experiences, I also wanted to understand the experiences of participants at various points in their academic careers; however, given the time limitations associated with conducting dissertation research, a true panel study was not feasible. Instead, participants at various stages in their pre- and immediately post-tenure academic career were selected to try to create a more complete picture of the entire process of navigating promotion and tenure. (See Table 1 Tenure Tracking Begin Date by Division) In accordance with the approved research protocol, the sample of participants was originally intended to include faculty women hired as tenure-track assistant professors from 2001-2010; however, I was unsuccessful in recruiting participants whose process for earning tenure started in either 2001 or 2010.

Table 1. Tenure Tracking Begin Date[3] by Division

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	N (%)
Academic Affairs		1		1	1	1			**4 (11)**
Arts and Sciences	2	2	1	2	3	1	2		**13 (37)**
Business and Engineering				1		1			**2 (6)**
Earth Systems Science	1				3	1	1	2	**8 (23)**
Health Sciences	1			2	4			1	**8 (23)**
N (%)	**4 (11)**	**3 (9)**	**1 (3)**	**6 (17)**	**11 (31)**	**4 (11)**	**3 (9)**	**3 (9)**	**35 (100)**

During the initial formation of questions and hypotheses, and the articulation of a research design I had hoped to be able to analyze findings in relation to a number of identity characteristics such as race, sexual orientation, religion, and socioeconomic status. Unfortunately, the responses to the recruitment questionnaire suggested that the eligible pool contained limited variability along these measures of identity, as indicated in Table 2 below.

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[3] Tenure Tracking Begin Date is used instead of other measures such as Hire Date or Start Date because some participants first enter the university in other employment categories, such as Faculty Research Assistant or Instructor. This is a more accurate measure of when the university begins tracking the process for earning promotion and tenure.

Table 2. Questionnaire Respondent Demographics

	N (%)
Social Class Background	
Upper class	
Middle class	38 (73)
Working class	13 (25)
Lower class	1 (2)
Sexual Orientation	
Heterosexual	48 (92)
Bisexual	3 (6)
Homosexual	1 (2)
Current Relationship Status	
Single	12 (23)
Married	35 (67)
Registered Domestic Partnership	1 (2)
Committed Relationship	4 (8)
Divorced/Separated/Widowed	
Other	
Parental Status	
No dependent children	25 (48)
Dependent children between the ages of 0-5	18 (35)
Dependent children between the ages of 6-17	9 (17)
Racial/Ethnic Background(s)[4]	
Arab/Middle Eastern American	
Asian/Asian American	3 (6)
Black/African American	1 (2)
Chican@/Latin@/Hispanic American	6 (12)
Native American/Alaska Native	
Pacific Islander	1 (2)
White/European American	45 (87)
International	1 (2)

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[4] Survey respondents were invited to check more than one category to reflect how they identify.

As Table 2 indicates, 19 percent of questionnaire respondents selected a racial or ethnic background other than White or European American; however, when considering only domestic faculty of color the total is 17 percent. This is important evidence of the various aspects of identity that may intersect with gender to inform the experiences of academic women, but the actual sample size is low enough to make it difficult to conduct a detailed analysis while still protecting participant identities. With this in mind, I began to move away from an emphasis on established identity characteristics as a way to categorize difference, although revisions to my hypothesis still included the idea that greater variation exists than the single label "academic women" suggests. Although the questionnaires were completed anonymously, and I did not attempt to match responses with interview participants, I did still gather information about many of these variables when they emerged as salient. While there are ways in which aspects of identity informed participants' experiences navigating the promotion and tenure process, shifting from that explicit focus allowed for the opportunity to discover themes that span a range of individual characteristics.

Protecting Identities

As members of a population historically underrepresented in the university, faculty women may be viewed as a population to which special consideration must be afforded. This is particularly true for junior faculty, who lack the protection and job security afforded through tenure. Additionally, being in a university with approximately 1,000 tenured or tenure-track faculty where some departments may

have just one woman increases the likelihood that individuals may be identifiable.

This is further compounded by the fact that the results of the survey of potential

participants produced such limited variation on the basis of identity that it would prove

difficult to protect the anonymity of the one woman who identified as Pacific Islander,

for example. (See Table 2 Questionnaire Respondent Demographics) While protecting

participants is important, I am also aware that Simeone has been criticized for relying

solely on aggregate demographic information in her analyses and never supplying

such information as rank and discipline for subjects when quoted (Heim 1988). Such

omissions leave participants without the context that I argue in this study is crucial to

understanding the range of experiences among academic women. Thus, it is important

to strike a balance between protecting participants while still providing sufficient

demographic indicators to contextualize their experiences.

After much deliberation and consultation, I have decided not to try to obscure

the true location of this research by creating a fictitious name for the university. My

own situatedness as a researcher renders such an effort ineffectual; however, my

positionality as an insider within the organization is too integral to the ways in which

this research has unfolded to be omitted. Thus, including this information and

disclosing that I am a student and an employee in the same university that is the site of

this study makes identification simple, and it would be disingenuous to imply

otherwise.

Although I have not created a pseudonym for the university in question, I

rarely refer to it by name; in these pages, it is most frequently "the university." This

decision stems from an effort to fulfill two goals. First, it is my intention to distinguish this as an ethnographic work with broad applicability. I want to convey the ways in which the results of this research can be instituted at the location in which it was conducted; however, this is not an institutional report commissioned by the university, and the findings have theoretical, and likely applied, importance elsewhere. Secondly, in many instances I omit the name with the hope that readers will focus on the narratives presented here rather than trying to associate them with specific individuals. Of course, the university is as much a subject as any of the individual participants, a fact which I want to acknowledge, but not highlight.

Another effort to more directly protect participants has been to assign pseudonyms, although some perspectives and events are simply attributed to "a participant" with no additional details provided. This is primarily used when additional information could pose a risk to a participant. This strategy is also used with both focus group participants and administrators, who are simply referred to as such. In keeping with the approved research protocol, each focus group participant is someone with whom an individual interview was conducted; however, given the small number of participants, both in the focus group and overall, this is an effort to provide another layer of anonymity. While their contributions are important to this research, administrators are not the focus and are therefore not assigned pseudonyms.

In most instances, participants are associated with one of four primary academic divisions, which are part of the university's organizational structure that aligns two or more colleges: the Division of Arts and Science includes the Colleges of

Liberal Arts, Education, and Science; Earth Systems Science includes the Colleges of

Forestry, Agricultural Sciences, and Earth, Ocean, and Atmospheric sciences; Health

Sciences encompasses the Colleges of Public Health and Human Sciences, Pharmacy,

and Veterinary Medicine; and Business and Engineering combines the colleges of

Business and Engineering. There are also participants from the Division of Academic

Affairs, which includes the University Library. Where it is relevant to the point and

safe to do so the detail presented is more precisely about a college. In some instances

where descriptions are provided, some deliberate imprecision is used such as slightly

altering status or discipline so as to provide demographic information that is similar, if

not exact. Tuchman (2009) employs this strategy in her observational study of a

university in which she intentionally promotes and demotes various individuals and

selects with care whom she quotes and how she describes her informants. While this

does somewhat obscure important distinctions between the culture and processes of

departments, or even colleges, I ultimately had to weigh that benefit against my

assurance to participants that I would endeavor to protect their identities.

Another strategy to protect participants is to assign one individual multiple

names. While I have not done this exactly, I do use ten case studies that are actually

composites of multiple participants. Many of the experiences that may be sensitive and

easily traced to a single individual have become part of a merged participant identity

assigned a new pseudonym and identifying details that reference the most salient

components of the experience without relying on precision. As Krause-Jensen (2010)

discusses in introducing his own organizational ethnography, the drawbacks of such

strategies include an inflation of the numbers of informants and an obfuscation of their precise location within the organization. As he explains, the statistical weight conveyed through a large study population is not a primary concern of ethnography, which derives significance from the representation of individual perspectives; however, he recognizes that in the "give and take process" of anonymisation, some precision is lost (Krause-Jensen 2010:28).

Methods

Recruitment Survey

Data collection began with the dissemination of a recruitment survey posing relevant demographic questions. The primary method of identifying and recruiting survey participants was through the targeted dissemination of an email invitation. As a result of the aforementioned role of university employee, I have access to all employee demographic information; however, in order to adhere to the ethical guidelines governing my access to personnel records, and to mitigate possible selection bias, I did not access these data directly. Instead, I requested an email distribution list that contained no individual contact information from the Office of Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity, which responds to requests pertaining to race- and gender-related employee data. In March 2011, I sent an email message to the distribution list, which contained all eligible women hired into tenure-track positions from 2001-2010. I also emailed the message and a personalized introduction to various administrative contacts, such as school directors and committee chairs.

Fifty two (52) out of a total of 173 responded, representing approximately 30 percent of the eligible population. The quantitative survey results were not intended to be analyzed for statistical information; rather, they were used as a means to identify a volunteer sample and are also presented in Table 2 to contextualize the study population. The survey was housed by a survey system developed by the university's College of Business. The format was advantageous both for ease of completion by participants and the reduction of data errors ensured by the direct recording of responses in the survey site's database. Each submission was stamped with the date and time, but did not record any other identifying information. The questionnaire included nineteen questions and requested information about participant experiences, as well as identity characteristics such as age, number of children, and racial and ethnic background.

Interview

Upon completion of the survey, individuals were provided my email address and phone number along with an invitation to contact me if they were interested in participating in an interview. Eligible participants who self-identified as willing to do so were invited to participate in a semi-structured, open-ended interview, which was designed to provide the opportunity for participants to discuss in detail their specific experiences navigating the promotion and tenure process. Creating such opportunities for participants to speak for themselves is vital in ethnographic and feminist research methodologies as it foregrounds the voices of participants.

In order to be eligible for participation individuals were asked to confirm that they self-identify as women, that they were hired as tenure-track assistant professors from 2001-2010, and that they were willing to participate in an interview. I originally intended to use purposive sampling methods to select from the pool of potential participants in a way that would reflect the diversity of the study population; however, it was soon apparent that such an approach would not be useful and would instead only limit the pool. Thus, initially, all eligible participants who expressed interest were invited to interview.

In some respects, working with an Institutional Review Board (IRB) is actually counterproductive to engaging in research rooted in ethnographic and feminist methodologies. Listening to what participants have to say, rather than using research as a way to "test our own preconceived hypotheses," works to displace the power imbalance endemic to the relationship between researcher and subject (Reinharz 1992:19). Yet, reliance on such unstructured, non-directive techniques does not satisfy the university board charged with protecting human subjects. To strike a balance, an interview guide was prepared, but open-ended questions were used to provide participants freedom to express their ideas and tell their stories.

Four months into the recruitment period I had conducted approximately twenty interviews. While this was a good foundation, I still had a limited range of perspectives and had not yet identified participants in every division. At this point, I engaged in efforts to diversify the pool of participants in intentional ways. I again made contact with administrators, this time in disciplines that were un- or under-

represented in my participant pool. I also began targeted dissemination of an email invitation based on referrals made by participants. Such referrals were not required for participation, but I did begin asking whether participants knew anyone else who might be eligible and willing to speak with me. For example, it was through one such inquiry that I learned about a group of primarily tenure-track academic women who call themselves the "Lady Prof Social Club." One participant shared my inquiry with her fellow "lady profs," which resulted in identification of several additional participants.

The IRB protocol was written in such a way that eligible participants included women who left their tenure-track position at the university either before being considered for promotion and tenure or after they were unsuccessful in the process. Unfortunately, there is no simple way to identify these individuals without relying on confidential information and risking violations to their privacy. No participants were required to disclose names and contact information for individuals who had left the university, but they were asked if they knew anyone and, if so, whether they would be willing to extend an invitation to participate in an interview. This did not prove to be as fruitful as I had hoped. I was able to identify two participants who had recently decided to leave the university for two very different reasons, but who still had received my original recruitment email message. Both had experiences that would be too easily identifiable, so their reasons for leaving the university are not presented here in much detail. Unfortunately, this means an important perspective is missing from these data, although to some extent administrators and other participants were able to

reflect on the experiences of individuals who have left the university for a range of reasons.

Originally, I intended to include a random sample of administrators, but when the time came to conduct these interviews I decided to engage in more strategic efforts. Based on preliminary coding of interviews with academic women I recruited administrators that I thought would expand on themes and fill gaps. All of the administrators are either currently chairs of departments, or served in this role at some point from 2001-2010. One administrator represents a department from which I was unable to recruit participants, possibly because the university's Affirmative Action Plan data indicated that nearly 60 percent of the tenure-track women hired into the department from 2001-2010 had left the university by the time the recruitment period opened. One administrator was mentioned by several participants as being particularly supportive. Two are from a college where women comprised 50 percent of tenure-track hires from 2001-2010, and one is from a college where women comprised just 34 percent of new hires during the relevant period. Although there was no gender restriction for this group, four of the participants are women and one is a man.

Focus Group

Another form of data collection was a focus group. At the end of each interview, I invited participants to take part in a focus group that would be held toward the end of the study period to discuss preliminary themes. Individuals who expressed interest in a focus group were later contacted to schedule a time in mid-November

2011. The purpose of the focus group was twofold. First, it was important for people to talk to one another to help spark new ideas, and to participate in a more dynamic conversation than is typically afforded by the one-on-one interview. This latter point seemed particularly important because I had interviewed numerous individuals who expressed interest in what I was learning through talking with others in order to calibrate their own experiences. On a number of occasions I spoke with academic women who seemed relieved to discover they were not alone in their experiences. This was not initially an intended outcome of the focus group, but it did appear to be a benefit to participants.

The focus group discussion was also intended to engage participants in a process similar to what Lawless describes as "reciprocal ethnography" (1993:6), which is intended to balance power dynamics through the exchange of dialogue. Oftentimes, a researcher may return to participants a summary of findings in order to provide them the opportunity to pose questions or offer clarifications. I did not share written findings for comment; however, I did begin the focus group discussion by summarizing preliminary themes and explaining that the discussion questions were designed to test and refine these initial findings.

Although this method can help correct inaccuracies in the preliminary findings, the focus group was not simply a tool to demonstrate validity. While conducting the focus group required some response to participant concerns about content and the representation of data, such efforts, described by Pillow and Mayo (2007) as "reflexive discomfort," are critical to ensuring that feminist ethnographers approach

issues of representation so as to balance power and value the lived experiences of participants.

Participant Observation

A final method of data collection over the span of the research was participant observation, which DeWalt and DeWalt (2002) describe as a method intended to enhance the quality of data collection. The key elements of this method include active participation in a range of activities, informal conversations and observations, and recording field notes. In order to develop a sense of what Jorgensen describes as "the world of everyday life" (1989:15), I participated in organized gatherings, followed university communications, and engaged in a range of conversations whenever possible. Throughout the official study period I kept a written journal as a way to record my observations although, as has been mentioned, my complex relationships to the university make it difficult to delineate the precise period of "participant observation."

Analysis

An effort was made to transcribe each audio-recorded interview as soon as possible after completion in order to provide the opportunity to identify provisional linkages between data. Each interview was transcribed verbatim and subsequently coded for emerging themes. Use of an effective coding paradigm is key to a grounded theory approach because the detailed analysis spurs a dialogue between data and

theory (Strauss 1987). Thus, I began with open coding as way to describe categories at the broadest level, but eventually moved to more refined, core categories.

The most common practice with grounded research is to end data collection when new categories and concepts cease to emerge (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001) or when core categories are "saturated" (Strauss 1987). With this study, an initial hypothesis was that the category "academic women" does not adequately describe the range of experiences among individuals who identify as both "academics" and "women." While I was looking for common categories, I was also noting a range of experiences, so reaching a point of saturation was not a specific goal. Instead, I aimed to create a robust dataset that would allow for a nuanced analysis of variations in the ways in which academic women navigate academic organizations.

As part of my analysis, I also reviewed data in the form of comparative studies and monitored national publications such as The Chronicle of Higher Education for information pertaining directly or indirectly to faculty women. While these efforts would already comprise a thorough literature review, a similar process was specifically described by both Bernard and Simeone as a method used to identify larger trends. This was not the primary form of analysis, but it did help to provide a broader context for my localized findings. In the following chapters I present and discuss my findings as they pertain both to academic organization(s) and academic women.

<u>Chapter Three: Academic Organization(s)</u>

In order to illuminate the situation of women in academia, it is important to develop an understanding of academia in its own terms. This section is about both academic organizations and about the organization of the academy. The findings contained in this chapter point to the culture of the university, including the explicit and implicit norms and expectations. This chapter also provides insight into how the university is structured, what policies and practices are in place, and whether the organization works for the individuals within it. As a work of ethnography, it is necessary to contextualize participants and provide an understanding of their experiences through an examination of the culture in which they are embedded. The university itself is comprised of an array of cultures and subcultures, some which persist and others that are ever-evolving. Further, the university can both appear to be structured and experienced differently depending on one's relationship to the organization. Here, the focus is primarily on academic organizations(s) as defined for academic faculty.

The Logic of Academia

Both Jessie Bernard's *Academic Women* and Angela Simeone's *Academic Women: Working Towards Equality* emphasize how women experience higher education, but they also endeavor to speak to the construction of the academic workplace in the context of the era in which they are writing. In 1964, when Bernard

points to the "modern university," she is referencing an institution that has only

included women as students and employees for just over a century. During that

relatively short period of time, the United States of America engages in the Civil War

and two World Wars, sees the rise of abolition and women's rights movements, and

experiences the devastation of an economic depression. At each point along the way

the social, political, and economic climates impact the engagement of women in

academia from the rise of women's colleges and the surge of women's participation in

academia to a period after the great depression that Bernard (1964) describes as "The

Great Withdrawal." It is at this point of the simultaneous expansion in higher

education and the decline in relative number of women in academia that frames

Bernard's inquiry into academic organizations and the experiences of women within

them.

By the time Simeone poses her questions about the efforts of academic women

to achieve equality, the landscape has shifted. In the several decades between Bernard

and Simeone the enrollment of women surges to where they make up more than half

of the undergraduate student population, and not just in women's colleges (Simeone

1987). Yet, the increased presence of women is met by both prejudice on the part of

individuals and structural barriers on the part of institutions. The option of entering the

discipline of home economics is no longer as appealing as it was to the academic

women of Bernard's area; instead, the women's of Simeone's era are seeking entrance

into fields that have historically been male-dominated. Yet, Simeone's attention to

institutional supports and barriers appears almost as an afterthought, rather than as

central to an understanding of the decisions made and the outcomes experienced by academic women. Without this context it becomes difficult to understand what Thornton and Ocasio describe as "the interplay between individual agency and institutional structure" (2008:103).

Over the twenty-five years since Simeone's inquiry, and certainly the nearly half-century since Bernard's, the social, political, and economic landscapes have shifted, yet again. Through observations and in-depth conversations with academic women three prevailing logics emerge that inform the "modern" academic organization(s) of the twenty-first century. The first reflects an orientation toward a corporate model, or what Tuchman describes as a "market ethos" (2009:7), in which educational values transform to more closely emulate business values. Employing this logic suggests that universities can and should be run as corporations, that education is a commodity, and that students are consumers. Second, the university is shaped by a logic of status, centered on the complex interplay of various relationships. While students make demands about the education and services for which they pay, and administrators ensure the functioning of the bureaucracy, academic faculty often see themselves as governing the institution. Yet, within the corps of academic faculty, status distinctions are forged by factors such as rank and discipline. Lastly, the milieu of a university organized around a system of tenure evokes a sense of security. This logic is foundational to the creation and sustenance of the professoriate, and the security of tenure has been lauded for its preservation of academic freedom.

The Logic of the Market

As the landscape shifts, institutions of higher education are beginning to look more like industry than ever before, and the influence of this logic is evidenced in a variety of ways. Indeed, as Tuchman describes, "education has become a market transaction" (2009:11). She explains that business values, such as profit, recognition, and reputation have become central to academic organizations. Tuchman also argues that the market ethos developing in public institutions is shaped by decreasing legislative contributions and the need to seek what is described in business jargon as new "revenue streams." This certainly reflects the experience of the university as its share of the state's general-fund budget has been reduced from around 25 percent in 1990 to under ten percent today, according to accounts from the State Board of Higher Education. Applying the logic of the market, the most valuable employees are those who have the ability to generate the greatest profit. For example Sidney, who plans to leave the university prior to being considered for promotion and tenure, observes that "universities are changing and there's less focus on educating people and more focus on bringing in money."

While this approach fits with business values, it does not always reflect educational values. For example, one participant asked, "How does it make any sense that a football or basketball coach makes more money than the best professor anywhere in the university?" To her, this was a clear indication that the university truly values revenue over education. According to Isabel, who is nearing her sixth year in the Division of Health Sciences, when education is mentioned the focus is not on

quality, but instead on, "How many courses you teach [and] how many contact hours you have." Yet, not a single participant described as their motivation for becoming a professor the ability to generate a large amount of money for the university. They described wanting to reach students through their teaching or change lives through their research, not efficiently move hundreds of students through their classes to maximize credit hours. As Alice describes, "I need money, everyone needs money, but at the end of the day, the bottom line of a university is service to the community, not profit from the community."

The orientation toward a market ethos may drive the academic organization, but it does not necessarily match with the motivation of academic faculty. Nevertheless, the economic realities of the state and the nation have real impact on the organization and the individuals within it. Approval to begin this research was granted by the Institutional Review Board in February 2011, which is just about three years after the collapse of the country's economy. As a result, I both observed and directly experienced the university's efforts to account for the shifting financial landscape. As Viola describes,

> When I was hired here it was a really, I think it was in some ways a good time to get hired because the economy collapsed right after I came. But in other ways it was a terrible time, you know, I was forced to take furloughs my first year, basically didn't get paid to do some of my research.

The decision to institute furloughs was not surprisingly controversial, and the process of getting to that resolution was contentious. The plan for faculty furloughs was described in various messages to the rank and file as a way to help the university compensate for reductions in funding from the state following the nationwide

economic downturn. According to a statement released by the university in November 2009, the furloughs would be implemented the following January with the number of days of unpaid leave determined based on salary.

I recall one meeting of faculty interested in forming a union where furloughs were the topic of conversation. Several concerns were raised, but one that stands out is a discussion about how the schedules of academic faculty rarely constitute a clearly defined workday. As one faculty member explained, the hours of academic faculty are often allocated in such a way as to make identifying when to take the mandatory unpaid leave virtually impossible. This is consistent with the experience of academic faculty I encountered throughout the study period who explained that the furlough program did not reduce their actual work hours, just their rate of pay.

While economic realities shaped the experiences of participants, the university was well on its way to alignment with a new paradigm prior to the economic downtown beginning in 2008. For some, the logic of the market is heightened by the location of the university in a part of the country that values independence. According to Peggy, who is nearing her sixth year, a pervasive part of the culture is the attitude, "I fought through this, and now you're going to fight through this on your own, kiddo." One of the administrators I spoke with also pointed to a "Do it yourself" culture that seems pervasive in the state. Yet, at the same time, there is a strong emphasis on "process" in the university, which relies heavily on committees and collaborations to make decisions and address various issues. While the benefit is the potential for increased engagement, the process itself can become burdensome.

This is where the alignment of academic organizations with a market ethos comes into question. Tuchman explains that improving "organizational rationality" involves maximizing "economy, efficiency, and effectiveness" (2009:22). Yet, participants consistently referred to the slow rate of change, and what one individual describes as, "too many layers of bureaucracy, and too much bureaucracy at each layer." If the university truly embraced the logic of the market, it seems change would not take so long to enact; however, in my observation, the rate of change depends on the extent to which the desired transformation is aligned with the logic of the market. For example, I participated in a meeting during which modifications to the promotion and tenure guidelines were mentioned. For a number of years various groups and individuals have been interested in requiring that a faculty member's demonstrated commitment to promoting and enhancing diversity be part of their evaluation for promotion and tenure. In referencing the perception that this particular conversation is perpetually stalled, one of the meeting attendees shared an observation that "industry partnerships" had seemed to appear in the guidelines over a short period of time with no discernible resistance.

(Re)Organization

In a message issued in July 2009, the university President shared that he had approved recommendations to address the state's economic decline by creating a flatter administrative structure and reducing the scope of course offerings. As the plans were outlined to consolidate programs, increase class sizes, and eliminate positions the

tone of the message itself seemed to strive to convey a combination of pragmatism, inspiration, and, most importantly, urgency. Yet, as described above, one of the common narratives about bureaucracies is that change occurs slowly. This tends to be heightened in universities where a significant portion of the workface is paid by the institution for only nine months out of the year. Under the principle of shared governance, faculty participation is imperative to the smooth functioning of institutions of higher education; however, this can seem difficult to realize when faculty are typically not present for three months over the summer. Nevertheless, when university administrators decided to begin a process of reorganization it seemed that little could be done to either slow progress or alter the course.

For those who have participated in the daily details of re-ordering the university, it likely feels as if the process is highly "engaging" and "transparent." For those less well versed, or less interested, in academic administration such minutiae are a nuisance. One participant lamented the numerous (mediated) meetings and "hundreds of emails" that were required simply to decide on the name for a new alignment in her college. The administration of the university was also described by participants as peripheral to their primary pursuit of earning tenure and promotion. Indeed, the academic existence of junior faculty has the potential to be so narrowly focused on activities related to being promoted and tenured that it is difficult to follow anything else. Meanwhile, the reorganization of departments and the realignment of colleges have significant impact on the current and future lives of faculty. Thus, one conundrum of pre-tenure is determining how best to balance departmental and

university engagement with self-preservation. Becoming mired in the details of a reorganization takes time away from the activities by which one's fate will be determined, and the name of a newly aligned unit may mean little when the denial of promotion and tenure necessitates searching for a new job. Conversely, such significant changes within the university have the potential to impact tenured faculty members for the rest of their careers, for example by determining who will be considered one's peers. Ultimately, it could be disadvantageous to be tenured in a department, school, or college that one missed an opportunity to shape.

To some extent, the lack of enthusiasm for reorganization can be attributed to the fact that academic faculty face considerable time demands even before trying to add efforts to engage in the significant reordering of the institution. Another consideration is the well-documented allegiance that academics have to their discipline over their department or their university. The primacy of disciplinary identity is evident in a number of ways, such as an inclination to serve the discipline at a national level rather than engage in institutional-level service, and interest in forging inter-institutional networks over making connections within the university. Such an orientation is also made evident by efforts to reshape standard disciplinary configurations. Several participants emphasized that their hesitation about realignment was not about individuals in other departments, nor was it a lack of respect for them as scholars; rather, as Rosie describes,

> This sounds so petty, but I'm a Sociologist you know, we have a lot invested in our identities as scholars, as Sociologists, and so the idea of being in a school of something-or-other, rather than being the "Department of Sociology," it just, all of that feels uncomfortable to us.

Initially, I observed significant faculty resistance to "the reorganization." At one meeting of the faculty senate the question of who was knowledgeable to evaluate junior faculty was hotly debated, but by the time I began conducting interviews, the tenor had shifted. The sentiment I encountered at that point ranged from passive acceptance to defeat. As Rosie, who was recently tenured, describes, "We tried to resist and it didn't work…we spent a lot of time complaining as a department." Although she concludes, "Now we need to make the best of it," her statement seems to indicate that she is resigned to the fact that the reorganization is really happening, rather than excited by the change. Rosie is trying to develop a more positive perspective about the reorganization of her department, but she also admits, "It's impacted me in terms of the morale around here, frustrations, *a lot* of time and energy."

For one participant, "all of this weird merging" started shortly after she was hired and it has left her so unsettled that she shared that she has made conscious efforts to engage in activities that will make her a desirable candidate should she need to go back on the job market. As she describes,

> I've been so unsure of where the university's going...I've been very nervous about some of these changes and always wanting to make sure that I look really good on paper in case I need to apply for another job. So that has meant making sure I have a really strong CV.

Viola, who just completed her third year in the Division of Arts and Sciences, shares a similar sentiment about the challenges of planning the immediate next steps in her academic career without knowing more about what is going on. Strategic plans aside, several pre-tenure faculty also described uncertainty about whether reorganizing might

bring changes to the expectations they must meet for promotion and tenure. Peggy describes her experience of realignment in the Division of Health Sciences as similar to becoming part of a new family saying, "You have to figure out what they need." Another participant shares hesitation about submitting her dossier at the same time her department joined a new alignment, although she eventually concludes, "I think if you did the work, then you'd be ok, you know. If you're iffy, tenuous, then you know, no matter where you are I think you'd have problems getting through."

Aside from individual concerns about their own process of promotion and tenure or impatience with the disruption, participants did not explicitly speculate about the purpose of the reorganization. National research about institutional transformation is much more insightful about the ordering and re-ordering of higher education. While individual faculty members are oriented toward their discipline, their professional colleagues, and their own area of expertise, university administration is "oriented toward its competition" (Tuchman 2009:6). In other words, the rhetoric may seem to indicate that reorganization is intended to foster greater collaboration but, as Tuchman suggests, the logic of the market driving universities ensures that the primary motivation is profit.

Pulling Your Own Weight

In accordance with the emphases on revenue streams, one defining component of the logic of the market as applied to higher education is the increased reliance on grant funding. Due to sharp declines in public funding, universities are not supporting

research as much as researchers are supporting universities. As Annie, who was recently tenured in the Division of Earth Systems Science explains, the benefit to the university when faculty members bring in grants, particularly large grants, is the returned overhead. So, in addition to the already demanding process of earning tenure and promotion, nearly every participant talked about growing pressure to bring in grants. One participant, whose department was reorganized under new leadership, talked about now working for a "really ambitious, really strong" department head with high expectations for faculty to secure grant dollars.

For Viola, the need to apply for grants to support her research activities is already a reality. What she sees is a disconnect between the growing pressure faculty face to bring in outside money and, at least in her case, the lack of recognition for such efforts in promotion and tenure considerations. In fact, language about getting grants had just been removed from her position description. Although she had recently won a significant grant in her field, she thinks the language might have been taken out because the money she received would look like a "drop in the bucket" compared to other disciplines and might not be recognized as distinguished when her dossier reached the university review. This is one of the unique challenges of the organization of a land, sea, space, and sun grant university, where the College of Agriculture, for example, may be seen as more central to the university's mission than the College of Liberal Arts. In Viola's case, she is concerned that the money she is able to bring in will be seen as insignificant and less valuable in the overall context of the university.

For some participants, concerns about their ability to successfully "pull their own weight" stems from the limited availability of funds in their areas of expertise. While some faculty, such as those engaged in researching causes and cures for major diseases, are perceived as having ample access to funding, others find themselves in less lucrative niches. For example, Sidney, whose research area is of interest to national granting agencies, shares that through a lot of hard work and a little luck she has been successful in securing significant grants. Alternately, as Rosie describes, "It's scary for those of us in the humanities because of how little funding there is." When there is funding, it tends to be so limited that the amount of money paid to the university to administer the grant can significantly impact the ability to conduct research or implement projects. Gloria, who conducts practitioner training research, describes her experience of identifying funding sources as being similar to "squeezing blood out of a turnip"; that is, highly unlikely.

Another related challenge is identifying funding options that will support the research in which a faculty member wishes to engage. Beth, who is in her fourth year in the Division of Health Sciences, finds that sometimes she identifies a great project that she is interested in working on, but her efforts are stalled by the inability to locate an applicable grant. Other times, she has applied for interesting grants that are available only to find herself without a project to go with it. In fact, Carla's department chair in the Division of Earth Systems Science has explicitly told her, "Beware of chasing money for things that you don't have time for." Yet, the

prevailing logic of the market emphasizes the acquisition of money with little regard for the sense it makes.

Even participants who have previously experienced success obtaining grants are beginning to share growing concern about dwindling funds. Funding agencies have less money to devote to various projects, which creates significant competition among applicants. Marie explains that although she is attempting to find a niche in her field so that she does not have to compete with faculty from larger research schools, a lot of people are trying to take the same approach. Thus, some faculty fear that the university's expectations are increasing at the exact time the available dollars are decreasing. As Rebecca states, "the competition is awful and you don't get credit for trying."

Despite the decrease in available grant money, the university's emphasis on obtaining external funding does not appear to be lessening. For example, Marie's orientation process in the Division of Health Sciences included explicit messages about the importance of securing large grants. Her understanding was that if she obtained a significant federal research grant she would be "pretty much set going into tenure," whereas she would be much less sure without the money. Similarly, Lisa, who is nearing her fifth year in Earth Systems Science, explained that her uncertainty about how she will fare in the process stems primarily from her concern that she has not secured enough funding. According to Amelia, an associate professor in Earth Systems Science, there are research requirements and it is clear that her department wants faculty to bring in money, but there is no specified amount. Susan, who was

recently tenured and promoted, also says that her department in the Division of Health Sciences encourages faculty to obtain grants. Though she has also never been told a specific figure to aim for, she felt that the half million dollar grant she was recently awarded was an asset to her dossier.

In addition to the lack of clear expectations, I observed the challenge for some participants was simply navigating the grant proposal process. Many graduate students do not receive explicit training about how to identify and apply to funding sources. As Annie explains, the most challenging part for her has been learning how to conduct complex calculations to determine various expenses, such as summer salary and tuition remission for graduate students, in order to prepare final budgets for her grant proposals. At one point, her department had a professional faculty member whose position was dedicated to assisting academic faculty with grant proposals. Since that individual left, Annie describes facing a "huge, steep learning curve" in order to navigate the process on her own, which is a process she says has been "complicated, and challenging, and stressful." It is also time-consuming for pre-tenure faculty who are already trying to fulfill a number of expectations.

Where funding opportunities exist within the university, faculty find themselves competing against their colleagues for increasingly scarce resources. Viola describes that while friends who are junior faculty at other universities automatically receive a term off from teaching and service duties to focus on research, she and her colleagues at the university had to "fight like dogs for the ten weeks at the Humanities Center." As one administrator notes, this behavior is implicitly encouraged by

language that describes funding options as "competitive grants." While "collaborative grants" might be more desirable, the administrator admits that the current reality is such that many individuals truly are in competition for scarce financial resources.

The dilemma in Viola's case, because she had to go through the application process twice before her application was accepted, is that she felt that she lost more time to devote to her research by having to fight for a limited period of time to work on her research. Rebecca and Nicole each share similar concerns about the amount of time consumed by applying for grants, which becomes time not spent on actually conducting research. For Nicole, who has received feedback from various administrators in the Division of Health Sciences about her lack of publications, the additional pressure to secure funding is exasperating. Although Rebecca, who has been an associate professor for several years, finds the emphasis on external funding understandable given the financial situation of the university, she also says it makes her feel like she is "back on that little hamster wheel" of trying to meet increasingly high expectations.

Similarly, Sidney shares that the scarcity of resource extends beyond regular competition, which she would be fine with, to a culture "where you have to knock people over in order to raise yourself up." She sees this as being the same, if not worse, at other universities where she has heard of three assistant professors being hired at the same time to compete for the one associate professor position that will be awarded at the end of the process. For her, the culture of being so reliant on limited

external funding options detracts from the reasons why she entered the academy, such as working with collaborators and engaging in interesting research.

The perspectives among faculty vary somewhat from what I observed in my interactions with administrators. According to one administrator, the expectation to cover some portion of their annual salary with soft money is not new for many faculty because the most common academic appointments are either 1.0 FTE for nine months or .75 FTE for twelve months. Thus, while faculty often find themselves working full time for the entire calendar year, they are only paid by the university for a portion of that. The administrator who raised this explained that an individual might *want* to then only work three-quarters time, but added, "I can tell you, in that amount of time you're not likely to produce the product that we're going to require for promotion." While some faculty supplement their income by teaching during the summer and others use grants to cover their summary salary, contrary to popular belief, faculty do not have a paid three-month vacation; rather, as Elissa points out, "I'm *unemployed* in the summer."

The Logic of Status, Prestige, and Power

As an institution, higher education alternates between being regarded as prestigious and being considered elitist. To some extent the reputations are externally ascribed, but they also emerge from prevailing logics about personal and organizational status, prestige, and power. Between universities, rank according to various national standards is an important measure of success. Status distinctions and

displays of power are also evident within the university where certain disciplines are seen to receive more recognition, financial support, and favor over others, often in ways that align with the land, sea, sun, and space grant missions of the university. The ways in which these logics are enacted informs the development of the organizational culture and shapes the experiences of individuals within the university.

Prestige is a pervasive part of the discourse of the university. It is clearly evident in the President's 2010 State of the University Address, which sets forth aspirations to become a top ten land grant university, but concerns about organizational status are also present in more subtle ways. For example, I observed the emergence of this theme through conversations about perceived inadequacies of the university's rank and reputation. During my conversation with Toni, we started talking about two searches under way in her department within the Division of Earth Systems Science. She mentioned that the top candidates would be great for the university, but may be what she described as "tough draws." When I asked her to elaborate, she explained that part of the concern was that the salary was lower than what the candidates would be offered by other institutions. The core concern, however, was that the university is viewed as less prestigious than other places the top candidates had received job offers. Indeed, while the university aspires to a position of regional and national prestige, the message does not always resonate with the individuals who are, or who are seeking to be, part of the organization.

Interestingly, but maybe not surprisingly, viewing oneself as part of a less prestigious university may shift the experience of pressure in the pursuit of promotion

and tenure. In reflecting on the advice she might give to incoming junior faculty, Annie qualifies her guidance to avoid making the process "into more of a big deal than it needed to be" by adding, "If you were at Berkeley, or Clark, or Madison, you know, where they're really hardcore, it's probably different. You probably do need to be that kind of nervous tenure person, but here, you know, it wasn't *that* horrible." Similarly, Sophie explains that part of what attracted her to her position was that "it wasn't like at MIT or something, like really, really stressful"; instead, she thought the university would be a place with "a little less pressure." Angela also explains that she did not worry about the university's standards; instead, she was more concerned about the external criteria set by peers in her discipline. These perceptions of the university as less rigorous and less relevant than one's disciplinary identity may be counter to the organization's pursuit of prestige, but they may also help individuals manage the local pressures of tenure by envisioning success as attainable.

This sentiment about the status of the university is exacerbated by the centrality of the discipline for academics who are more closely aligned with their field of expertise than the academic organization in which they happen to be situated. Where the professions of medicine and law, for example, have internal specialties in conjunction with strong professional identities, "the academic profession" is highly disjointed and, as Clark explains, "Rather than a closely knit group of professionals who see the world from one perspective, academic systems are loose connections of many professional types" (1983:36). According to Bourdieu (1988), the fragmentation of disciplines also leads to the struggles for power, either for academic capital, based

on the control over material resources, or intellectual capital, based on scientific prestige. These relations between various disciplines and their constant struggle for the control of capital can significantly alter the organization and impact how it is experienced by academic women.

While more established disciplines have acquired and strive to maintain their control of academic and intellectual capital, others are still trying to establish legitimacy as disciplines. Indeed, the politics of academia are also evidenced as various disciplines seek recognition as valid areas of scientific inquiry. For example, one participant referenced the struggle business programs have engaged in to be recognized as legitimate in academia. She shared her observation of a member of the College of Business faculty who submitted his dossier but withdrew before it reached the university level having received mixed reviews at the department and college. She described this faculty member as innovative in a discipline that values tradition and avoids risk to preserve its credibility. Conflicts also emerged for various participants who spoke of shaping their areas of inquiry to fit within the confines of what their respective disciplines find acceptable. Thus, one consequence of the logics of status, power, and prestige is that they can actually hinder creativity by offering only rigid paths to recognition and success. With careers on the line, it is far safer for junior faculty members to seek acceptance in approved ways. At the same time, the logic of status may leave administrators feeling an ethical obligation to keep assistant professors marketable to traditional programs and acceptable to potential external

reviewers. At the very least, this delays creativity for six or more years, but risks also include forestalling innovation altogether and losing valuable faculty members.

It is only once individuals have been rewarded with the security of tenure that they are elevated within the university's system of power, prestige, and status. Within the organizational hierarchy full professors are of higher status than those at the assistant level. This becomes particularly problematic when considering the fact that the "proletariat" of academic organizations, the untenured faculty and adjunct instructors, is overwhelmingly female (Menges and Exum 1983; Heller 2007). Academic women do not comprise the majority of the academic faculty as a whole, but they do represent the bulk of the labor force with the least amount of prestige, power, and status. According to Perna, this trend persists "even after taking into account differences in such variables as educational attainment, experience, productivity, institutional characteristics, and academic discipline" (2001a:541). Thus, the concentration of women at the lowest ranks, and the growing exclusion of women from the ranks altogether persist within the organizational logic.

Within universities there are also clear status distinctions between various types and areas of employment. For example, the organizational hierarchy situates academic faculty as more powerful and valuable than classified staff members. Similarly, the disciplinary value system and the disparate control over academic and intellectual capital results in Engineers being favored over Historians, and nearly forgets about the presence of academics in the University Library. Further, the prestige of the departments in which future faculty are trained as graduate students influences

their subsequent careers. In this sense, the acquisition of symbolic, cultural, and social capital begins early in the careers of future academics and, when combined with the pervasive logics of the organizations, has the ability to significantly impact the extent to which they are able to achieve success.

The Logic of Security

<u>Positioned for Life</u>

The system of tenure is almost entirely informed by the logic of security. Once faculty members are tenured and promoted, they are assumed to have earned the ultimate job security; at least that has been the case historically. Barring any egregious legal or policy violations tenured faculty cannot be removed from their positions. More recently, however, financial crises have led to a rise in the number of universities declaring financial exigency, which is an extreme course of action universities can take in order to layoff tenured faculty. Less severe, but more pervasive is the growing trend of higher education's reliance on contingent labor to sustain less desirable functions, such as teaching undergraduates

For recently tenured Elissa, who had a successful career in private industry before accepting a faculty position, lifetime tenure is not that appealing. When discussing the security of tenure, she responds, "Yeah, but do you want to be at any job forever?" For her, earning tenure can also mean staying stuck and not exploring other ways to grow professionally. Although she makes it clear that she is not miserable in her job, she analogizes to what she describes as "the Post Office

syndrome," where postal workers maybe despise their work, but they never leave the organization because they are paid so well. She explains the tenure process is like a wheel that people stay stuck on because they do not want to lose all the time they have invested in the process.

Indeed, the same structure that provides security can also be experienced as rigid. At one time the corps of the academy may have been largely homogeneous, but demographic trends suggest that is no longer the case. Nevertheless, when the system of promotion and tenure was first conceptualized the "ideal worker" embodied a set of norms that included unwavering devotion to work (Hochschild 1975). In academia, this ideal worker was able to manage all of his obligations and make expeditious, linear progress toward promotion and tenure. As will be discussed further in Chapter Four, academic women find the security of academia appealing, but at times question the cost. Among my participant group comprised entirely of self-identified women there are a range of experiences and needs both within and outside the institution that may preclude alignment with the persistent norms defining the "ideal worker."

Rather than being faced with a decision between job security and a manageable process Lisa explains, "It would be really nice to be able to structure tenure in a way that would be healthier for me." There are others who share this sentiment, but there is a way in which the logic of security defines a single path to achieving such assurances. This is reflected in the experience of Lisa, and others whose lives do not mirror that of the "ideal worker," but it is also evidenced by the discourse of academic freedom. While "academic freedom" is a core tenet of institutions of higher education, I

observed reticence from participants to deviate too dramatically from what they understood to be safe and acceptable research topics, at least as junior faculty. Not only must research be acceptable to one's peers both within and outside the university, the increasing emphasis on securing grants means that research must also appeal to potential funding agencies. The result of what Nicole describes as a "money crunch" is that she and other participants find their academic freedom confined to that which is most likely to be funded. That is, the freedom of academia is a luxury enjoyed by those who have achieved tenure, while the path to security encourages conformity.

A Period of Vulnerability

As Simeone notes, academia is different from other occupations where people at different status levels are engaged in different functions. Instead professors, regardless of seniority, are nearly all engaged to some extent in teaching, research, and service. Nevertheless, academic organization is such that there are essentially two classes of faculty: junior and senior. The six years that an individual spends in the first category are a time to prove their abilities and demonstrate their potential as a long-term member of the professoriate. With promotion comes greater authority and with tenure greater security, but the intervening years can be a time during which individuals are particularly vulnerable.

Versions of the vulnerability theme were raised frequently at the beginning of my interviews with participants. Although I paid particular attention to constructing a research design that would preserve as much security as possible, each participant

undoubtedly took risks to speak with me. The risk was heightened for individuals who possess characteristics that make them more identifiable, such as being the only junior faculty member or the only woman in their department, or who have what they think will be a recognizable characteristic such as a child with an illness or a unique family situation. While I initially thought this would be most evident among pre-tenure faculty, several tenured participants also expressed concern about whether they would be identifiable because, as one participant stated, "It is kind of a small world." In fact, the only individuals who consistently appeared to be the least concerned with their security were those whose dossiers were under review at the time we spoke. Individuals in that group conveyed an overall sense that their fate was out of their hands and, it would seem, out of mine.

The experience of vulnerability is heightened by the systems in place for the evaluation of faculty. Although they are hired into departments as colleagues, it is those very peers who will eventually play a pivotal role in determining their fate. For one participant, who is still early in her pre-tenure career, this means that she has a very difficult time saying, "no" to the multitude of requests made by her senior colleagues. In Arianna's experience, the inability to decline the number of responsibilities assigned to her as an assistant professor was exacerbated by her being the only woman in a department of men, and by being the youngest. Emily is preparing to submit her dossier and is at the point where she is trying to focus on moving forward toward her own goals without becoming mired in the departmental politics. She describes discomfort with the "fear-based control" that is exerted over

junior faculty and is simply at the point where she is trying to avoid it as much as possible. Yet, from Peggy's perspective, junior faculty have little option but to learn how to navigate these relationships because, as she describes, "You don't have the option of rejecting the politics."

Part of the fear that Emily describes, and the sense of being unable to say, "No" stems from the sense of some junior faculty that the expectations of the university are opaque. By not knowing what to do, they find themselves doing everything. Lily explains that when, "you're a junior faculty you're trying to kill yourself to prove that you're a hard worker." She also observes that because junior faculty often arrive at the university with a lot of energy they are encouraged to take on new projects or engage in a range of service activities, when what they really need to do is build their careers as scholars. From Alice's perspective as someone nearing her fifth year, the vulnerability experienced by junior faculty stems from a sense of not yet being, "a full member of the community," a phenomenon to which individuals respond in a variety of ways. Michelle, a young faculty member in the Division of Academic Affairs who describes herself as looking even younger than she is, never considered herself shy; however, she found herself rarely comfortable speaking in faculty meetings. In reflecting on her experience, she attributes her reticence to the powerlessness of being in the position with the least seniority. For Isabel, who is still pre-tenure, she finds that her opinion is disregarded and that her competence and judgment are frequently questioned. In her experience, such behavior exhibited by her

senior colleagues who are men is closely tied with sexism and prevailing negativity about the presence of women in the discipline.

Lily, who was recently promoted and tenured, described her plan to be more vocal in her department, particularly with regard to advocating for resources. Her decision to modulate her participation as an untenured faculty member seems well advised when considering the experiences of participants in different colleges. One, who reflected on her experience at a previous institution, explained that she was encouraged by her colleagues on a number of occasions to share her opinion. She explains, "I had spoken my mind at times when they asked me to, not realizing they were sort of setting me up to fail in the long run." This is the type of department Toth describes as a "snakepit," characterized by "nasty brutish feuds and fiefdoms…whose warring members are united only in their ferocious opposition to the other side, whoever that may be" (1997:58). The reason the participant felt trapped by the invitation of her senior colleagues is that she saw them later use her divergent opinions as indication that she was contentious, difficult, and not a good "fit" for the department.

The emergent market ethos, the prevalent discourse about status, and the disparate access to security permeate the university. At certain times the influence of one or more logics is visible, while at other times their presence is actually so ubiquitous that the logics seem indistinguishable as such. Instead, the powerful logics simply become the foundation of the culture, relationships, and decision-making processes of the academic organization with little attention paid to their influence.

Whether or not the influence of the logics is recognized, it is central to the formation of the university's policies and practices. I consider some of these in the next section by exploring more fully the ways in which the university is (or is not) organized around its corps and their corporeality.

Academic Bodies

The "Two-Body" Problem

When the university was primarily the realm of the academic man, little consideration was given to the impact of his career on his wife—and it was always a wife. Early research did not address the phenomena of "trailing spouses" or "dual career couples," these concepts only emerge as relevant as the image of man as sole "breadwinner" fades from the collective psyche. In fact, such language is not contemporary to Bernard's era; she conducts her analysis at a time when it was still accurate for her to describe academia as "the vocation for celibacy," at least for academic women (Bernard 1964:208). Simeone (1987) also offers little insight into how academia is organized to account for the marital status of academic women noting only that marriage is not beneficial to their careers. Further, at the time Bernard and Simeone were each inquiring about the experiences of academic women, many universities had anti-nepotism policies that posed an insurmountable structural barrier for academic couples.

As the structural barriers have been removed, logistical barriers have persisted. Now, employers and prospective employees of all sexes must navigate increasingly

complex relationship and family demands. Additional consideration must also be paid to the economic context and its impact on both job seekers and job markets. For example, during the period of data collection, the unemployment rate in the state peaked at 11.6 percent and only recently dipped below nine percent. Thus, it is impossible to consider how academic organization impacts the academic women without considering the impact of her career on that of her partner(s).

Although previous studies suggest that female professors are less likely to be married than male professors (Astin and Milem 1997), 88 percent of participants in this studied identified as married or partnered. In order to examine the impact of marital status, each participant was asked about any extent to which her career and her relationship impacted one another. The focus of the next chapter will address the experiences of academic women in partnerships, but here the focus is on how the academy is organized to address what many participants referred to as "the two-body problem." In physics, the two-body problem describes objects that orbit a common center, but which never meet. In the context of employment, the challenge is finding ways for two laboring bodies to work and reside simultaneously in one space.

Most commonly the term is used to describe the difficulty academics in relationships with other academics have finding positions in the same time zone, let alone at the same university. When applying for jobs or determining whether to accept an offer, the persistent question for dual-career couples is how the decisions of one partner will impact the career options for the other; a dilemma particularly heightened for academics given the scarcity of tenure-track positions (Wolf-Wendel et al. 2003).

This dilemma necessitates a willingness to follow positions first and sort out relationship logistics second. As one administrator who talked about the successful placement of graduate students explains, "The only ones that don't get jobs are ones that have a spouse or something where they need to stay in town or have constraints that don't allow them to look very broadly."

The "two-body" problem also extends to couples where only one partner is an academic. Although the university offers various statements about supporting dual career couples, the actual experiences of faculty vary widely, and, as Angela declared, "There really are no rules about how one approaches the two-body problem." Some describe accommodating two careers as a non-issue, while others find it incredibly difficult. A range of factors inform the experiences academic women face, but this is an area where the university has the opportunity to organize in a way that accounts for the family realities many current and potential faculty face. The dilemmas faced by families with more than one wage earner are most evident when one partner finds themselves on the job market. Career opportunities for one individual may not translate into opportunities for another. This is a particular concern given the semi-rural location of the university, which is one of the area's largest employers. Options within the university are limited, as are career opportunities in the immediate and surrounding communities. This has been heightened by the economic realities of the state and the country. In fact, one of the largest employers in the immediate area began laying off a significant number of workers in 2008.

Viola's husband was directly impacted by the excess of unemployed individuals with experience and expertise in the exact field in which he was hoping to find work. When Viola accepted her position, she did not even inquire about assistance from the university because initially she thought her husband would be able to keep his current position and work remotely; however, she adds, "I don't even think I would have asked because I'm not really sure what a College of Liberal Arts can do to get him employment." Her husband, who is not an academic, lost his position in company-wide layoffs just before their move. Although her husband eventually found a position, he was initially faced with the impact of the economy on one of the area's largest employers. She explains, "So, but he did find a job. It took a year and half, but he has a really great job, actually, that he likes a lot. But it did take a long time, it was very stressful the first year and a half or so."

Similarly, Carla and her husband were hindered by the nationwide economic downturn when she accepted her tenure-track position. She had not been looking to move, but the position she eventually accepted opened at the same time that her previous, non-tenure-track position seemed threatened by budget cuts. Faced with the likely elimination of her position and the allure of the job security of tenure, she and her husband made what she describes as "a really tough decision" to move their family. The position she left was not filled and she says that overall the move has "worked out so far," but she also wonders, as she looks back with the benefit of hindsight, whether she would have moved her family.

Other families find themselves negotiating the two-body problem by making

sacrifices, such as accepting lengthy commutes. Margery's partner, who is not an

academic, was able to find work 80 miles from the university in the state's largest city.

In order for the two to live together, Margery commutes to the university

approximately three days per week. When she accepted the job they initially

considered maintaining separate households for a certain portion of each week, but

having lived apart while she was pursuing her doctorate, she ultimately decided that

she wanted to live together. As she describes,

> And so, I decided that the commute was an adjustment or a compromise that I
> was willing to make to have the personal life and the professional life sort of as
> fully as I could. Sometimes people will say to me, "Oh, this is so horrible," or
> something like that, and for us, this is actually a pretty darn good solution. I
> mean, my other job offer was [on the East Coast], and my partner is kind of
> mobile within very specific zones of the country, so to be both be in the same
> state to us is, you know, I mean I say that I'll never win the lottery because I
> got an academic job close to where he had a job. So for us, this is actually, you
> know a good solution to the two-body problem.

While Margery considers herself fortunate to be able to live with her partner and

commute several times a week, Maya has been trying to make her "commuter

marriage," as they are commonly termed, work across 2,000 miles. She accepted the

position with the hope that her husband, who works in construction, would easily be

able to find work in the area. Unfortunately, she was hired just as the economy

crashed, which significantly slowed opportunities for work in construction. They

cashed out their retirement accounts to supplement the income she was earning, but

after two years of unemployment for him they decided that it was not feasible to

continue supporting their family of four solely on one income. Since her husband was

unable to find employment in the area, he has returned to the location where they previously resided. This means that Maya is here with the kids, but without her husband, her extended family, or any other significant support system, and she is trying to balance that with the demands of the tenure-track. Reflecting on the experiencing of separating her family, Maya simply says, "We suffered this entire first year."

Susan similarly describes her experience of being part of a dual-career couple searching for positions as, "pretty horrible." In her case, her husband left a tenure-track position at another institution in order for her to pursue a tenure-track position. He willingly left his position because they were both interested in the opportunity to move west and she just happened to be the one to receive the first job offer. Initially, Susan was hopeful that her husband would be able to easily find work but, though he has been applying to jobs at the university, he has yet to receive an offer. In the meantime, he has been able to continue as a distance instructor for his previous institution teaching courses online, which she believes has been financially feasible because they do not have children. Although she recognizes that some academic couples live apart in order to work at different universities, she does not find that a desirable option. Alexandria, who moved to the area from the East Coast, notes that the dual *academic* career couple challenge is heightened by the limited number of surrounding colleges and universities She describes that in the state she lived previously, "Every little town has its own college," but here she says, it is "not the kind of state where you really want to be in a dual academic thing." When her husband

found a tenure-track position in the state, she suddenly found herself "place bound," with few opportunities for employment within academia. Alexandria was fortunate to find an academic position in the same geographic region as her husband, but with such limited options, finding a job when a trailing partner is also an academic can prove difficult.

Both Angela and Arianna have been fortunate in that their academic partners have also been able to find positions within the institution. Although neither partner was immediately offered a full-time position, each began with partially funded positions in the Division of Arts and Sciences that were increased over time. When Angela met the person who is now her husband, they were each in tenure-track positions at different institutions. They were both at points in their careers where they were ready to move and so, as she describes, it was "perfect timing" for them to try to find tenure-track positions at the same institution. In their case, funding for Angela's partner's position was initially drawn from an endowment and from another college in which he was also able to teach courses. Yet, she describes the ongoing negotiations about how to make partial dollars from a variety of sources form a whole position as "exhausting." The stress primarily stemmed from not knowing from year to year, or even term to term, what the course load would look like because it was dependent on where the funding sources were coming from. She explains, "There was good will, at least at the department level, to try and make things work, but it was *making it work*, it was always scrambling."

In the cases of Sidney and Meira, they both found themselves trailing their academic partner. Sidney moved with her now ex-husband to an area where she was unable to find a position in academia. Luckily, her experience is also transferable to the private sector and she was able to find work in a nearby laboratory. It was not until the couple divorced and she asked herself what she really wanted to do that she ended up accepting her current tenure-track position in the Division of Business and Engineering in 2007. Meira also planned to search for work in the private sector when her husband accepted a position at the university. Yet, as she explains, "I was very naïve when he accepted the position; I hadn't done my homework enough to realize that if you don't work for the university, you don't work anywhere. I could flip burgers at McDonalds, yes, I could do that, but that was it." While she was eventually offered a tenure-track position in the Division of Business and Engineering, it was not the result of an effort to support her as the spouse of a newly hired faculty member; rather, she applied for a position, went through a competitive search process, and was eventually selected.

Some academic women described feeling fortunate about having a spouse who could be mobile either because of being in a field in which there is demand or having the ability to work remotely. Elissa and her husband, who do not have any children, were easily mobile when they decided to leave the state they had been residing in for 15 years and move west. Once she found a tenure-track position in the Division of Health Sciences, his work as an independent contractor made it possible for him to follow her. Lily explains that her husband briefly looked at the job market when they

decided to move to the area, but he had left his graduate program before completing his degree and therefore did not qualify for many of the jobs in which he was interested. Ultimately he opted to take care of the children, work on a book project, and take intermittent work on the weekends. Emily similarly describes her husband as a "neutral player" in the process of searching for tenure-track positions. Because he is mobile within his field, she was able to look for positions with some assurance that he would easily find work, which he did. Marie considers herself fortunate to have a similarly mobile husband who was, as she describes, "willing to go wherever I wanted to go." As she explains, searching for an academic position is "just kind of a crapshoot," so the ability to pursue any position that is open increases the likelihood of actually finding a tenure-track position.

For Rosie, the two-body problem began in graduate school when she and her boyfriend at the time, now husband, were simultaneously applying to various doctoral programs. Her experience is reminiscent of other long-term academic couples that exchange positions as leading and trailing spouse numerous times over the course of their careers. In her case, her husband earned his doctorate first and accepted a post-doctoral fellowship across the country. Since she was in the process of writing her dissertation, she was able to move with him, but soon disrupted their arrangement by going on the job market. An offer of a full-time teaching position took her and their young son back across the country for a period of time until she was offered her current tenure-track position. As two early-career academics, Rosie explains that she and her husband did not feel they had the luxury to make dual-career considerations

"part of the equation," by which she meant they each needed to apply to every possible position, thus committing the details of their relationship to an afterthought. Eventually she received a job offer, which took precedence because, as she describes, "I had more marketable skills," even though it was likely that her husband's post-doctoral fellowship would evolve into a tenure-track research position. Although her husband was initially able to follow her by relying on soft money, the grant funds quickly ran out and she found herself back on the job market. It was at that point that the university finally engaged in efforts to retain her and, through discussions with her department chair and dean of her college, they were eventually able to identify a position in another college for which her husband was well-suited.

In Rosie's case, the university was invested in retaining her talent and was able to find a position for her husband, who is also an academic. Gwen was in a similar position of being more marketable than her husband, who also has a doctorate. When it was time for the couple to search for academic positions, she found that she had a wider range of opportunities than he did in his highly specialized field. When Gwen, who was recently tenured and promoted, accepted her position in the Division of Arts and Sciences, the chair drew on grant funding in order to offer her husband the opportunity to teach several courses in the department. He did so for a time, but eventually decided to leave the position in order to stay at home with the children.

For trailing spouses who want or need to work, but who do not hold advanced degrees, support from the university can seem less forthcoming. According to Amelia, the university, "has one of the best track records for dual-career hires, but that's only

when both people have Ph.D.'s." Amelia's husband has a master's degree and considerable experience, but when she was hired he was neither qualified for nor interested in a tenure-track position. He was eventually able to find a position, which he subsequently left because, as Amelia explains, "It ended up being more of a lackey position." Now that Amelia has earned tenure and is interested in staying at the university, her husband has decided to pursue his doctorate, which may eventually make them both more marketable.

While Amelia's husband was willing and able to seek an advanced degree, Viola mentioned that additional education would not necessarily benefit her husband, who is in a career field where advanced degrees and earning potential have an inverse relationship. Rebecca's husband did pursue an advanced degree, but has also not realized any additional benefit. In fact, he has two master's degrees and has only been able to find limited work for hourly pay. She explains that support for her two-body problem is one area where she feels that the university has not been helpful, and she is at the point now that she is faced with the real possibility that she will need to start looking for other jobs. Initially, relying primarily on her income was feasible; however, the couple has since had children and they are finding it increasingly difficult to support their expanded family without a second income. Rebecca describes her growing frustration,

> So I work a lot extra, whatever extra I can do to kind of keep us afloat and it's not quite working. So, it's really hard then when, you know, we asked for help, all the university could do is call and say, you know, this is a spousal situation, and that's just not quite enough, because then you see them recruiting new people and working so hard to get their partners here, it's kind of a slap in the face.

As Rebecca explains, she has explicitly requested support and has found the university is able to do little more than notify the hiring official for a position to which her husband has applied that one of their applicants is the spouse of a current employee.

After she was offered her position, another participant also asked the university for assistance in finding work for her husband, but she was not satisfied with the support. She says of the university, "Their idea of 'help' was, I think they sent his CV to somebody. You know, 'Oh I know a guy, why don't we send your husband's CV?' To me that doesn't constitute help, you know? A ten-year-old could have done that." Angela shares a similar perspective about the efficacy of the university's efforts saying, "There is language at the university that dual-career couples are welcomed, or actively encouraged, or whatever, but there's no funds to do anything about that, so, um it's kind of an empty advertisement."

One administrator I spoke with tied the ability of the university to intervene back to the concern about credentials stating that the primary focus was on whether the trailing partner was "Ph.D. material, or if they've been an academic." In fact, when she first started her tenure-track position at the university, her husband left a great job in the private sector and began looking for work in their new community. She describes receiving no support from the university and explains, "There was no acknowledgement that anybody might need some help finding out, you know, who to contact for non-university jobs." Her husband was eventually able to find work, but she describes the lack of assistance for non-academic trailing partners as "somewhat elitist."

Another administrator who shared a concern about the two-body problem identified the issue as one primarily of socialization and social obligation. The administrator explains that some women may be uncomfortable making more money than a partner who is a man, negotiating power dynamics within relationships, and leaving the geographic region inhabited by their family, particularly aging parents. From the particular perspective of the administrator, these experiences are informed by both gender norms and cultural expectations. Unfortunately, the result is that it may be difficult to recruit and retain such women if positions are not also identified for their partners.

In one example, the administrator describes a woman newly hired from outside of the United States who planned to move to the area with her husband and children, despite the inability of the university to find a position for him. Before they were to move, her husband, also an academic, accepted a non-tenure-track position in another state. Although the newly hired faculty member and her children proceeded with the move, there is now concern about whether she will begin searching for jobs closer to her husband. As the administrator concludes, "You don't find many women who refuse to move here after their husband has taken a job, but we do see it with women whose husbands will not move here, and we lose them because they go wherever their husbands have work."

While a survey of over six hundred public and private colleges and universities revealed that most academic organizations recognize the importance of addressing the two-body problem, operationalizing effective dual-career accommodation policies can

be more difficult (Wolf-Wendel et al. 2003). In lieu of formalized policies or regularized practices, efforts to assist dual-career couples are enacted on an ad hoc basis and while some participants are able to adequately resolve the problem, others find the lack of institutionalized support to be a significant barrier to their ability to successfully navigate the academic organization.

The "Embodied" Problem

In addition to the challenge of accommodating two bodies in a common physical space, academic organizations also encounter the realities of having a workforce for whom knowledge and expertise is encapsulated in a complex human form. The next chapter will address the ways in which academic women experience elements that are typically considered outside of the academic persona, including the extent to which their ability to successfully navigate the university may be impacted. In this chapter the focus is on how the university is perceived to be organized to address the fact that faculty members are whole people. For example, how is the organization structured to acknowledge the circumstances of academic women who take responsibility for their families, including both growing children and aging parents? While no participants in this study explicitly discussed care for aging parents, two-thirds of interview participants currently have dependent children. Thus, beyond simply having such policies available, it is important to consider both the implicit and explicit messages faculty encounter when accessing them. This distinction becomes important when considering the experience one participant describes when she served

as a member of a search committee while in graduate school. One of the finalists arrived to the on-campus interview visibility pregnant, which became a topic of conversation at the committee's later deliberations when one faculty member said, "Well, she's having a baby, she'll be too busy, she really won't be able to put in time for the position." Not surprisingly, that particular applicant was not offered the position, and the experience remained in the memory of the participant, who later went on the job market early in her own pregnancy.

The most common policy discussed was the extension of the ever-ticking tenure clock. The university provides the opportunity for any tenure-track faculty member to request a one-year extension as a result of "extenuating circumstances," but I heard participants describe the process as "cumbersome." Fourteen participants discussed some sort of experience which would have qualified them for an extension, but only five actually extended their clock. Participants most frequently discussed the tenure clock in the context of pregnancy and childbirth, although several participants talked about illness, either their own or that of a family member.

As will be discussed further in the next chapter, the birth of a child impacts academic women in different ways. While some described feeling more productive, others noted that the demands of being a new parent noticeably impacted their academic lives. Yet, it is impossible to know prior to the birth exactly what the impact of the new child will be. Similarly, one's own illness or the illness of a family member may significantly impact a term or even a year, but may not appreciably impact progress toward promotion and tenure. The unknown impact of such "extenuating

circumstances" and the irrevocability of the extension were reasons why participants, such as Rachel, seriously weighed the value of the extension against other perceived implications. Now nearing her sixth year in the Division of Earth Systems Science, she waited as long as possible to request an extension to preserve her options in case she decided she might not need it. As she explains, "Once you're granted the extension, if you then decide you don't need it and go up when you would have originally, that's considered going up early, and so you can't undo that." Several participants talked about this distinction and shared that often faculty members are cautioned against submitting their dossiers early because they are then subject to more rigorous standards. Yet, requests for an extension of the tenure clock must be made within the timeframe prescribed by the university, which means that faculty have limited time to think about the implications of altering, or not altering, their tenure clock.

While Rachel ultimately decided that she would benefit from extending her tenure clock, Beth was eligible, but declined. She spoke with her mentor and department chair and concluded that her dossier at the time was strong enough to withstand some minor disruptions without significantly offsetting her progress. Carla, who is still in the first half of her term as an assistant professor, also declined an extension for which she was eligible after considering the implications. In her case, the qualifying life event was the illness of a family member, who was diagnosed with a chronic condition. Although the immediate period around receiving the diagnosis and adjusting for its implications was disruptive, Carla realized that the extension would provide her an extra year, but her life will never return to "business as usual." Instead,

she explained, the extension would be "just one more year of putting off the process," which she decided would be equally as stressful as trying to negotiate the impact of her family member's condition. Although both opted not to take advantage of the extension, they did express appreciation for being offered the opportunity and for the time various administrators spent with them to explore various options. Such efforts on behalf of agents of the university are particularly important because the details of requesting an extension can be difficult to navigate, as can the process of thinking through the implications. These challenges can be furthered by the fact that the event(s) which precipitated the request may make the process seem more difficult or overwhelming.

Requesting an extension can also leave faculty members feeling vulnerable and inadequate during a period of their career when they are already experiencing intense scrutiny and pressure to prove themselves. During the focus group, there was a discussion among participants about extending the tenure clock. The most prevalent theme to emerge was that of feeling isolated, or even ostracized for disrupting the standard progression toward tenure. One participant stated, "I wish we heard these stories more, I wish we heard about how people took the extension so that you didn't feel bad about it, like you were the only one." In response, another participant suggested, "Maybe for solidarity purposes we should all take an extension."

Although the reasons for not extending one's tenure clock vary, Alice alluded to one often unspoken barrier when she was describing what she would like to see in an ideal university: "Real leave with an attitude that means its real leave." The

emphasis on *real* leave elucidates a common perception that one's peers within and outside of the university set their expectations for productivity based on the number of years since hire. Rather than calibrate expectations to reflect the extension, the assumption shared by many academic women is that their colleagues will expect to see seven years' worth of productivity, as if welcoming a new baby or dealing with an illness were akin to an opportunity for a productive sabbatical. Alice's statement makes sense in the context of her own experience which, should be noted, took place at another university. She describes that during her pregnancy, the chair of her department took her to coffee with the purpose of offering some advice. As Alice explains, the chair simply said, "You're going to have to get used to the baby crying in the crib. You're going to have to leave the baby crying in the crib because you're going to need to get work done." Shocked by this "advice," Alice describes her response,

> I almost laughed in her face, and um, but I didn't, I managed to keep my true reaction hidden and just kind of nod, and inside screaming, "Are you fucking kidding me?" Why would I have a kid to leave the kid crying in the crib while I worked? I'm sorry, that's not how I'm hard-wired. Maybe you are, ok, let me know in 25 years, how that works out for you and your kids. But no, that's not why I'm having a child, and if tenure to you, chairperson, really means that I have to put earplugs in so I can do some amount of work while my baby screams in the crib, I don't want it. Like, I, I don't want it bad enough. I, I just don't.

Emily had her first child shortly after she completed her third year review, but she made the decision not to extend her tenure clock. Around the same time she first learned she was pregnant her chair was pushing her to teach summer classes in the department to draw the interest of potential majors. She declined, and she was also

able to avoid teaching the spring her daughter was born because she had been able to bring in enough grant funding to cover her time. Although this meant a heavy teaching load during fall and winter terms, it ultimately afforded her the time to be with her daughter after she was born.

These particular experiences further exemplify the disconnect between the academic persona and the realities of academic bodies. When the institution is unable to organize in a way that precludes this artificial distinction, individual academics find themselves faced with such seemingly impossible choices as having children or pursuing tenure. While some evaluate their progress toward promotion and tenure and decline an extension for which they are eligible, others realize on their own or are told by a supervisor that it is their last hope. All of the participants who extended their clock for that reason did so because of real or perceived inadequacies in research. For example, Nicole explains that she was told by administrators in her department that she had not done enough research to be promoted and tenured and that she should try to extend her tenure clock. She had recently given birth but understood the advice to be that she use the extension to have time to do my research, rather than to care for her son.

For a variety of reasons, participants opted to make informal arrangements with their specific department. While this works for women who find themselves in supportive, flexible departments, others who may want or need such arrangements might not be afforded the same opportunities. Even when leave was used and an extension was granted, reliance on arrangements at the departmental level was

discussed as a way to negotiate confusing practices at the university level. For example, Lisa turned to her department chair for support after a frustrating conversation with Human Resources where she explains that her question about leave options was met with the response, "We don't have leave." When Lisa asked whether she could use her accrued sick and vacation leave, she says she was told, "You're not sick, so we can't give you sick time." She relayed this encounter to her department chair who responded, "You look pretty sick to me," and told her that they would work something out at the departmental level, if needed. While she never doubted that her department supported her, Lisa describes that period as "one of the worst months" because of the stress she experienced trying to meet the demands of being on the tenure-track while also trying to navigating confusing policies.

Lisa also shares that another administrator in the college subsequently contacted Human Resources to share how such policies and practices limit the ability of the university to recruit and retain women faculty. Lisa agrees that not having a more generous and accessible policy to support valuable employees through various life events will directly impact the ability of the university to recruit strong candidates who may not resemble the "academic man." She explains that the tenure process simply has no meaningful way to account for the changes in her life as a result of having children. Similarly, Maya describes her impression of the academy as "obviously a very male-defined institution." From her perspective, the academy, and the tenure system in particular, is "not equipped to handle mothers who have to leave or who have childcare responsibilities." Although she recognizes the immediate

benefits that a tenure clock extension can provide, she also wonders whether the model for a professor needs to be restructured to include multiple paths to tenure, or even opportunities to thrive off the tenure-track. Instead, Maya explains, "We have to accommodate ourselves to this tenure system that makes no accommodations for us."

In Rebecca's case the informal arrangements made within the Division of Arts and Sciences were actually necessary because the spacing of her children was close enough that she had not yet been able to accrue additional leave time between the births of her first and second child. Instead, she worked with her department chair to rearrange her course load for the term so that her teaching was concentrated earlier in her second pregnancy, leaving her with lighter duties when her daughter was born. Although she still ended up meeting her required teaching load, she recalls encountering difficulty from Human Resources, which did not seem to recognize that and questioned whether she was fulfilling her contract.

Indeed, when participants explained having a positive experience accessing resources, making arrangements, or integrating their academic and personal responsibilities it was most often attributed to something that happened within their department. Annie, who had her children in graduate school, describes her department as "family friendly." In particular, she remembers a conversation during which a well-respected full professor in the department told her, "Remember, family first." Although her own children were in school by that time, Annie describes being able to tell that the faculty member remembered what it was like to have young children as a new assistant professor. Annie found it reassuring as a new junior faculty member to

hear one of her senior colleagues emphasize that taking care of one's family is, "the most important thing"; however, she also shares that her initial reaction was to think, "Really? *Really*? *That's* the most important thing? Not my job?"

Amelia also describes being in a supportive department where no one, and she includes, faculty, staff, and graduate students, are expected to "put their lives on hold." She became pregnant shortly after she started her position, though she decided not to extend her tenure clock; however, once her son was older, she describes the challenge of finding childcare that could accommodate the needs of his illness. When Annie received a call from one program telling her to immediately pick up her son, who had just been permanently banned, a senior colleague reassured her by saying, "That's ok, work from home." For Annie, her colleague's words felt like permission to do what she needed to do to take care of her son, which she describes as the "epitome of family friendly."

Another participant sought to extend her tenure clock as a result of her own illness, but she recalls the process as being cumbersome. Upon reflection, she now perceives the experience of negotiating the extension as challenging specifically because it was related to illness and not the birth of a child. Although she had her children as a graduate student, she suggests, "Maybe it would have been better to have them now cause then that would have been obvious, it would have been obvious how to handle it."

Sometimes, barriers are at the level of neither the department nor the university; rather, the barriers exist outside of the institution. Marie, who gave birth to

her second child shortly after she had received a large grant, describes that her difficulty was the lack of flexibility with her funding agency. She had not anticipated needing to take extended leave, but complications after the birth of her daughter took her away from her work, particularly her research, for almost two months. While she was able to work with her department to request an extension of her tenure clock, the funding agency had no mechanism to allow her to stop her grant clock; instead, as she describes, "the clock just keeps ticking."

The experiences detailed in this section point to the many ways in which academic organizations remain unequipped to account for the complex embodied realities of their workforce. As Lisa explains, "Part of what sells academics is this idea of freedom, and yet we're the most rigid evaluation system in the world." Although some academic women successfully navigate the largely unaccommodating structure, the nature of the organization itself creates conflict by imposing a career trajectory that precludes any significant temporal variation. In the next section I will focus more specifically on these requirements, which tenure-track faculty must negotiate in their pursuit of promotion and tenure.

Expected, Supported, Valued, Rewarded

Within academia, the decision about promotion and tenure is a defining moment. At the end of what is typically six years on the tenure-track faculty members are either granted indefinite tenure or notified that their position will be discontinued. Some who are unsuccessful or who opt out of the process before their dossier is

reviewed find more suitable tenure-track positions at other universities, accept non-faculty positions within academia, or leave higher education altogether. Yet, any of these decisions come at a time when the culmination of a significant amount of work is either deemed acceptable or inadequate; the investment is not just made over days or weeks, but over a considerable amount of an aspiring academic's lifetime to that point. Thus, key questions about how academic women navigate academic organizations stem from an understanding of what will be expected, supported, valued, and rewarded in the granting of indefinite tenure and the awarding of a promotion.

The Expectations for Promotion and Tenure

According to national survey data collected by the Collaborative on Academic Careers in Higher Education (COACHE), pre-tenure faculty consistently mention the need for a "clearly defined, reasonable, and equitable path to tenure;" however, they are often faced instead with vague and inconsistent guidelines (Trower and Gallagher 2008:A36). With this in mind, I made a point to ask each participant, "What is *your understanding* of the expectations for promotion and tenure?" Participants responded to the deliberate emphasis on my interest in their understanding in a number of ways, but frequently my question was met with some variation of mock perplexity: "That's a *good* question!"; "*Have* we received explicit guidelines?"; "Nicely phrased!" The reason for the emphasis is that I am versed in the expectations that are set forth in the faculty handbook, as are the individuals who wrote it. It does not benefit the university for me to reiterate the guidelines, but what *is* useful is to explore how the individuals

most directly impacted by the processes and procedures surrounding promotion and tenure understand the expectations.

Despite the criteria detailed in the faculty handbook, participants shared a sense that, to some extent, the expectations are subjective. During the focus group, one participant shared her experience of talking with her dean about the guidelines for promotion and tenure, to which another participant responded, "But they're just opinions." In this exchange, participants were expressing frustration about the conflicting advice expressed by various sources and their perception that guidance received about promotion and tenure is often an interpretation that may or may not align with the expectations by which junior faculty will be judged. Beth describes a similar experience of receiving a lot of *interpretations*, but not a lot of clear guidance,

> You talk with somebody and they say, "Well, you know, the most important part is your service to the college," and you're thinking, "Oh, ok, well yeah, that's probably important." And then you talk to somebody else, "Oh I think that they're really looking at the topic of your research, that's going to make or break the whole process," you know? And then you talk to somebody else and they say, "It really comes down to your teaching." So I suppose it really is the whole package that they're looking at, but it would be helpful to have things just a little bit more defined.

The desire for clear expectations was frequently raised in conversations with participants. In reflecting on her own experience, Meira specified that she would have liked, "clarity in terms of expectations in some sort of written form," to which she added, "It would be nice if these expectations didn't shift through the years." Alice describes a similar experience with shifting guidelines that began with a paper per year, regular presentations, and some preliminary work toward a grant, but by the time she was ready for her mid-term evaluation, her understanding was that she was

expected to have secured a significant, multi-year grant. For her, the lack of clear

expectations feels like an effort to ensure a high level of productivity from faculty. She

describes asking her department chair about the progress she was making to which the

chair simply replied, "Great. Now do more." For Alice, who was already feeling fully

extended, that response left her with a sense of never being done, and never being sure

that she had done enough. She explains, "Without guidance to figure out what

'enough' means you have to decide for yourself and always run the risk that you're

wrong, which is really just a life of constant anxiety. Just constant, constant anxiety."

While many participants expressed desire for clear expectations, some also

offered reasons why the university benefits from being purposefully vague. As Alice

describes,

> Um, this is where it gets kind of sticky, right? So, no department in their right
> mind, and there are some that are a little bit crazy, but no department in their
> right mind is going to lay exactly, word for word, the expectations for tenure
> and promotion, itemized, because tenure always rests ultimately on whether
> the department members think they can live with the person in question for the
> rest of their careers. And, all departments leave that fuzzy so as to give
> themselves something of an out because if person X did all of the listed
> requirements in a way that was completely unambiguously complete, but was
> really a pain in the butt, the department does reserve the right to not tenure
> them. All departments do this.

Consistent with Alice's assessment, the majority of administrators I interviewed were

hesitant to provide concrete definitions or definitively say, "If you do this, you will be

tenured and promoted." This response also aligns with survey data collected by

COACHE that points to the insistence by administrators that such a clear contract is

not possible (Trower and Gallagher 2008).

For Viola, the absence of clear standards is more about a lack of understanding on the part of the university than intentional obfuscation. Her perception is that no one at the university is trying to be secretive; rather, they simply do not really know what is going on. Although she does continue by comparing the benefit of flexible standards to a strategy used by many professors in their own classrooms saying, "It's to their benefit to not know because then they have more flexibility in order to reject you or pass you as they see fit. I know that from teaching, so you know, that sort of hazy ten percent participation grade, maybe that's their equivalent."

In addition, the obscurity serves to benefit the academic organization. The most telling comment was one participant's assessment that, "You have to do it all." Every organization has a process for defining and delegating tasks, often by job type; however, in the university all faculty members of the same rank have similar position descriptions, at least on paper. It is stated in these position descriptions that faculty are required to engage in some combination of teaching, research, and service, and success in each area will be used to inform decisions about promotion and tenure. These complex, sometimes seemingly conflicting demands can result in a sense of feeling overwhelmed about having to fulfill multiple roles and numerous duties within each area, and they may also produce the cynical sentiment shared by another participant that the university is "quite willing to let junior faculty do that."

In the next sections, I will explore the specific requirements for promotion and tenure, as they are understood by participants. Neither Bernard nor Simeone offer much insight into the detailed requirements for advancement; however, I have

included my findings in these areas because they offer insight into the organization of the academy. Earning tenure and promotion is a defining moment in academia where, unlike other professions, being unsuccessful may mean the end of a career. Given its importance, it is useful to understand how academic women make sense of and negotiate the expectations for advancement in academic organizations.

<u>Teaching</u>

Academic institutions fulfill a variety of social roles, and public research universities in particular emphasize how educating students contributes to the betterment of their state's economy. This commitment is further emphasized by the university's land grant mission, which creates an obligation to share relevant research with constituents, or "learners," throughout the state. Although the nature of the professoriate is such that new ideas can technically be generated without the presence of students, higher education has an explicit mission to not just beget knowledge, but to also transmit it. The question of the extent to which teaching is valued in the overall assessment of faculty will be addressed later, but it is important to note here that there is a distinction between "teaching" and "professing."

Even in 1964 Bernard was able to see that the "function of teaching has become anachronistic," and that strictly serving as an "instrument of communication" is a narrowly defined, confining role (114). Not surprisingly, Bernard observes that women are more likely to be in the teacher role than the role she describes as "the man-of-knowledge." The former transmits facts while the latter engages in the

dynamic exchange and production of advanced ideas about his discipline. In 1987, Simeone notes that women are still seen devoting more time to teaching than research, which can be problematic in the institutional hierarchy of academia where teaching is not always the role that is most emphasized or rewarded. Nevertheless, most faculty have significant responsibilities in instruction.

While effectiveness in teaching is stated in the university's Faculty Handbook as one criterion for promotion and tenure, many faculty have little or no training as teachers. As Lisa describes, "I am a trained researcher and teaching is something that I never did before I started my tenure-track position." Similarly, Viola shares that she received very little experience with teaching during her doctoral program, and she was worried that she might realize that she did not enjoy teaching or that she was not a good teacher. She explains, "You think that since you've been a student you understand what it means to be a teacher, but it turns out it's very different." Thus, while graduate school prepares future faculty to leave with a command over their subject matter, the experience does not necessarily equip them to transmit that knowledge in the classroom.

This disconnect between expectations and preparation is particularly problematic given that the evaluation of instruction is at least in part based on assessment by students. Bernard speaks to the complex relationship between students and teachers by recognizing that "the teacher is, so to speak, at the mercy" of the students whose performance reflects on the efficacy of the teacher and whose evaluation of the teacher impacts success in promotion and tenure (1964:118). This is

heightened when the logic of the market is applied to higher education in the twenty-first century with the role of student as learner shifting to that of student as consumer. It is also heightened by evidence of the persistence of bias and discrimination. For example, Simeone addresses the evaluation of academic women by noting that "women are evaluated less favorably than men, particularly by men" (1987:66). These findings are echoed in more recent research that points to the biases present in student evaluations of teaching and suggest that there are questions about their use as effective measures of teacher performance (Andersen and Miller 1997; Steiner et al. 2006; Merritt 2008).

To understand the expectation of teaching as part of the faculty assignment, it is important to consider the impact of this increased emphasis on auditing, surveilling, and monitoring the success of teachers and the achievements of their students (Tuchman 2009; Luthar and Šadl 2008). For example, Sidney describes that the dilemma she faces in dealing with students as consumers is that she wants to provide constructive feedback, but sometimes feels the need to moderate what she says because their evaluations directly impact the assessment of her performance as a faculty member. This perpetuates the relations of power described by Bernard and has the potential to place junior faculty in a tenuous position. Concern about student evaluations of teaching may seem trivial, but they are intended to become part of the dossier and, unfortunately, can be negatively impacted by sexism, racism, and other forms of discrimination (Leder 2007). As a result, a subcommittee of the university Faculty Senate has been proposing revisions to the student evaluation of teaching, but

that does not necessarily address all of the challenges associated with setting and then measuring expectations related to effective teaching as a criterion for advancement.

In addition to the lack of preparation of teachers and the use of questionable tools of evaluation, the role of teaching has also been transformed in the context of the neoliberal university to encompass much more than transmitting content related to a particular subject matter. During one informal conversation I had with several academic women the focus was on the assessment of learning outcomes and the expenditure of time it requires. Over the last decade at the university I have observed the popularity of the practice of assessment increase, with little corresponding acknowledgement of the increased demand it places on the busy lives of academic faculty. Yet, assessment is just one example of the increase in administrative or "second-order" activities associated with teaching (Luthar and Šadl 2008). In the same conversation, the academic women also bemoaned their increased engagement with tasks such entering grades and making photocopies. Thus, the expectations associated with "teaching" may also include an array of additional time-consuming activities.

Research

The general message of "publish or perish" is, according to one focus group participant, "very clear." Yet, the imperative is frequently not accompanied by similarly clear expectations about what, specifically, successful scholarship actually looks like. In fact, a job satisfaction survey of pre-tenure faculty at 77 colleges and universities conducted by the Collaborative on Academic Careers in Higher Education

(COACHE) found that "female faculty reported significantly less clarity than male faculty about the expectations for their performance as scholars" (2007:4). Emily's experience of the expectations in the Division of Arts and Sciences is that, "It has been pretty loose." She describes hearing that publishing a book is a positive consideration, but she did not express confidence in her understanding of what, exactly, would be required. For Isabel, who has asked administrators in her college for specific guidelines, the answer of, "Well, it kind of depends," has not been satisfying. Her interpretation of this answer is that administrators themselves either do not know or do not want to provide more clarification. She explains, "They don't know on what it depends, so it's a floating line and you're chasing it and you don't know if you're past it or not. And I think it might be on purpose so you don't slack. It's really frustrating." She adds that the lack of coordination and the conflicting information about expectations leaves her feeling as if the "left hand doesn't know what the right one is doing."

Meira describes a similar experience of trying to keep track of shifting expectations. While she initially understood that she should have approximately six to eight journal articles by the time she submitted her dossier, she says that three years into her process she began receiving messages that she would actually need ten to twelve. She says, "Three years down the road, if you're trying to change expectations on me, I think it's unfair and I have nothing to go back to because it was not, it was communicated to me verbally, but not in writing."

Others, such as Annie, describe receiving information about a minimum standard, at least about quantity. She explains, it was "pretty simple, two pubs a year was really all they said." In her case, the chair of her department met with her when she first arrived and offered guidance that included the expectation that she produce at least two publications per year. During this meeting, Annie's chair also talked with her about journal rankings and the attention paid to where she published and how often others cited her work.

Lisa echoes a similar understanding about needing to produce two publications per year, and adds that her understanding is that she will be evaluated on the extent to which her own graduate students are also generating publications. While Margery understands the expectation for her discipline to be a book, or its equivalent, she goes on to say, "Now, what its 'equivalent' might be is a fairly gray area." Marie describes her chair being explicit about the emphasis in her department saying, "I knew coming in that it was all about publications and grants"; although, she continues with an explanation of what might be considered phased expectations where the first two years might be sparse with regard to publications, but the productivity would be expected to increase after funding was secured.

The expectations become increasingly confusing when looking beyond quantity to also consider quality. Viola expresses her own uncertainty by wondering, "Is it better to have two things on your CV that are just top notch, or is it better to have four or five, one of which is top and others, not so much?" Lacking clarity, she goes

on to conclude, "Those are just decisions I kind of make as I go and try to follow my gut."

While some participants talked about their understanding of the expectations for promotion and tenure, others explained that the imperative to publish started in graduate school. Margery shares that in her field it is becoming increasingly rare for graduates to even be considered for a tenure-track position without already having publications. The benefit of starting early, however, is that some participants describe being able to leverage their work as graduate students or postdoctoral fellows into several early publications as assistant professors.

In part, success with regard to scholarship depends on the ability of a tenure-track professor to produce publications. Yet, several people described their sense that the expectations of the university do not align with the realities of the market. For Viola, who understands the expectation in her department to be that she "produce a book, a monograph, or the equivalent," her options are limited by circumstances beyond her control. As she describes, "The publishing market in my field has just bottomed out. I mean, it's just *dropped out*." Although she has a manuscript, she is concerned that it is going to take her longer to find the right publisher than it might have in a different market but, with the ticking tenure clock, that is time she does not feel she has. So, instead of tying her future success to a struggling book publication market, Viola is simultaneously trying to achieve the "or the equivalent" part of the expectations for scholarship. As she describes, "I've been writing a book and the

however many articles and I'm exhausted, like I'm basically instead of trying to get tenure, I'm trying to get tenure twice."

Another participant described a similar disconnect between the expectations to produce scholarship and the availability of publication outlets, but her greater concern was trying to decide between meeting the immediate requirements of tenure or tending to her long-term reputation in her field. Her sense that the two were in competition stemmed from a meeting with her department chair who, when asked whether a monograph was absolutely required, replied, "Yes, and no one's going to want to publish your work because nobody's publishing right now." As she explained the rest of the conversation she said,

> [The department chair] basically insinuated that I could publish with a crappy publisher, that would be fine, which is the best thing for the university, in one sense, but not the best thing for me because if I don't publish with a good publisher, I don't have any options. I can't go anywhere else, so it's, sure if they want me to stay that would be a good option for them, but not the best option for me. So I sometimes feel that the university, what the university will accept for tenure and what I need to do for my personal career are sometimes at odds.

Sophie, who at the time of the interview was preparing her dossier, was also beginning to question whether her colleagues in the Division of Arts and Sciences actually cared about the quality of her work and her reputation as a scholar. Although she describes herself as a "competent researcher," she was concerned that her colleagues would care little about intellectual acumen or her potential in the field; rather, she worried they would simply focus on the number of publications she was able to produce.

<u>Service</u>

　　While service is a university expectation to earn promotion and tenure, there is

considerable variation in how the requirement is fulfilled. The area that seems to have

the highest demands for service is the College of Liberal Arts. Many participants from

the college shared experiences similar to Rosie who is emphatic when she says, "I

have done *plenty* of service." Indeed, departmental norms play a significant role in

setting the expectations for service, as do departmental demographics. One participant,

who was the only woman in her department for her first two years as an assistant

professor, shares that she "had to be on every single committee you can imagine

because the department had to have a woman there." This sentiment is consistent with

the experiences of many women and people of color who find themselves serving on

every committee that wants "diverse" membership (Fogg 2003). As one administrator

explains, "Until you have a critical mass that can sustain the demand for those types of

service, there's just no other way [for women faculty and faculty of color] to not feel

over-extended."

　　The phenomenon of committees seeking a token woman representative creates

an interesting tension for the question of "academic women" because this research

exemplifies some of the ways in which the category is not as homogeneous as

previously assumed. This might suggest that attempting to obtain a uniform, definitive

"woman's perspective" is not possible. At the same time, feminist standpoint theories

aim to legitimate the subjective knowledge women develop as a result of their

particular social location, suggesting that adding a woman to a committee will produce

a different perspective. One way to reconcile this tension for the purpose of

understanding the expectations women face in academic organizations is to move

beyond the question of categories that are real via experience versus the validity of

"woman" as category. Instead, seeking the value of diversity suggests both that having

an array of perspectives is important in decision-making and that it is unreasonable to

expect one person to speak for an entire group. With regard to the expectations for

promotion and tenure, it is also necessary to examine how service is distributed. Not

only are these multiple service commitments time consuming, some research indicates

that the careers of junior faculty are hampered by the additional burden of tokenism-

driven service requests, which makes it difficult to successfully navigate the academic

organization (Medina and Luna 2000).

While the previously mentioned participant felt a service burden as the only

woman in the department, Gwen attributes her service load more generally to the size

of her department saying, "So, because we're such a small department, there's a lot of

opportunity for service. We all pretty much serve on most of the committees." For

some departments, their small size is directly tied to limited resources that have

slowed and, at various times over the last several years, actually frozen hiring. This

tension was particularly heightened beginning in 2009 when reconfiguration of

programs became a serious topic of discussion. Despite insistence by administrators

that the reorganization was a proactive effort to situate the university to realize

strategic goals, my observations during formal meetings and informal conversations

were that some faculty saw it as a reaction to dire economic conditions. Regardless of

the intent, one immediate effect was the creation of more work, particularly for those departments already stretched thin. As Viola, whose department has been a focus of reorganization efforts describes, "I had to do *way* more service last year than any like assistant professor has had to in my department in recent memory because of the restructuring."

Other participants, such as Annie describe having the opportunity to gradually increase their service load during their pre-tenure years. She shares that her department chair told her, "We're going to protect you from service for the first year." Her senior colleagues explained that they wanted her to develop her research agenda and settle into teaching, so they assigned her to a committee where she says, "I didn't have to do anything." As she settled into the university and started building her research, her service load slowly began to increase and she anticipates that it will become an even more significant part of her time now that she has been tenured and promoted.

Other participants are not just provided the opportunity to gradually transition as junior faculty, they actually maintain fairly light service loads during the entire pre-tenure period. That is not to say that they are excused from service obligations entirely, but there does appear to be an effort by their administrators and mentors to keep those obligations to a minimum. Amelia describes feeling protected by senior faculty from a heavy service load as an assistant professor with the expectation that participation will increase upon being granted tenure and promoted to the rank of associate. Marie also started her pre-tenure experience with a light service load, which

she attributes to her department chair who she says, "has always been protective of new faculty." In her experience, the first several years on the tenure-track are light for incoming faculty, who then take on more significant responsibilities and are "expected to step up in a more significant way" once promoted and tenured.

The basic understanding that service obligations will increase once faculty are tenured and promoted was mostly consistent across participants; however, there was much greater variation with regard to requirements at the assistant professor level. While some faculty, such as Marie, maintain a light service load, other faculty find themselves overburdened with obligations to serve on committees. There is also considerable variation in the level at which service occurs, with some faculty focusing their efforts on national level disciplinary service and others engaging in service to the university. This theme will continue as I explore later what is valued and rewarded, but first it is important to consider how the expectations for teaching, research, and service come together to inform the creation of a position description.

Position Descriptions

According to the faculty handbook, position descriptions are central to the evaluation of faculty for promotion and tenure. While it seems intuitive that faculty would be judged according to the parameters of their specific position, my observation is that this varies by department. If the position description is going to be the standard, it is important that it accurately reflects the work in which faculty are engaged; however, I observed considerable variation between participants in both their

familiarity with their own position description and in the extent to which they spoke of administrators engaging them in the process of making necessary changes.

One challenge to relying on the position description is that many graduate students are not equipped with the skills to evaluate or fully understand the expectations of their new tenure-track job. The basic research, teaching, and service components of an academic faculty position do not vary significantly by institution; however, if incoming faculty members do not understand the details of their new position, they may encounter specific expectations that implicate their experience, but be unsure of how to manage them. Given the land grant mission of the university, some faculty also have Extension obligations that they may be unsure how to fulfill. As one focus group participant asked, "How do you know to read your PD fresh out of grad school? I wouldn't have known to do that then and I didn't feel at all prepared to understand those details when I came here." Another focus group participant shared that she discovered that her position description inaccurately contained standard language that did not apply to her specific position, but she did not notice it immediately because she had not thought to pay such close attention.

Each participant was asked about the extent to which they believe their position description accurately reflects the work they perform, which produced a range of answers. Some felt as if their position description was accurate. According to Margery, she has had the opportunity to provide feedback about her position description and spoke about being able to add an element of her work that she thought was important to capture. As she describes, "I feel like it does reflect [my work]

because I've had an opportunity to help shape it." Others were familiar with their position descriptions, but did not have the ability to alter them, and they questioned whether the description was an accurate reflection of their work. As Annie describes, "My job is [described as] 50 percent teaching, 40 percent research, and ten percent service. The way I feel like my job is, I would say, it feels like 60 percent research, 38 percent teaching, and two percent service. That's how it *feels*." One focus group participant shared a similar feeling that the percentages detailed in her position description "never work out." Instead, she stated that she ends up feeling as if, "You have to give your whole soul, it's kind of unrealistic." Despite what might be perceived as inconsistencies, nearly a quarter of participants had not referred to the document since they were hired

In Gwen's case, she does not even recall seeing a position description when she was hired. She explains, "We didn't draft my position description until I had been here for a couple of years." When she remembers finally looking at a position description she says her chair drafted it and then asked her, "Do you think this looks ok?" In reflecting on the experience, Gwen does not express concern about at first not being aware of a position description and later about not really being included in its development. For one focus group participant the experience of simply being asked to sign a new position description each year is more problematic. She is upset when she shares, "I have to sign a new PD every year, but with no input. It's totally unilateral." Although the position description plays a critical role in the assessment of faculty,

there is a wide range of ways in which academic women interact with the document and its content.

Having considered how academic women understand and enact the expectations of promotion and tenure, I now move to a discussion of how the activities in which faculty are required to engage are supported, evaluated, and rewarded by the academic organization. The criteria for promotion and tenure point to the requirements for faculty, but ultimately success depends on one's ability to navigate the organization. In Chapter Four I will explore the individual and interpersonal strategies employed by academic women, but first it is important to provide insight into how the university is organized to facilitate their success.

Supported

Support for pre-tenure faculty can take myriad forms, and the extent to which faculty members have access to resources varies considerably by department. For example, Susan's department provides financial support to attend conferences and she shares that she would likely be unable to meet the expectation that she engage at a national level if her department did not provide her the financial support for travel. While Susan is well-connected to others in her discipline and was recently tenured and promoted, Maya is struggling to make the connections she needs to advance her research and produce the scholarship she will need to be successful in the academic organization. One of the key differences is that Maya describes receiving little or no financial support to attend conferences. In this sense, the extent to which tenure-track

faculty members receive financial support can significantly impact their ultimate success in the organization.

This theme was particular evident in the conversations I had with several participants about their experiences with furloughs. In November 2009, the Faculty Senate of the university voted to support a furlough program intended to mitigate the impact of state budget reductions and the overall economic downturn. Although the vote to support the approval of furloughs by the President came from the faculty senate, I engaged in a variety of formal and informal conversations with academic faculty about how inaccurately the proposed plan reflected their actual experiences. The flexibility in scheduling described in the next chapter as a benefit of an academic career also made adhering to the furlough plan difficult and frustrating. As one individual shares, "We all have home offices and so if we're not working here, it doesn't mean we're not working, it just means we're not working *here*."

Although the furlough program was temporary for academic faculty and only three interview participants explicitly referenced its impact, it was an important part of the context in which this research occurred. The broader theme that emerges both from references to faculty furloughs and conversations about departmental finances is the extent to which academic women perceive the university to be concerned with and organized to support their success. While some academic women perceive support from the departments and from the university, others express dismay about deficiencies in this area. Further, their various perceptions are also informed by what the academic organization is seen to value and reward.

(E)valuation

 Evaluation is a pervasive part of the experience of academic organizations. As Elissa explains, "Our profession, more than any other experience I've had, is subject to review." She goes on to explain,

> Every journal article is peer-reviewed, every grant proposal is peer-reviewed, we have annual reviews for our department on up through our college, tenure's one giant review. At what other profession do you have that level of inspection of everything you do?

While there is a considerable amount of freedom for faculty members, academic organizations also rely on rigorous evaluative processes; however, one concern that has persisted over the past fifty years is that there is a disparity between the ways in which the work of academic women is rewarded compared to the work of academic men. Simeone argues, "One possible reason for this discrepancy in rewards is that the work of women does not seem to be valued as highly as men's" (1987:37). With this in mind, it is important to look at how the university is organized to evaluate the efforts of academic women.

 The university's Faculty Handbook explains that candidates for promotion and tenure will be "evaluated objectively for evidence of excellence," and assessed on the basis of their "potential long-term value to the institution." These determinations are made through a formal process in which candidates for promotion and tenure are subject to review at the level of the department, the college, and ultimately the university. This summative assessment typically occurs in the sixth year, but evaluations of faculty and their potential for excellence are made throughout their term

as assistant professors. Indeed, during an orientation session I attended for junior

faculty the process of promotion and tenure was described as starting at the time of

hire, which confirms that the evaluation and valuation of academic faculty begins as

soon as they enter the university.

    With this in mind, the ability to establish a reputation and make quality,

visible, and measureable contributions is essential to success. This is true not only

within the institution, but also for the external reviewers who will provide their

assessment of a faculty member's merits. For Toni, who worked as a researcher in her

field before accepting a tenure-track position, a primary concern is her understanding

that her dossier cannot be reviewed externally by anyone with whom she has

collaborated. She explains, "As somebody who's coming into this process so late,

there's hardly anybody left in my field that I haven't done something with," and so she

is concerned about the potentially small pool of possible reviewers.

    Toni's concern is somewhat unique in that many of the participants I spoke

with are still developing their professional reputations and networks. A more prevalent

concern that emerged was about how well the dossiers of participants would be

received by external reviewers because it can be difficult for reviewers outside of the

organization to understand the exact context in which the faculty under consideration

is situated. One participant has a publication record that is not as strong as she would

have wanted as a result of her being overburdened with administrative duties and

under-supported in her department for too long. Although she is working now to get as

many articles accepted before she submits her dossier, she is worried that external

reviewers will not understand what she has been doing in all of the time she has not been publishing.

Indeed, within academia the status and rewards conferred on faculty are primarily determined by their productivity (Perna 2005). In trying to distinguish between what is expected and what is rewarded, I observed a considerable disconnect between the perspectives of administrators and those of faculty. One administrator in particular explained that pre-tenure faculty will not be successful if they choose to work in only the area with which they're most comfortable, whether that is service, teaching, or research. That is, from the perspective of administrators, the biggest downfall for faculty can be not having a sense that all three areas are equally important. Yet, from the perspective of participants, the university does not value all criteria equally. In fact, participants describe receiving clear messages about what will be rewarded, and those who feel this way agree that it is neither teaching nor service. With this in mind, I will present some of the ways that academic women perceive the university to be organized to assess value and confer reward.

Teaching versus Research

When asked about her understanding of what is rewarded by the university, Nicole simply states, "Getting grant money and publishing. That's what's important." Yet, research suggests that women faculty and faculty of color often allocate more time to non-research activities, such as teaching and advising, than white male faculty (Perna 2001a). In this way, the division of labor in academic organizations can be such

that academic women engage primarily in the reproductive labor of the university while academic men perform the productive tasks. All of the work is essential to the functioning of the organization, but ordering tasks in this way can produce problematic outcomes for academic women when it is the productive labor that aligns with the systems of reward.

The faculty handbook clearly states that to earn tenure and promotion, faculty must meet the criteria outlined in each of the categories described in their position description. Yet, as has been discussed, some individuals perceive inconsistencies between the stated expectations and the implicit messages conveyed through the type of support that is offered. The most common disconnect appears to be between the university's stated commitment to teaching and perceptions about how it is rewarded. Although I have heard various administrators talk about the importance of teaching, many of the participants I spoke with have formed different conclusions. While one administrator states, "Unsatisfactory teaching is unacceptable," a focus group participant expresses a common sentiment among other participants saying, "There are terrible professors that still get tenure." Isabel also expressed skepticism about the extent to which her teaching efforts would be rewarded:

> You would think that when you are faculty you are here to teach and you would be evaluated on that, but I don't think, in plain words, they give a damn about it. You know if you bring in a lot of money and you publish and you're a crappy teacher, you'll stay. If you're an excellent teacher, the best teacher ever and you don't bring money, you don't publish, you'll go.

Another administrator that I spoke with shared a perspective that fell in between the two ends of that continuum. The administrator explains,

I mean you're, if you are a horrible, horrible teacher and you don't do any service, you're not going to get tenure cause there is a sense of community that's part of this and being a good citizen is important. But you can probably be like ok or adequate at those if your scholarship's stellar.

Similarly, Gloria, who is an Associate Professor in the Division of Arts and Science, describes that devoting less energy toward teaching was acceptable, "As long as you're not unethical and really, really bad." Rosie suggests that, "Unless you have like all zeros, like wretched, wretched teaching evaluations, if you're a really good researcher and scholar, my sense is that it [teaching] doesn't matter that much." Margery, who was recently tenured and promoted in the Division of Arts and Sciences, echoes the high standard for failure, or the low standard for success, by stating, "I guess my impression was that you don't want to do something horrible in your teaching, but short of that, it's not going to be a dominant factor in the [evaluation] process."

During the focus group, one participant asked the group, "Who has been told, 'You need to work on your teaching? You need to work on your service?' I have been told *explicitly,* 'Don't worry about your teaching or service.'" Similarly, Lily says, "I've been sort of implicitly, and by some explicitly, told to not spend so much time on teaching." Another participant adds that in her college, "You only need publications and grants, and you don't have to be a good teacher." Yet another participant also recognizes that, "There are people who are not good teachers who get tenure," and she continues to say, as long as, "You fulfilled your obligations and you didn't suck, you were ok."

Alice expressed a similar sentiment in talking about the advice she would give to someone just starting a tenure-track position saying,

> I guess on just a purely practical level, too, I don't even know if this is worth saying, because I wouldn't have believed it as a junior faculty member, either, but except in some very specific institutions, I would not believe almost any department's or institution's sales pitch or hype about how important teaching is. We are just no longer in an economic era where teaching can be valued in the way that it says on websites. It really does, even when job descriptions are written differently, it really does come, at best, second to research productivity.

From another participant's perspective, the emphasis on research is evidenced by the assignment of teaching as a disincentive in her department. In particular, she describes that faculty who are successful in bringing in research dollars are able to maintain a low course load, while faculty who do not meet minimum funding expectations see their teaching load increase. As she describes, "So if you do not bring in this amount per year, then your teaching load will go up by one class. If you do not bring in this amount of money, it will go up by two classes."

While participants recognize that the reward they seek will be conferred based on research acumen, several still spoke about their interest in and enjoyment of teaching. Although Rosie recognizes that teaching is not rewarded in the same way as scholarship, she says of teaching, "A lot of us value it for reasons that don't have to do with tenure and promotion. We just value it. We want to do well by our students." For Gwen, her attention to teaching is motivated by what she describes as "high standards" for herself. She goes on to share, "I just can't teach a class and give my students a half-hearted effort. So, I put a lot of energy into teaching." During one term, she had

over three hundred students in her various classes, and when asked how she managed, she replies, "I suppose I could just ignore their emails, but I didn't."

Although Viola describes being told "sort of implicitly and by some explicitly told to not spend so much time teaching," she does not readily accept that advice. She goes on to say, "I love teaching so I know they're right in terms of getting my work done and having personal space and all this stuff, but that's still hard when you have a hundred students you feel responsible for to not devote your time to the teaching." Nevertheless, there is the need, as Isabel describes, "To find somewhere in between if you like to teach, like I do."

For Emily, this actually produces a sense of regret about wanting to offer her students more, but recognizing that too much investment detracts from her other obligations. She explains that when she does not give what she thinks to be adequate time to a student in need, "I often feel guilty about it at the end of the day." Yet, for her, it is important to find a balance between devoting energy to students to somehow making a positive difference and not devoting more time than a junior faculty member reasonably can offer.

Some find balance through recognition that their active engagement in research makes them better teachers. For example, Angela explains, "It just seems clear that if you're going to be an effective teacher…you need to stay in the game." She likens the benefit to that of therapists also seeking therapy saying, "There's something about the peer-review process that I think keeps us honest." For Lily, actively engaging in research also "adds authenticity" to her teaching because, she explains, "I can't ask

students to do things I'm not doing." For Angela, Lily, and others who share similar

sentiments, productivity as a scholar does not always exist in opposition to teaching;

rather, it enhances their efficacy as teachers.

Nevertheless, while university professors are often colloquially referred to as

"teachers," the label seems like a misnomer at times, particularly at a Research I

institution. In fact, while at a meeting I heard someone who referred to "teachers" be

immediately corrected by another attendee who said, "You mean professors? When

you say 'teachers' it sounds like high school." While one interpretation might be that

the corrector recognizes the complex role of university professors, I experienced the

exchange as carrying the subtext that teaching is *not* the most important aspect of the

job. Regardless, as Viola notes, students often do not recognize the myriad

expectations placed on faculty. She says,

> I don't think students understand that teaching's only 50 percent of my job and
> so you give them 75 percent of your time, and yet on the evaluations they still
> you know, teacher was available, it's still way lower than you feel it ought to
> be. So sometimes I've even explained the tenure process to my advanced
> classes and I've shared with them, look I'm on a tight publication deadline for
> the next two weeks and I'm only going to check email once a day and then
> after that deadline I'll be more available. Cause sometimes I think they just
> don't know, they don't realize, they think you're like their high school teachers
> and that's your whole job is teaching those classes, when that's only half of it.

Margery makes a subtle distinction in her understanding of the expectations as she

shares that in her department, "You need to have, of course, all three areas, um,

teaching, service, and research. But research is the one that you sort of are most

anxious about quantifying, I think." In this sense, her concern is less about not being

rewarded for teaching and service, and more about demonstrating that she has met the

standards with regard to research. As Isabel explains, "We're a teaching institution, but the most rewarded position has nothing to do with teaching." One administrator speaks candidly about what is actually rewarded saying, "We talk about it being quality, but the fact of the matter is those guys above us can't do anything but count, they can't read, they can count, and we've got to produce product. You gotta write grants and you gotta write publications, it's the easiest thing to measure."

Service

Where research productivity can be measured in numbers of publications, fulfillment of the service requirement can be more difficult to quantify. While an examination of formal reward processes, such as promotion and tenure, is important, Castilla (2008) also emphasizes the need to identify the discriminatory practices evident in informal reward systems. One example is the presence of contradictory messages about value versus expectations with regard to service. Fogg (2003) notes that women and people of color often feel compelled to assume multiple service commitments such as mentoring students and serving on committees. According to three of the faculty of color I spoke with, this is exacerbated by the fact that the university is a predominately white institution. With limited availability of faculty of color, they feel compelled to provide service to students who are seeking their support as mentors. Yet, these activities detract from time spent on teaching and research, which receive greater emphasis in tenure and promotion decisions. Thus, while

women and people of color may provide significant service to the institution, their involvement might potentially disadvantage them during the tenure review process.

In fact, although service is a stated expectation, several participants expressed skepticism about the extent to which it is actually recognized and rewarded. For example, when asked her understanding of how service is evaluated for promotion and tenure Emily replies, "I think it isn't evaluated because I know people who've gotten tenured who don't serve. I mean they've come to committees that I'm on, by they never contribute anything. So I don't think you have to serve to get tenure, that's my sense of it." Lily shares a similar sentiment as she recalls feeling as if she had to take on a heavy service load to keep her job saying, "I looked around at some of my other colleagues and they weren't doing these things and they managed to keep their jobs, but you never know." Her last point is particularly significant because it reflects a common theme among the academic women I spoke with. Lacking clear expectations, they often described trying to take on everything. Looking back, Lily, who was recently tenured and promoted adds, "I wish someone had told me that I didn't have to be superwoman. That would have been helpful."

In talking about her own fulfillment of the requirement Rosie explains, "I've done tons of service, not that anyone ever gets turned down for tenure for no service." Miriam, who is nearing her fifth year in the Division of Earth System Science, shares a similar assessment of service stating, "It really doesn't matter all that much." She goes on to describe her understanding of whether work in this area is rewarded,

> Somebody not doing service is rarely going to be criteria for not giving them tenure and promotion, and that somebody doing tons of service, it will not be

> criteria for giving them tenure and promotion. So even though it is criteria on which you're evaluated, I think that it's definitely the last of three or four things that may be in somebody's position description and in the end it really doesn't matter for tenure and promotion purposes.

It is clear that participants recognize a disconnect between the stated expectations around service and the university's willingness to confer reward; however, the university cannot operate without all of the work that happens under the auspices of "service." As Miriam describes, "It is important for the smooth functioning of the department," and, I would add, the university. Alice points to this as a reason why administrators are disinclined to tell faculty, "You know, you're doing too much service. You could back off." As she explains, there is far more work to do in any university "than there are bodies to do it."

The Rhetoric of Merit

The subject of merit is one that is difficult to address within the academic organization. The premise of a meritocracy is that the most deserving individuals will receive the greatest rewards and honors. When decision-making is seen to move away from a basis in merit, a primary concern is the proliferation of mediocrity, where unfit individuals advance in the ranks on the basis of something other than their excellence as scholars (Lewis 1975). Within academic organizations, faculty "reputation," typically marked by membership in particular organizations and reception of honors and awards, is often confused with faculty "quality," or the actual caliber of one's work (Leder 2007). What is often missed is the fact that the "earned merit" of one's reputation frequently results from, "privileges of networks influence and professional

contacts, and thus may have very little to do with genuine qualities of intellectual and pedagogic excellence" (Kaufman et al. 1976:3).

Another consideration is the time an individual who is a faculty member has to devote to the academic portion of their lives. Several participants shared some version of a common narrative in academia where the joke is that you get to pick *which* 80 hours you work. Yet, as was noted earlier in the chapter, the lives of academics are increasingly made full by more than just academia. As Nicole explains, "We can't expect that kind of dedication anymore," to which she adds, "*And,* I don't think it's healthy." Even with that awareness, it can be difficult to alter the narrative because of the complex way in which expectations, support, value, and reward are interrelated. Nicole describes encountering the attitude, "Well, if it was good enough for me, why don't you want to do it?" In our conversation she shared that what she wants to offer in response is, "Well, cause it wasn't appropriate, dude."

"Soft Factors"

According to Bernard, academic faculty are "notoriously sensitive to slights" (1964:193). Although judgment and competition are intrinsic to academia, she argues that relatively few of the assessments are objective. Instead, faculty rely on the more subjective determinations of their colleagues to gauge their status level and any indication that they have declined in favor causes great anxiety. Simeone extends this thinking by arguing that "a collegial rather than a hierarchical model governs decision-making" within the department and institution (1987:87). In this way, access to power

and influence are included in a list of factors that are not explicitly detailed in faculty handbooks, but which are critical to ensuring that candidates for promotion and tenure successfully navigate the organization and relationships of the academy.

The university's Faculty Handbook does explain that "All faculty are expected to be collegial members of their units" so, while the tenure process may achieve other goals, it also serves "to ensure that newcomers fit into a unique social system" (Wisniewski 2000:9). Productivity is important in order to determine whether to make a lifelong commitment to a candidate for promotion and tenure, but senior faculty must also be assured that their future colleagues will abide by departmental and organizational norms. To make this decision, they often rely on what one participant describes as "that soft factor."

According to Alice, who is in the Division of Arts and Sciences, that factor is also often described as "collegiality," which she suggests really means, "Do we get along?" Toth believes that "often what matters most is 'collegiality'" (1997:161), although this imperative is rarely ever codified in faculty handbooks. In fact, Harrison (2001) argues that promotion and tenure criteria are intentionally vague so that individuals can be selected on the basis of whether they "fit in."

The way in which a reputation as being collegial is established is through interactions with colleagues, particularly senior colleagues who will be involved in promotion and tenure decisions. In order to establish such relationships, junior faculty must maintain some sort of physical presence in the department; however, the question of the appropriate amount of presence is interesting and complex. The extent to which

a faculty member can establish a presence is also intertwined with other demands. For example, in the next chapter I elaborate on the flexible faculty schedule, which many participants describe as a significant appeal of academia. While this can afford academic women with young children the opportunity to pick them up from school, for example, it also causes participants to express concern about what meaning will be made by their colleagues.

Beyond the expectation to hold a certain number of office hours, norms around spending time in the office and how to behave while there vary by department. For example, I nearly missed my interview with Lily because she works in a department where the practice is for faculty to work with closed doors, even if they are not meeting with someone. As a result, she did not initially hear my knock. Conversely, Maya shares that the culture in her department emphasizes building a rapport with students, so many of the faculty work with their doors open and encourage students to interact with their professors and with each other. Miriam spends much of her time meeting with stakeholders throughout the state and very little in her department. I asked her whether regularly being away from the office impacts her relationships with her colleagues and she shares that a senior faculty in the department recently told her, "You know, you're never here, I never see you." She replied, "Yeah, I know. Sorry." His response was, "That's ok. There were two people that just came through this department and one was here every day and one I never saw. Which one do you think got tenure?" She explains the person who earned tenure was the one who was away

from the office, and that her colleague's point was that the faculty member he never saw was the one who was out meeting with stakeholders and conducting research.

At the same time, without the connections to colleagues established through informal conversations in the hallway it can be difficult to meet the "soft factor" expectations. One focus group participant shares that she is concerned about the lack of connections she makes with her colleagues. She explains that she is in the office every day, but she arrives early because she wants to be able to spend time with her children when they arrive home from school. She goes on to say, "I can't fit that mold of working eight to five, but I'm hoping that even if I'm not seen people still understand that I'm working."

While presence in the office and an "open door" practice may foster collegial relationships with peers, it can also hinder productivity. During an informal conversation I had while conducting research a faculty member described her frustration with the "overflow" advising duties she performed for her colleagues, who rarely work in their campus offices for a sustained period of time. Oftentimes, students who are unable to find their professor end up in her office asking questions and seeking guidance, which only adds to her own workload. The tension that is created for junior faculty is between spending time with students and developing relationships with colleagues, and endangering their own productivity as scholars.

Thus, a danger with relying on such subjective factors in the analysis of faculty is that unclear, unwritten cultural norms can have the effect of producing both tangible and intangible disparities. As Alice describes, there is "an open and ongoing debate"

about the usefulness and appropriateness of "soft factors" as a consideration in

whether a not a faculty member will be rewarded with promotion and tenure. She goes

on to say,

> Collegiality has been a codeword for sexism, it's been a codeword for racism, it's been a codeword for anti-Semitism, you know? Like, it's been a code for a lot of things beyond just, we don't like you. Well, why do you not, you know, you don't like the only female candidate that's come up in twenty years? Hmmm…I wonder why that is, you know? It's like, it's fuzzy for a reason and it's fuzzy in ways that get abused and, but it's still, it's you know, it's still certainly there.

Yet the question of "fit" is not insignificant when considering that senior faculty are

potentially selecting a colleague for the remainder of their academic career. Further,

one participant recognized that although finding a tenure-track position is difficult, it

is much better for all parties to recognize what she describes as "fit issues" as soon as

possible. Despite the potential challenges of trying to measure the extent to which

faculty members are collegial and constructive members of the university, the

presence of "soft factors" is understood by participants to be part of their evaluation.

Although neither Bernard nor Simeone framed their assessment of academic

women in quite the same way, their insights have guided the findings presented in this

chapter in order to provide a context for understanding the organization which

academic women must navigate. This chapter has focused on the prevailing logics of

academia and the extent to which they inform the organization of the university, both

internally and in relation to external political, social, and economic forces. I have also

considered the extent to which academia is organized to allow for the realities of

academic bodies. Lastly, I have looked specifically at the expectations and values that

inform the university's systems for promotion and tenure. In the next chapter I will

consider the individual adaptations employed by academic women as they negotiate

their experiences both within and outside the university.

<u>Chapter Four: Academic Women</u>

The previous chapter looked at the culture and norms of higher education, as well as the policies, practices, and logics that structure the university. Also of interest were narratives of promotion and tenure, particularly points of divergence between expectations, perceptions, and values. The focus of this chapter is academic women. While their experiences are evident in the findings of the previous chapter, their placement there was intended to tell the story of the university, which cannot speak for itself. Here, the object is to highlight how participants define themselves and to identify the strategies they use navigate their pre-tenure experience.

The frameworks offered by Bernard and Simeone are also carried into this chapter as a way to understand persistent trends and uncover new themes with regard to the experiences of women in academic organizations. One way in which this research is distinguished from the previous two inquiries is that I have intentionally made space for the emergence of both similarities and differences across the experiences of participants. What becomes evident is that there are a range of individual and interpersonal strategies that academic women use in negotiating the process of promotion and tenure. These adaptations do not, however, exist in isolation; instead, they interact with the structural supports and barriers described in the previous chapter to inform the extent to which each academic woman is successful in her endeavors within the university.

Career Choices

In *Academic Women*, Bernard (1964) distinguishes between two status categories that she describes as "professional" and "fringe benefit." She classifies academic women in this way in response to other researchers of her era who point to the lack of professional commitment by women as the cause of their unequal reward. She counters such conclusions by arguing that personal characteristics are not the issue; rather, academic women must be divided between those who are pursuing ambitious career motivations and a high level of achievement, and those in the "fringe benefit" category who "might appreciate having it [tenure], but they are not interested enough in getting it to meet the requirements" (100).

Academic women in the "fringe benefit" status constitute the pool of contingent laborers who are hired on a course-by-course basis to perform a majority of the intensive introductory-level instruction. According to Bernard, the women in this category are often wives of graduate students, professors, or administrators. They do not "have" to work, but they chose to do to escape from "an uncongenial marriage…community chores, or from intolerable ennui" (100). They also do not pose a threat to academic men because they embrace their role as teacher, never expressing a higher level of aspiration nor pursuing a higher level of achievement.

For Bernard this is not a critique of merit or competency, but simply a reflection of differing career motivations and levels of aspiration, as informed by the gender norms of her era; however, the social, political, and economic landscape of the twenty-first century has noticeably shifted. I did not have a single participant who

described her pursuit of an academic career as the result of "intolerable ennui."

Participants did describe multiple paths to the professorate and an array of

professional aspirations. In this section I will consider the career choices of academic

women as a way to preface the range of experiences they have once inside the

academic organization.

Representation

Central to the work of both Bernard and Simeone is the question of the

representation of women in all facets of academia. While the common assumption is

often that the representation of women in academia has steadily increased, Bernard's

perspective is that the reverse is true. In 1879, women constituted 36.6 percent of

academic personnel, in 1939 the percentage of women dropped to 27.7 percent, and by

1962 the percentage declined further to 22 percent (Bernard 1964). Unfortunately, it is

difficult to make an accurate longitudinal comparison because the composition of

"academic personnel" in these figures includes women from a variety of sectors within

academia, including those beyond the professoriate.

From a local perspective, aggregate data from the university and its

systemwide peers indicate that, during 1992-1993, women represented 22.6 percent of

the full-time, ranked, tenured or tenure-track faculty (System Strategic Planning

Committee 2003:119). The figures below present data only on Oregon State

University's full-time, ranked instructional faculty[5] from 2003 to 2010. These data

were drawn from the Fact Books compiled regularly by the Oregon University System

Institutional Research office and published on their website. Although data are

missing for several years, longitudinal trends in the representation of women are still

evident. Figure 1 shows the percentage of full-time ranked instructional faculty by

gender from 2003 to 2010.

Figure 1. Full-Time Ranked Instructional Faculty by Gender

	2003	2005	2007	2008	2009	2010
Women	29.51%	30.58%	32.69%	34.77%	33.28%	35.14%
Men	70.49%	69.42%	67.31%	65.23%	66.72%	64.86%

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[5] These figures report regular full-time faculty (.90 FTE or greater) whose primary
assignment is instruction (more than .50 FTE is an instructional department). Regular
faculty on sabbatical leave are included, as are ranked full-time faculty at the
Agricultural Experiment Station, the Forest Research Laboratory, and the Extension
Service as long as some of their FTE is budgeted in an instructional department.

What becomes apparent in this figure is that although the gap in representation has decreased between 2003 and 2010, it persists. According to institutional data, women continue to comprise a lower overall percentage of the professoriate than men; however, to understand this fact it is also important to consider representation by rank. As can be seen in Figures 2 through 4, the distribution of women remains concentrated at the lowest ranks within the university. For example, in 2010 women represented 41 percent of the total assistant professors, but just 24 percent of the full professors.

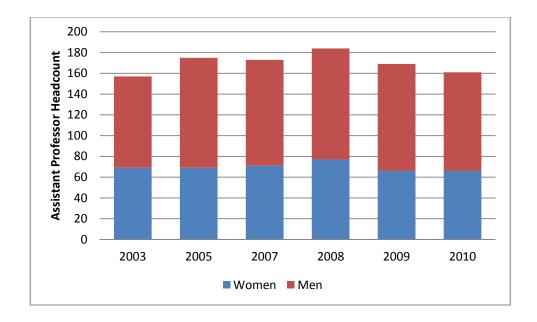**Figure 2. Full-Time Assistant Professors by Gender and Year**

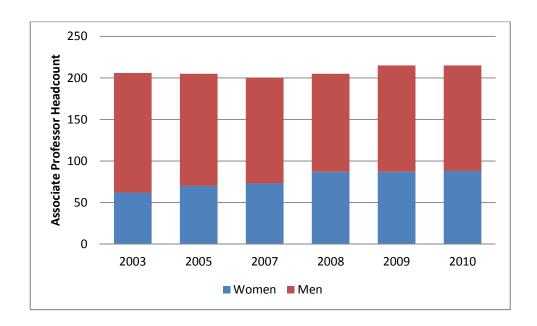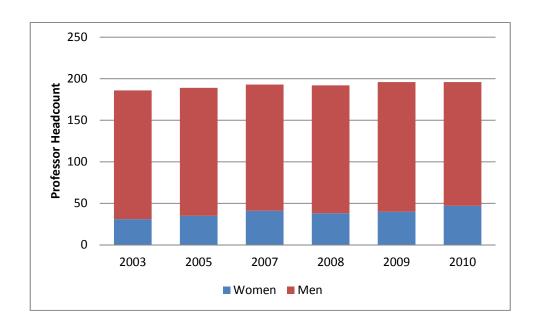**Figure 3. Full-Time Associate Professors by Gender and Year**

Figure 4. Full-Time Professors by Gender and Year

Another way of reading these figures is to recognize that women do appear to be making slight gains in representation at the level of assistant professor. They even appear to advance to the level of associate professor in reasonable proportions, but they ultimately seem to remain stuck instead of advancing to the level of full professor. The question of why men comprise a larger percentage of the university's full professors is beyond the scope of this dissertation; however it is one that is essential to understanding the overall experience of women in academic organizations. Women may enter tenure-track positions and progress to the level of associate professor, but that they do not also persist to the level of full professor is cause for concern. For the purposes of this research, the inclusion of these figures is intended to provide insight into the overall representation of academic women in the university.

While an examination of the representation of women in the university can serve as a measure of the extent to which an organization's commitments are reflected in the cultural practices and structural processes of the institution, numerical measures alone do not provide complete information. The facts and figures presented above indicate that the representation of women at all ranks within the university lags behind that of men. What is missing is a more nuanced analysis of how women experience, make sense of, and navigate the academic organization. These questions are explored in the next section and throughout the remainder of this chapter in order to provide a more complete picture of academic women in the twenty-first century.

Motivating Factors

In *Academic Women*, Bernard (1964) divides the previous century of women in higher education into four distinct periods. The first period began in the late nineteenth century and is characterized by innovative, enthusiastic women who were compelled by a romantic notion of higher education. The start of the twentieth century marks the second period, which Bernard describes as "the heyday of academic women" (1964:35), who eagerly filled positions in elite women's colleges. This is also the period "of the burgeoning land-grant college, with its fostering of the home arts, and of the professional school" (Bernard 1964:32). By the 1920s the glamour of the previous decades faded in the wake of what was then known as the Great War, but the proportion of faculty women did increase. In the final period prior to Bernard's publication the relative number of women in academia declined, but it was not for lack of demand. Thus, part of her inquiry into the status of academic women involves an effort to understand the motivations behind their decision to pursue academic careers as she tries to determine whether a decrease in supply is a possible explanation for the decline in numbers.

Motivation becomes an important part of Simeone's inquiry because she is also interested in understanding why women decide to embark on academic careers. Her research uncovers several motivating factors that appear to be contrary to the motivations described by Bernard. For example, Bernard cites the lower competitive drive of women compared to men as a reason for the differential in success while Simeone's participants point to the importance of their ambitions; without at least

some competitive drive they would not even be present in the academy. Yet, there are

also areas where findings about motivations align, for example with regard to the

importance of encouragement from family. In this section, I continue the inquiry by

considering both the internal and external factors that contribute to academic women's

pursuit of careers in academic organizations.

<u>External Factors</u>

The women interviewed as part of this study described a number of different

reasons for pursuing academic careers. Several participants referenced the influence of

their families. Amelia describes coming from an "academically privileged

background" where both her parents and all of her grandparents completed college and

considered education to be very important. For Gwen, her motivation was a strong

connection to her father who had a career as a professor. She saw how much he loved

his work and was motivated to find something that engaged her in the same way.

Emily's parents both completed doctorates and had careers in higher education. For

her, growing up so closely connected to the academy instilled in her from a young age

the real possibility of pursuing an advanced degree herself. She also saw her parents

interacting with former students who were appreciative of the personal and

professional transformation they inspired, which sparked her own interest in becoming

an academic. Upon reflection, however, Emily recalls that the example she saw was

much more oriented toward teaching and service, as she explains,

> I don't remember my mom ever stressing very much about like going up for
> Full or anything like that and when I look at my mom's CV now I think, "Oh

> my gosh, how did she become Full?" Because like she doesn't have that many publications, it just wasn't something that was important for her. So I went into it with a sort of a different idea, I think, of what it was actually going to be like.

Although Emily realized in graduate school that her experience as a professor would be different than her parents', they still served as an example and provided encouragement.

Conversely, Cecilia shares that no one in her family had experience with either higher education or the professional opportunities available in her area of interest. For that reason, she initially studied a field she was less interested in, but where she thought there would be clear job opportunities. She left college for several years and later returned to pursue the field she is in now. Angela, who is now an Associate Professor, also shared that she wished her parents had been more encouraging of her. There was never any doubt that she would attend college, but it seemed more of an assumed "next step," rather than part of a deliberate path toward a career in academia. She enrolled in the university near the town in which she was raised because attending a more prestigious university, "never would have occurred to my parents," who had not attended college themselves.

As both Bernard and Simeone note in their studies, encouragement and access to opportunities are significant factors in defining the paths of academic women. Indeed, a number of participants pointed to early opportunities to engage in academic activities, particularly research, as the source of their interest in the professoriate. For example, Beth was provided opportunities while pursuing her graduate degree that ultimately led her to the research in which she is now engaged. Cecilia cites an

opportunity she had to teach as a master's student as "The most significant step in getting me to even visualize myself as being a member of a faculty." Miriam recalls a similar experience working on a research project as undergraduate. She pursued the opportunity because she was interested in the subject, but she was surprised to see academics also engaged in the research and remembers thinking, "Wow, this is so cool that you could get paid to do this!" Amelia was exposed to a lot of interesting "cutting-edge research" by her doctoral advisor, whom she describes as, "Very, very tough on all of us, but very supportive of those of us who kind of made it through the initial 'trial by fire.'" Marie was also motivated by the opportunity to conduct research where, for the first time, she found the two interests she had previously assumed to be disparate combined in a meaningful way.

Both Peggy and Beth were particularly interested in finding a position doing Extension work. Peggy was involved in various Extension programs growing up and decided from an early age that she wanted to make Extension service her career. Beth was exposed to the possibility as a young researcher and eventually decided to complete her graduate work and watch for potential positions, which, as she describes, "don't come up all that often." She worked in a grant funded position for some time before she was eventually offered a tenure-track position in another county.

Other participants make a deliberate decision to pursue higher education. In fact, one focus group participant explained, "I always wanted to be a professor." Lily shared a similar experience of having decided at an early age that she wanted to be a professor, and Rachel's parents actually called her by the nickname "Professor" as a

child. Although she worked briefly for a private corporation, she says of academia, "This is where I belong." Lisa completed her undergraduate degree and went directly into a doctoral program explaining that she followed a traditional academic sequence and timeline. Margery also knew from fairly early in her undergraduate career that she wanted to attend graduate school with the ultimate goal of becoming a member of the professoriate. She, too, enrolled in a doctoral program directly after completing her undergraduate degree and was hired into her current position during her first year on the job market. While she knew exactly what she wanted to do and moved expeditiously toward her goals, she shares that she wishes she had taken a break, or at least not been in such a hurry.

As suggested by both Bernard and Simeone, several of the participants described their path to the professoriate as almost accidental, rather than the result of having made a deliberate decision. This is certainly true for Amelia, who initially turned down an offer for an academic position to instead work as a research scientist for a number of years. This was also the case for Angela, who completed her undergraduate degree and began her master's degree in preparation to become a clinician. Her motivation to change disciplines came when she realized that she liked neither the type of people nor the content of the research at advanced levels in the field. She describes herself as not "particularly ambitious," so she selected a more suitable degree program in a geographic region that was familiar, and from there Angela "lucked onto a tenure-track job," when someone who had served as a mentor vacated a position into which she was hired.

While some pursue direct paths to higher education, others take more circuitous routes. In some instances this is a disciplinary norm, as has been the case for Library Science. Although some participants see the discipline attracting a younger demographic, the tenure-track Librarians I spoke with frequently came to the field after first having a career in another area. For both Maya and Gloria, academia is also a second career. After working successfully for a decade in another field, Gloria decided to pursue a master's degree and then, as she describes, "I went ahead and got a Ph.D. for no good reason, really, you know, other than I wanted to do it, and I really didn't want to go to work yet." She goes on to explain that a career in academia had not been a lifelong dream or an outcome to which she was particularly emotionally attached; rather, an academic position came available after she completed her degree, and she accepted. Maya was motivated to pursue first a master's and then a doctorate because of the problems she was seeing and the research questions she was developing in her professional career with a social service organization.

The Appeal of Academia

While Bernard suggests that women are more likely to pursue academic careers as a result of external factors, such as encouragement from others, rather than factors associated directly with the job, Simeone finds that an interest in a particular discipline and a more general enjoyment of learning are also important factors. As part of this study Amelia shares that her family encouraged her to attend college, but no one had pursued degrees in a STEM field. She completed an undergraduate degree in

anthropology, but ultimately decided that she enjoyed a field other than social science. When she went on to pursue a graduate degree she shares, "I had to really force myself to take all the math and science, and so I did, and it was painful," yet, she explains that it was worthwhile because she found a subject she enjoys. Although Gwen was motivated by her father, she also describes being drawn to her particular field both because she found it fun and because she found the idea of helping people with real-world problems appealing.

Indeed, a number of participants spoke about their desire to engage in scholarly pursuits that would result in meaningful applications. A number of participants that hold Extension positions talked about the draw of working in the communities across the state. As Beth explains, the "chance to make a difference in communities and in people's lives was very attractive to me," but for her, and others working in Extension, it is also important to be connected to the scholarship and research activities of the university. That is not to say that basic research is not important, but overwhelmingly the participants in this study spoke about wanting to develop ideas that could then be applied in communities or to problems in a way that, as Rachel describes, "Impact everyday life."

Teaching was also described as important. For example, Elissa shared that one of her former master's students went on to complete a doctorate and accept a faculty position, and now the two are collaborators. She went on to explain that, "It means a lot because you equipped someone to succeed and they made it all the way to where they're happy. I really enjoy that." Rachel also enjoys teaching and finds that she is

continually learning, either by questions from her students or from new research she incorporates into her syllabi. In fact, a number of participants talked about being drawn to the professoriate because of an interest in and enjoyment of teaching; however, as evidenced in the previous chapter, to be successful at a research university they must balance that interest with the expectations for promotion and tenure.

The question of the appeal of academia is particularly interesting when considering several participants also have viable career opportunities in the private sector. For example, Sidney shares that many people with her same degree pursue much more financially lucrative work in the healthcare industry. For her, the draw of academia was not the tenure-track in general and, in fact, she had not applied to other academic positions. She cited her familiarity with the department and the proximity of family as reasons for accepting her particular position at the university. With her expertise, Miriam could also likely find employment with a private company earning a salary considerably higher than that of an academic. The same is true for Rachel who shares that the appeal of academia for her is that she enjoys the process of conducting research and of constantly being exposed to new ideas.

Indeed, although the professoriate is hard work, Cecilia describes that one of the appeals of academia is the level of freedom to determine your own pursuits. For Toni, who completed her postdoctoral work in a federal laboratory, the allure of the university is the opportunity to pursue her own research interests. Elissa describes that there is something attractive about "A life of the mind," and the freedom to pursue your own interests. A term used regularly by participants to describe the nature and

appeal of academia was "creativity." The opportunity to innovate and engage in new areas of inquiry was repeatedly cited as a draw. I observe this to reflect an intellectual curiosity that drives academics to identify and pursue new and interesting questions. For example, Miriam describes herself as "a nerd at heart," as someone who is a life-long learner interested in pursuing a range of topics that excite and interest her. She contrasts her creative opportunities as an academic with the more rigid environment of government or private industry positions. For her, the motivation to work in academia instead of industry is the academic and scholarly flexibility. She explains that it is important to her to "learn and remain intellectually engaged," whereas working in private industry "would be like a death sentence, just to have to work on projects they tell you to work on and maybe projects that you don't agree with."

In addition to creativity and academic freedom, another appeal is the considerable flexibility faculty members have to determine their own schedules, which Miriam experiences as being well-suited to "the way that being a scholar works." As a number of participants explained, creativity can rarely be confined to the hours between 8am and 5pm. As Miriam describes,

> It's not like you can just sit down and be inspired and thoughtful and productive from 9am to 5pm. That, you know, sometimes it's 6am to 11pm, other times it just might not happen that day. And being able to have that flexibility to, you know, not force creativity into a nine-to-five schedule.

Elissa shares that she operates essentially as an independent contractor and, she appreciates that she does not receive a lot of oversight or directives about what to do. She explains, "Academics work very strange hours," and she likes the fact that if she wakes up at 2am unable to sleep she can work on a paper if she is feeling creative. It is

much more difficult to expect to always be inspired and productive at set times. The downside is that the job can extend to every hour of the day, so rather than leaving work at the office after five o'clock, thoughts of work are constantly present. Several participants shared some version of a "joke" among academics about their flexible schedules that ends with, "You can work *any* 18 hours in the day you want!" Marie, whose work "leaks into every aspect" of her life, describes feeling envious of her peers who accepted positions in private companies. Though they may work long hours, she explains, "There isn't as much leakage," so when they come home, they're home.

Not only does this allow for the opportunity to maximize creativity, several participants also appreciate the flexibility to take care of other responsibilities, particular those related to their families. For example, Molly, who was recently tenured in the Division of Academic Affairs, has ample career opportunities outside of higher education, but decided to apply for positions within academia when she married someone who was working at the university, the idea being that they would have comparable work schedules and leave balances. Beth recently had her first child and appreciates the opportunity to arrange her schedule to maximize time with her baby. Even before she had children Lily recalls that she "had always thought that if you were a woman and you wanted to have children [academia] would be the most civilized job you could have because it provides you a schedule that is a little bit flexible."

While Alexandra, who is nearing her sixth year, describes appreciating and utilizing the flexibility she is afforded to accommodate her daughter's schedule, she

says she worries, "Am I there enough? Am I present enough?" When I asked whether she meant is she present enough for her daughter, she laughed and replied, "No, here," meaning the university and her unit within the Division of Academic Affairs.

As described in the previous chapter, being seen and establishing connections with colleagues can be an important factor in determining success in the evaluation process. Productivity with regard to scholarship is an important consideration, but the extent to which junior faculty are able to accumulate positive social capital is also significant. Thus, the opportunity to arrange a flexible schedule is an appealing feature of academia, but it does not alter expectations and therefore may do little to minimize the pressure academic women feel to excel. For example, Emily relies on the flexibility of her position so that she can spend time with her daughter when she is awake, but then finds herself working past midnight to catch up on research and writing.

Another common theme is the appeal of the security of tenure. While this was discussed in the previous chapter it is also important to mention here as a significant reason why individuals pursue tenure-track careers. When Susan's previous job was threatened by budget cuts, she specifically sought a position with more stability. One focus group participant did not initially want a tenure-track position, but because she is not a citizen of the United States, she found herself drawn to the security that she was unable to find as an instructor. Another focus group participant also wanted to avoid the uncertainty of piecing together instructor positions, citing the desire to provide a sense of stability for her school-age children. Indeed, there is security both

in a tenured position and in the institution of higher education. After completing her post-doctoral fellowship, Marie had an opportunity to earn a large salary working for a small private company but, as she explains, "In exchange for that ton of money, you never knew if they were going to fold the next day or not." The sense she describes as "living on the edge" is not as prevalent in academia, and in Marie's case she recognizes that there was a tradeoff between security and money.

The Academic Job Market

　　　There are a number of reasons why women find academia appealing, but not everyone who wants a tenure-track job is able to find a position. Further, some who are offered a tenure-track job may accept a position that is less than ideal or stay in a situation that is undesirable simply because they lack viable alternatives; both of these scenarios become evident later in the chapter when considering academic women as partners and mothers. In this section I explore the experience of participants with the academic job market because it provides additional context for understanding their pursuit of an academic career, their perceptions of the university, and their ability to navigate the demands of promotion and tenure.

　　　The academic job market and the economic landscape more generally have shifted over the past fifty years. During the time I was conducting research for this dissertation I heard from various people serving on academic search committees as well as from participants recently on the job market that the competition for academic positions has heightened. The shift to what I heard described as a "buyer's" job market

is a significant departure from Bernard's era where she looks at the decline of women in academia after the Great Depression and concludes that it is not the result of a scarcity of openings. Instead, in *Academic Women* she explores the expansion of institutions of higher education and posits that there is a shortage in the supply of qualified women to meet the demand. While Simeone does little to address the academic job market specifically, she does consider the broader context of women in the paid workforce. During the time between Bernard's work and the publication of *Academic Women: Working Towards Equality* the landscape of employment is significantly altered by a number of federal regulations including the enactment of Executive Order 11246 as amended by Executive Order 11375, which prohibits discrimination in employment by employers with federal contracts and requires affirmative action, Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, which forbids sex discrimination in institutions receiving federal funding, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 that prohibits employment discrimination in private or public educational institutions (Simeone 1987:39).

Collectively, these regulations, along with many other laws, policies, and practices, have the potential to positively alter the experiences of many women on the academic job market. Unfortunately, they do little to address the competition for academic positions, which means that graduate students who aspire to positions in academia find themselves struggling to secure a competitive advantage. Yet, completing graduate school while simultaneously applying for jobs can be a significant source of stress. Like many others, Gwen was trying to finish her

dissertation at the same time she was going on job interviews and raising two kids. Of the experience, she simply says, "It was exhausting."

While Gwen was hired at the university and had worked for several months before she actually defended her dissertation, more recent graduates shared with me that many hiring committees pay little attention to candidates who apply as only "ABD" (All But Dissertation) without the earned doctorate. Although Emily's advisor encouraged her to apply before she had completed her dissertation, during her experience serving on two search committees as a graduate student she saw that the ABD applicants were never interviewed. In some disciplines there is also an expectation that candidates have a record of producing scholarship and securing grants. For example, Lily shares that she feels fortunate to have found a tenure-track position in the Division of Arts and Sciences when she did because now a recent graduate has to "be like a wunderkind," having already published a book before even entering the job market because it is now an entry-level requirement for most assistant professor positions.

Given the competitiveness of the job market, some individuals make more gradual transitions between graduate school and tenure-track positions. Annie explains that in graduate school it was "drilled into your head" that if you were not hired into a tenure-track position immediately after graduation you would not be marketable. Despite this message, after she earned her doctorate she decided to accept a research position that allowed her to stay engaged in the work that interested her, but that also was "not too hardcore" to preclude her from spending time with her young children.

Alexandria made a conscious decision to expeditiously complete her program so that she could graduate early and avoid being on the job market at the same time as everyone else in her cohort. Although she did not immediately find a tenure-track position, she was able to find an academic job in her field that provided her with experience and an income until an academic faculty position became available. Similarly, Cecilia accepted a position as what she describes as "a one term wonder" teaching several courses as an instructor with the university. Eventually, she was able to apply for a tenure-track position in the Division of Earth Systems Science. Likewise, after Christie completed her degree, she accepted a temporary position in the same department in which she was eventually hired and is now nearing her fifth year. Although when a tenure-track position opened in the Division of Academic Affairs she had to go through a competitive search process, she felt like the experience of working in the temporary position helped her gain the knowledge and experience she needed. Indeed, for some academic women the more gradual transition provides an opportunity to acquire the social and cultural capital necessary to more successfully navigate the demands of a tenure-track position. Other women transition to the tenure-track from research positions or careers in the private sector, which equips them with various forms of capital, as well. In the next section I will explore some of the ways that having opportunities and experiences beyond academia impact how academic women experience faculty positions.

Having Other Options

To some extent, Bernard recognizes the different motivations that compel women to enter academia when she distinguishes between academic women who are professionals and those who hold "fringe benefit" status. The latter describes a category of women who are in the labor force because they want to be, not because they have to be; however, this category does not adequately describe the academic women who are part of my research. The other options available to the women Bernard identifies as holding fringe benefit status largely pertained to various forms of reproductive labor; here, the other options available to some academic women are still professional, but they extend beyond higher education.

Indeed, some academic women who have knowledge and expertise that is marketable in other industries opt out, or consider opting out, of the professoriate in pursuit of work in other sectors. After Arianna completed her doctorate, she applied both for academic positions and for positions in the private sector. She interviewed for positions in both areas and found the salary and the work conditions offered in her industry, "very appealing." While she eventually accepted a position in academia she did not realize exactly what that meant because, as she describes, "Nobody really introduced me to the pros and cons of the system." Although she is now tenured and promoted in the Division of Health Sciences, she knows she still has other options available.

Similarly, when Meira earned her doctorate, she looked for and expected to find a job in the private sector. She was faced with limited options when her husband

accepted a position at the university, so she too entered a tenure-track position. Although Meira was recently tenured and promoted, she still seriously considers the possibility of leaving academia for the private sector. Another participant, who is still pre-tenure states, "It sounds bad, but I always have an exit strategy in mind." As she reflects on her meager salary and her heavy teaching and service load that detract from her ability to pursue her passion for research, she shares that she is thinking seriously about pursuing other options.

Although Miriam is not actively thinking about leaving the professorate, she does possess expertise that is not only transferable to, but in high demand in the private sector. She is drawn to academia by a desire to preserve the flexibility to pursue her own interests, but having viable options outside of the university does inform her pre-tenure experience. Similarly, Isabel explains, "The only reason I'm here is because I chose to be." She enjoys teaching, but her area of expertise is one that is in demand outside of higher education. She goes on to say, "It's not a last resort, which for some people it is. Not for me…When I get to the point where I don't want to, I won't be here anymore." For Miriam, Isabel, and others with similar options, earning promotion and tenure is an important goal; however, they appear to approach the process knowing they could excel in careers outside of academia.

For example, Rachel worked in the "corporate world" and, upon reflection, considers her experience useful in that it gave her a sense of other possibilities and the confidence in the transferability of her skills. Although she says she has no desire to return, she does appreciate knowing that the possibility exists if she ever needs it.

Similarly for Gloria, having entered the tenure-track after a successful career in a different profession provides her a sense of confidence. She believes the fact that she has not had a lifelong emotional attachment to academia has impacted her attitude and her ability to approach promotion and tenure in a more relaxed way.

In other instances, the academic women might not have a plethora of professional options outside of academia, but they do consider themselves to be marketable beyond the university. Although the university is presented as a single entity, in reality academic organizations are grouped by disciplines, which themselves can be viewed as more specialized forms of organization where individuals are grouped by subject (Clark 1983). According to Clark, the primacy of this orientation is evidenced by the fact that, were faculty members presented with the option to either leave the university or leave their discipline, it is likely that that they would chose to leave the university.

In this sense, academics carry their field of expertise with them wherever they go and, if they are well-regarded as scholars, they may have the option to consider leaving one university for another that is more favorable. During a conversation that continued with one participant after the interview had ended she asked me about my own interest in the tenure-track. I explained that while I did find the possibility appealing, there are parts of the country where I am simply unwilling to live, despite my awareness that placing geographic restrictions on the search for academic jobs severely limits the possibilities. Her reply was that it would be easy to accept a

position anywhere, and then begin looking for a more desirable location because it is the discipline with which academics are aligned, not the organization.

Of course, the opportunity to transfer from one university to another is predicated on the ability to find that first tenure-track position. Margery describes feeling nervous about entering the job market because she has highly specialized expertise in an area that does not have a lot of applications outside of academia. At one point she recalls worrying that if she did not find a tenure-track position her only other option would be working at Starbucks. Similarly, Angela jokingly shares that after completing a master's degree in a specialized field, she realized she was then "stuck in academia." She laughed about her response, but her point was important because it highlights the dilemma for those who are interested in and develop areas of expertise that are highly specific to the academic environment. That is not to say that Angela's scholarship, or the scholarship of others in similar positions, is not relevant outside academia; rather, there is not a demand for the knowledge within the private sector in the same way that expertise in renewable energy may be, for example. That is, in some cases, the opportunities for employment outside of academia diminish as expertise increases.

I observed that those participants with skills, knowledge, and expertise in demand outside of higher education are situated differently than their peers whose career progression is more inextricably tied with academia. For those who do have other options, pursuing promotion and tenure is just one path to career fulfillment.

While all of the participants in this position expressed a desire to be successful, they also shared a similar sense of being on the tenure-track, but not beholden to it.

Clearly, all of the participants in this research were successful in securing a tenure-track position despite the competitive nature of the academic job market and the fact that some considered other options. Unfortunately, success on the job market is not necessarily a predictor of success in the position into which one is hired. Only two participants in this study left or were in the process of leaving the university, one because it became apparent that she would not earn promotion and tenure, and the other because the climate in her department became intolerable. Nevertheless, as I will discuss in Chapter Six, several participants either struggled or are currently struggling to such an extent that their ability to be promoted and tenured was or is in question. With this in mind, experience with the academic job market is only one factor that shapes the career of academic women. In the next section I will explore the impact of one's educational background on the ability to negotiate the academic organization.

Educational Background

Capital is a resource that allows individuals, or agents, to achieve and maintain their social status (Bourdieu 1988). For academic women, one way in which they acquire the capital necessary to succeed in academic careers is through their educational background. Bernard pays particular attention to educational background as she attempts to uncover the reason for the decline of women in academia. At the time, there were relatively few highly educated women in the labor force, let alone

academia, which can be attributed to low rates of women advancing in school beyond the secondary level (Bernard 1964). One barrier to representational equality in academia stems from problems with the "pipeline," or the path from early education to careers in academia. For example, the dearth of women at the level of full professor was initially explained by the fact that there were few women pursuing doctorates, fewer entering the tenure-track, and fewer still being promoted to full professor (Wolfinger et al. 2008).

The concern for Bernard, Simeone, and others interested in the status of academic women is why so few women are entering into and progressing through the pipeline. One explanation for such gender differences in academia is that societal forces impact women's aspirations and opportunities (Bronstein and Farnsworth 1998). This is one of the conclusions made by Bernard who argues, "Some of the differential in college attendance is doubtless due to the preference of young women for marriage" (1964:57). This is rooted in the idea that women are hindered by attitudes learned in childhood, including those informed by ubiquitous images suggesting that the roles of "wife" and "mother" offer the only path to fulfillment (Harrison 2001). As the number of women earning doctorates and landing academic positions has increased it has become clear that pipeline problems are not the only reason why women do not advance within the ranks. Nevertheless, the significance of the path to the professoriate still holds relevance because it can provide insight into how well-prepared incoming faculty members will be to navigate their promotion and tenure experience.

Some academic women have linear trajectories, while others take more circuitous paths to higher education. For example, Margery knew from fairly early on in her undergraduate careers that she wanted to go to graduate school, and that her ultimate goal was to become a permanent member of an academic faculty. She moved directly from her undergraduate program into a doctoral program and then was hired at the university during her first year on the job market. At each step along the way, she demonstrated her capacity to navigate academia based largely on her dispositions toward the culture, or "game," of higher education.

In part, one's level of academic preparation may also be associated with socioeconomic status, family background, and social location. That is, "educational background" is not simply one's exposure to formal education. It is also comprised of the informal education and preparation one receives to understand and navigate the culture of an institution such as higher education. In this sense, some successful academic women benefit from the cultural capital they have accumulated as part of their social location. For example, Lily recalls her father speaking "fervently and lovingly about his college years." From a young age she had an idea of what college would entail, and she already knew the college campus was her "ideal environment," both as a place where thought is pursued seriously, and as beautiful physical space with charming brick buildings and countless trees. Peggy was also raised in a family who she says, "never questioned the fact that my sister and I would have a college degree."

Conversely, Alice describes her experience being raised by parents without college degrees in a rural community where financial support for education was limited. She was intellectually curious as a child, but she lacked consistent guidance because there was such a high rate of turnover among her teachers. Her parents each enrolled in undergraduate programs when Alice was in high school, so she enrolled next because that is what she thought she was supposed to do. At the time, she had limited career aspirations, and it was not until she started college that she first realized that she had a whole world of possibilities before her. Her limited awareness about the norms of academia resurfaced when she completed her undergraduate degree and was unsure about what to do next. She was interested in pursuing a graduate degree but she approached the process with what she says now was "a shocking level of naivety." For example, although she would not have had the financial resources to do so anyway, she recalls having no idea about the expectation to visit prospective programs for interviews. She was admitted to a program, and she completed her degree, but she did so without the benefit of knowing the implicit norms and expectations.

Being raised by a single mother who did not have a college diploma resulted in a similar experience for Cecilia, who describes navigating higher education through "trial and error." She had a lot of different interests but no role models for ways she could turn the subjects that excited her into a career. For Cecilia, this uncertainty about her professional future lead to pressures from her extended family who did not fully appreciate the importance of higher education. In particular, she struggled to explain

the value of pursuing a doctorate to her family who wondered why she did not just look for a job, or how she would ever turn the additional knowledge into income.

All of these various experiences impact the extent to which women are able to successfully navigate academic organizations. Some women are well-prepared with the knowledge and skills they will need to manage the multiple demands of the tenure-track, while others lack those advantages and struggle to identify the necessary resources. To some extent, academic women can supplement deficient cultural capital by forming strong networks and making connections with colleagues who can help them negotiate their pre-tenure experience; such adaptations will be the focus of the next section.

In this section I have considered some of the important factors women cite in their decision to pursue academic careers. Some of the considerations mirror those found by Bernard and Simeone while others, such as the pull of opportunities in the private sector, are new for the present era of academic women. The array of internal and external motivations shapes not only the desire of women to enter academia, but also their ability to do so successfully. This discussion leads well into the next session where I explore the strategies that serve or hinder women as they negotiate the challenges associated with a career in academia.

Individual Adaptations

Academic women employ a range of individual and interpersonal strategies as they negotiate the demands of academia, although the strategies are not always

intentional and apparent, either at the time they are being used or in retrospect.

Throughout their time in academic organizations, women draw on various resources,

some of which they bring with them as they enter the institution and others that they

develop during their process or acquire through formal and informal networks. While

some academic women are equipped with an excellent set of skills and acquired

capital, and they easily traverse the process of promotion and tenure, others find

themselves struggling to identify or access the tools they need. For example, even

though she knew she wanted to pursue a career in academia, Margery still describes

her experience as a graduate student as "painful and isolating." She entered her

doctoral program directly after completing her undergraduate degree and now realizes

she did not always have the emotional resources to manage the pressures she faced.

She also found herself feeling intimidated by peers with more academic or

professional experience and she describes being confronted with "classic imposter

syndrome," which manifested as concerns about not belonging or not being smart

enough to succeed.

The personal resources and adaptations of academic women interact with the

supports and barriers of academic organizations described in Chapter Three in various

ways that ultimately shape the experiences of individuals as they navigate the

university. This is particularly evident in the experiences of two individuals who are in

the same department and who share very similar characteristics, including some that

might typically be considered to place them at a disadvantage. One navigated the

academic organization without any problems while the other is struggling and is at risk

for being unsuccessful. To understand such situations, it is important to consider how individual academic women acquire and enact a range of resources. In this section I will organize the strategies used by participants into the two broad categories of individual adaptations and interpersonal relationships in order to explore both what seems to work well and where some academic women appear to struggle.

Individual Strategies

As has been described, the perception of the culture of the university, and of the region, is one of independence. This is evidenced by the common expectation that individuals will be able to locate and understand resources on their own. Alice describes being told frequently to just, "Go to the website," when she has questions about policies or practices. While it is useful to have information that is readily available and can be easily accessed, the challenge is that those seeking knowledge might not know what they do not know. That is, sometimes people do not even know where to start or what to look for. Yet, as one administrator explains, "If you don't have resourcefulness, then you can quickly get into trouble by not getting the information that you need at the right time to help you move forward." As the personal accounts of academic women here and in previous studies show, academic women negotiate the procedures and relationships of academic organizations in various ways and with various degrees of success.

<u>Playing the Game</u>

A number of participants recognize that the university is a very political system that requires strategy to navigate. For example, Margery was aware that she could turn to the faculty handbook to read policies and procedures, but she rarely did because she recognized that "institutional tradition was much more important and informative." In her experience, the faculty handbook offered only vague guidance intended to be applicable to any, or *every* faculty member and did not provide a clear sense of department, college, or disciplinary expectations. Miriam explains that she did not realize the political aspects of academia until she started her faculty position. As a graduate student, higher education appeared "wonderful and utopian," and she explains, "It really took me for a loop" to realize that there may be factions within departments and hierarchies within the institution.

One administrator shares that the junior faculty who are not successful in becoming tenured associate professors "are the ones that are not aware of the academic culture of promotion and tenure." That is, they come in without experiences that have prepared them for the tenure-track and without the skills necessary to understand the process. According to Hochschild, this is not simply a matter of developing particular proficiencies; rather, she explains, "At present, women are either slowly eliminated from academic life or forced imperceptibly to acquire the moral and psychic disabilities from which male academics have had to suffer" (1975:134). While Hochschild's "present" exists in the decade between Bernard and Simeone, her

conclusion that adaptations to the politics of academia are actually impairments is still relevant in the twenty-first century academic organization.

Cecilia describes the need for academic women to take responsibility for developing "survival skills," such as asking questions to better understand how the university operates. While ideally a department would adequately equip new faculty with the knowledge they need to succeed, the ability of individuals to find information on their own remains crucial. From Viola's perspective, it is also import to begin applying for university grants and internal funding opportunities as soon as possible. Of course, like many new faculty, she did not know about such opportunities until several years into her process. As one administrator explains, "If you're not the 'squeaky wheel,'" your concerns are not heard and your needs may not be addressed.

Elissa shares that two important lessons she learned from her mentor were how to be assertive and how to deal with the "wackiness in academia." She goes on to explain that the politics of academia are often coupled with what she believes to be a lot of undiagnosed mental illness. After a family member was diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome, she began to notice that some of her colleagues exhibited similar traits with high mental acuteness coupled with poor social skills. Her personal theory is that academia is a perfect location for such behavior to exist undiagnosed because academia bestows excellent scholars with lifetime tenure and the promise of academic freedom. Thus, much behavior, whether it is simply quirky or symptomatic of a medical condition, persists and becomes part of the social and political landscape junior faculty must navigate.

Protect Your Time

Time is a strong force in shaping the lives of academics. The academic

calendar is divided into quarters or semesters, terms are divided into weeks, and each

day is intended to be allocated to varying percentages of teaching, research, and

service. And, as the ever present reminder, junior faculty are constantly aware of the

always ticking tenure clock. Further, some scholars have argued that the "clockwork"

or the rigid structure of academia has been set in accordance with the career of a male

academic supported by his traditional, stay-at-home wife (Hochschild 1975; Mason

and Goulden 2004; Trower 2002). Thus, it is no surprise that from administrators and

participants alike, I heard frequently the dictum, "protect your time!" In the lives of

academic women, time is a scarce resource and there always seems to be more ways to

spend it than there are hours to spend. Thus, successfully navigating promotion and

tenure requires finding ways to meet expectations within a finite amount of time, both

with regard to the twenty-four hours within each day and the six years on the tenure

clock.

Gwen believes that her department has learned from the challenges she

experienced as a junior faculty member burdened with a heavy teaching load, which

impeded her progress. The department recently made several hires and she explained

that the senior faculty members are committed to helping the new assistant professors

set boundaries. One administrator I spoke with encourages faculty to, "lock the bloody

door and write every day!" This advice reflects the need for faculty to spend time each

day being scholars. Even though the same administrator lauded the department's

"open door" policy, the emphasis on collegiality does not outweigh the need for faculty to protect the time they need to research, write, and produce scholarship.

While this administrator's advice emphasizes the need for faculty to protect their time, it also includes a message about managing expectations. Regardless of the various demands placed on faculty, personally and professionally, there are only a finite number of hours in each day. When I asked those participants who had successfully been tenured and promoted how they managed the myriad demands on their time, several shared some version of Arianna's admission, "Well, you cut corners." Annie has also adjusted the expectations she has for herself saying, "I'm trying to learn how to be not so, what's the word? Ambitious. Like, I want to be *moderately* ambitious." Maria, who is nearing her sixth year, also emphasizes the fact that scholarship is a creative process and she says, "I've got to allow myself those days that are not going to be so productive, cause that's what happens. You can't be productive every day, we're not machines, you know, a creative process isn't like that."

Although Lisa recognizes that "something's got to give," and she has received advice from other academic women to, "Give up on being great on everything," she struggles because she says that is not how she was trained. She explains that she was trained to be a great scholar, and that anything short of that standard would mean failure. In this way Lisa, and many of her peers, find themselves faced with conflicting advice. Even those participants who have earned tenure and can reflect on their experience recognize that, while they probably could have succeeded with less, they

would still not be willing to risk doing anything less than what they did. Yet, in some instances, protecting your time also means managing your expectations about what a finished article, lecture, or grant application looks like because, at some point, the cost of waiting for perfection becomes too great. As one administrator explains, "It's not a forty-hour-a-week job, but it shouldn't be an eighty-hour-a-week job."

According to Cecilia, who is still in the first half of her term as an assistant professor, junior faculty may feel compelled by the tenure system to engage in as many projects as possible to increase the likelihood that they'll receive a grant or a produce a publication; however, this tendency to say, "yes" to everything can be detrimental if it conveys the message that the faculty member is scattered and unfocused. Instead, Cecilia is trying to do what she describes as being "a bit more mindful and actually have a direction" to her research activities.

In order to protect their time, academic women must also be able to set boundaries and say, "no." A number of faculty participants and all of the administrators I spoke with cautioned against the danger of saying yes to everything. Elissa shares that one of her "operating principles" to make the most efficient use of her time is to say no to any meeting that does not have an agenda. Because meetings can take up a considerable amount of time, she politely declines if she is concerned that a meeting will not be productive. One administrator similarly tries to encourage women faculty and faculty of color that it is acceptable to decline to serve on some of the myriad committees they're invited to serve on. As Gwen explains, "It's ok and sometimes essential to say, 'No, these are my boundaries.'" While she offers this as

important advice, she is also aware that the positive relationships she has with her colleagues makes that possible whereas in a department with more complicated politics she concludes, "Maybe you have to figure out who to say, 'Yes' to."

Indeed, I observed that the willingness of participants to decline offers corresponds with the extent to which they feel vulnerable as junior faculty or tenuous in their prospect for promotion and tenure. Oftentimes, a request from a senior colleague or administrator is accompanied by some version of the statement, "This will look good in dossier." Saying no can also be difficult in a small department where there simply are not enough bodies to complete all of the work. Alice was assigned to chair a search committee her first year at the university, which made sense given that she had gained that experience at her previous university, but she explains, "In terms of protecting my time, it didn't make any sense at all." Yet, in such a small department there are limited options for ways to divide the work.

Another reason setting boundaries around time can be difficult is that many participants I spoke with care deeply about their students. Emily feels conflicted between her compassion for her students, particularly those who might really benefit from additional mentoring, and the looming deadline to submit her dossier. She explains,

> I have been a little bit disappointed in my own ability to make a very big difference simply because if I really put the time into making that my mission, I wouldn't publish anything. So I feel myself cutting off students or pulling away from students who I think really need a lot of guidance.

One focus group participant who was recently tenured and promoted reflected on her process by saying, "There was no way to protect yourself" from all of the competing

demands on the time of faculty members. Another participant agreed stating, "You try to do your best to fulfill these ambiguous tenure requirements and you realize that you're working eighty-hour weeks." Another participant, who recently submitted her dossier and is awaiting the university's decision, shared that once she realized she was the second lowest paid professor in her department she started making a concerted effort to limit her work to forty hours each week. While an academic career can be all-consuming such boundaries are necessary. As Nicole explains,

> You want to look back on your life and say, "All I ever did was work"? No! You have to do fun things, too. Yes, you want to say, "I love my work. I figured out this problem" you know and, "I helped these students" you know what I mean, and "I did this." *And,* "I also had a lot of fun and I did this stuff with my family, and that stuff." You know what I mean? What's wrong with that?

In addition to limiting time with students, some academic women attempt to minimize their service obligations. When asked what advice she might give to a newly hired assistant professor, Alice suggests trying to limit service obligations as much as possible. She explains, service is "the area where people will most likely take advantage," adding that engaging in service is "kind of like making that first donation to some cause that you believe in. If you get on the list, then they're going to call you every three weeks." Ultimately, the important message is that time is a scarce resource, and one strategy for success in academia is to protect the limited time that is available.

Interpersonal Strategies

The concept of social capital is important to understanding the ability of women to navigate academic organizations. In this context, a primary function of social capital is to enable individuals to develop social networks and access resources necessary to succeed in the complex academic organization (Perna 2005). Yet, interpersonal strategies do not play a significant role in Bernard's understanding of academic women. She makes a brief reference to the influence of teachers in encouraging women to persist in their studies, but the academic women of her era appear to be largely unaided in their orientation to the academic domain. The absence of such social support provides insight into why the development of interpersonal strategies becomes an important theme for Simeone, as well as one that persists in the present context.

According to Simeone (1987), there are two types of interactions that academic women experience. The first type is the informal relationships that occur between academic women and their colleagues. The second is the more formal relationships that are established between junior faculty and their senior faculty mentors. Together, these social connections form the basis of an important investment in building social networks that can lead to the acquisition of information about institutional norms and expectations, and to opportunities for support, influence, and recognition. Academic women who successfully acquire these resources are then able to draw on them in their pursuit of such outcomes as promotion and tenure (Perna 2001a). In this section I

will explore the types of interpersonal strategies academic women employ in their

pursuit of promotion and tenure.

Informal Relationships

The network of relationships that junior faculty form with their peers and with

their senior colleagues is critical in shaping their professional careers. While few

opportunities existed during Bernard's time, Simeone is pleased to be able to highlight

the creation and recognition of networks of women. She points to the formation of

channels for the informal exchange of personal and professional support as operating

in the lives of academic women in such a way as to make them "feel less vulnerable

and more powerful" (Simeone 1987:142) in navigating academic organizations. While

formalized support can be an important option, it is the formation of such informal

relationships and networks that are critically important to the success of some

academic women, while the lack of such connections can leave others without access

to important social resources.

The ways in which academic women develop informal relationships and social

networks vary considerably. One participant explains, "I wasn't assigned a mentor…I

literally had to go and seek out my own mentors, people that I had met at meetings,

that I had been impressed by." In doing so, she was able to able to acquire the social

capital that she needed to be successful. Similarly, although Viola only recently

completed her mid-term review, she explains that she is making an effort to "put

myself out there," in order to build connections and strengthen her reputation with

colleagues outside of the university. Beth shares that she has found it helpful to get to

know people in a variety of different capacities. As she explains,

> Ironically, a lot of the people that I met through different projects or different committees are now on the P&T committee and I'm thinking, "Well, I'm so glad I worked with them in the past." Or, "I'm glad I really know them and they really know me." You know? How ironic that that committee ended up being something that led me to meet that person and I can't help but think that if they know you you're going to be more successful than if you're just a name on the paper.

Another participant also found connections with her colleagues in other

departments to be particularly useful. She was hired into a department where she was

the only woman, which she says impacted her ability to connect with her colleagues

and meant she had to shoulder a heavy service load. She was incredibly unhappy and

had started looking for other jobs outside of the university saying, "During that time I

just wanted to flee." Then she met a faculty member in another department when their

children attended the same birthday party and learned that there was another

department that was seeking to fill a tenure-track position. As a result of that

connection she was able to eventually find a new position within the university where

she is much happier.

Arianna also found important support through her informal connections, many

of which were made simply by meeting people through her children's school. In

particular, she recalls meeting a friend of her daughter's who is a senior faculty

woman in another STEM field. Although the two are in different disciplines, their

informal conversations waiting to pick up their children helped Arianna realize that

someone else had experienced many of the same challenges, and that shared understanding provided her with much needed support and comfort.

For Gloria, her strongest connections are with the people in her graduate cohort. She shares that during the time she was in graduate school she formed strong networks and made both personal and professional connections with others in her program, particularly the women. Both her network of peers and her relationship with her mentor have impacted her more than any connections she has made at the university. Similarly, one reason why Alexandra thinks she was able to "hit the ground running" when she started her current position is a relationship she maintained with a colleague from graduate school who started a tenure-track position at the same time. Although they were at different universities the two had an established relationship and similar research interests, and they were able to work together on a variety of projects, which helped them each establish their publication record early in their tenure-track careers. Alexandra saw the benefits to having someone to talk to who was outside of the university, but in a similar position. In fact, she found it so helpful that she now encourages incoming junior faculty to try to identify colleagues outside of the university, or at least outside of their department, to provide another perspective on the experience of promotion and tenure. Whether academic women make connections within or outside of their departments, or even within or outside of the university, these informal connections are important to the acquisition of the social capital necessary to successfully navigate the academic organization.

<u>Sponsors and Protégés</u>

      While informal connections represent one important form of social capital, some academic women also benefit from more formalized relationships. Indeed, the relationship between a sponsor and a protégé is an important one in academia. In fact, Simeone states, "Having a sponsor is a decided and perhaps critical advantage, particularly at the start of an academic career" (1987:102). She goes on to argue that the sponsor serves at least four important functions for their protégé including introducing the customs and expectations of academia, offering encouragement, providing career assistance, and fostering the development of the protégé's sense of legitimacy as a scholar.

      One way in which it is important to have someone more specifically in the role of "sponsor" is during the search for an academic position. On a number of occasions, I have heard members of tenure-track faculty search committees lament the fact that they would have to read through over one hundred applications, which suggests the market continues to be flooded with more applicants than there are positions available. With this in mind, it can be useful for individuals who are interested in tenure-track positions to rely on the reputation and connections of a sponsor. For example, Emily thinks a strong letter from someone well-known in her field ended up being very influential in her success on the job market. Miriam also describes having an advisor who "had great success in placing students in academic positions."

      While participants offered various examples of the support and guidance they received as graduate students or as junior faculty, no one used the terminology of

"sponsors" and "protégés." Instead, the most current language in higher education is that of mentorship. Although the exact nature of the mentoring relationship varies from person to person, it is still used to generally describe a relationship in which more seasoned faculty members provide guidance to their junior colleagues.

Those who spoke of effective mentoring relationships described appreciation for having someone to help them understand where to put their efforts and how to say no in a way that would protect their time without damaging relationships. In order to do this successfully, Maya has found it important to identify someone outside of her department with whom she can speak candidly. She explains,

> With someone outside of the department…it's actually sometimes better cause then you don't get caught in the fray of saying too much to somebody who's in the department and then when it comes time to do reviews or something they're not as, you know, knowledgeable about your issues and what you've had to go through.

The concerns Maya raises are important given the vulnerability of pre-tenure faculty, but oftentimes junior faculty are formally connected with someone in their unit who is assigned to serve as their mentor. Nearly every participant I spoke with who had been involved in a formal mentoring relationship shared that their department or unit head identified an individual or committee of senior faculty member who would ultimately be directly involved in deciding the participant's promotion and tenure case. While this arrangement works well for some, it may leave others unsatisfied with the type and amount of guidance and support they receive as junior faculty.

Mentors may fulfill a variety of functions and one important role is to help junior faculty navigate the process of promotion and tenure, even when they do not

know what questions to ask. For example, Cecilia believes that effective mentorship means helping new faculty members with technical tasks like creating contracts and tracking budgets. While she firmly believes that mentorship for doctoral students about how to navigate a future faculty career is equally important as training people how to be scholars, these are skills that many junior faculty have not learned.

While some academic women need or are looking for guidance about the specific requirements of promotion and tenure others, like Peggy, are "looking for a friend," and someone with whom they can develop a relationship. Peggy shares that her first mentoring experience was with someone who seemed more interested in completing a checklist than in developing a meaningful connection. Similarly, Maria has been searching since graduate school for someone who is what she describes as a "role model of sanity." She shares that she had people, primarily her fellow students, who helped her navigate her doctoral program, and she has found some technical guidance at the university, as well. Where she would really like mentorship, however, is from someone who successfully manages their academic and family responsibilities. For example, one person Maria has turned to as a mentor is near retirement age and had young children over 30 years ago, so while she has been helpful with aspects of promotion and tenure Maria still finds herself "making it up as I go along" with regard to also having a family.

Regardless of what individual are looking for from a mentor, one of the challenges is integrating the information they receive. Unfortunately, several participants mentioned receiving inconsistent and even inaccurate advice from well-

meaning colleagues. Emily recalls receiving advice from someone that was inconsistent with her own observations and experiences, and so she says, "I decided to politely disregard that advice." Viola's experience as one of the youngest and newest members of her department, which is top-heavy with senior faculty, is that some people are simply "out of touch" and offer advice that she says is "either stuff I heard like the first year of graduate school, or that doesn't event apply anymore." As an example, she points to a conversation she recently had with her chair who urged her to approach speakers at conferences and introduce herself. Viola, who explains she received a lot of professional training as a graduate students, says she thought to herself, "Oh my god, seriously? I've been doing that for a decade now!" Gloria also describes encountering people who thought they were being helpful but she says, "I had people telling me to do things that I just did not think were smart." These three participants, and others with similar experiences, all describe feeling uncertain how to be gracious with well-meant advice and some even felt bad about simply disregarding it. At the same time, participants expressed concern that if they followed the outdated, inconsistent, or irrelevant advice they might not succeed in their quest for promotion and tenure.

Equally problematic is receiving feedback from colleagues that is overly positive and uncritical. In Sophie's case, she feels like she was lulled into feeling accepted by her colleagues and she is only now starting to realize that they may be the harshest critics of her dossier. When she first started her position, she thought that having her colleagues ask her about how she was doing and whether she was

acclimating to the community was a clear sign they wanted her to stay. She concluded

that earning the support of her colleagues would be easier than passing her dossier to

the college and university level, where there would be greater scrutiny and little to no

personal relationship. Since no one had been through the process since she was hired,

it was not until recently, when she saw an instructor be reviewed for promotion to

Senior Instructor, that she started to panic. It was then that Sophie saw the greatest

scrutiny happen at the department level, and instantly the process "sounded really

scary." What worries her is having those same people with whom she has had friendly

working relationship, and even some with whom she has interacted in social settings,

judging her.

One administrator explains that strong mentoring relationships require honesty

and should not just always be "huggy-touchy-feely, let's all feel good"; rather, the

relationship needs to be rooted in integrity and infused with candor so the mentee or

protégé has a solid understanding of areas that need improvement. Sophie shares that

some of the most useful guidance she received was as an undergraduate student when

one of her professors was willing to offer an honest perspective. Sophie was interested

in graduate school, but also realized that as she advanced in her studies the courses

were becoming more difficult. She received a lot of general encouragement, but one

professor offered what Sophie says,

> Felt like more realistic encouragement…because she didn't just say, "Oh,
> you'll do fine. It will be great, don't worry." Which I feel like was
> unsatisfactory. She said, "Well, I'm sure you can get a master's, and I think
> you can probably get a Ph.D…I don't know for sure, you never know what's
> going to happen."

Although it was not the blanket positivity that Sophie received from others, it was a reasonable, balanced perspective and it inspired her to at least try to pursue graduate school and see what might happen.

Another administrator shares that the worst advice a junior faculty member can receive is, "Oh, don't worry. As long as everybody likes you, you're going to be fine." While that might seem like a cue to relax, buying into such assurances from colleagues provides a sense of security that is ultimately very likely to be false. The administrator goes on to explain that the problem is that junior faculty end up confusing being part of the service community with being perceived as a promising scholar thinking, "As long as I'm well-liked, and I'm a good citizen, surely they're not going to deny me tenure, even though I haven't done any research because I've been so busy being part of the community." The result is that faculty leave these interactions with their senior colleagues having a skewed sense of what is expected of them, and it stems from not having the expectations in each category clearly stated.

 Depending on their personal and educational backgrounds, some academic women begin their first faculty position well-equipped with the knowledge to succeed. Others may be prepared academically, but have less understanding about how to navigate the organization. Indeed, every participant who spoke about mentorship offered a sometimes slightly, sometimes drastically different description of what that relationship would mean to them. Ultimately, individuals who make a favorable impression on their colleagues and who are able to develop strong formal and informal social networks benefit from the access to important knowledge, information, and

relationships while those who do not may be negatively impacted by their inability to acquire the necessary social capital (Perna 2005).

Identification with "Woman"

From the perspectives of both Simeone and Bernard, the types of relationships academic women create stem from their sense of isolation within an academy dominated by men. Bernard argues that others in the academy look at academic women and view sex as the most salient identity to inform their determination of status. Simeone adds to the discussion by suggesting that whether graduate student, dean, or assistant professor the women in those roles will first and foremost be seen as women. At the same time, women in these positions might also consider sex or gender to be central to their sense of self and an important point of connection with others.

Having gender as a shared identity around which to coalesce was significant to the establishment of second-wave feminist efforts. It has also been at the core of many intervention strategies employed by academic organizations to address disparities in the recruitment, retention, and promotion of academic women. Now, at the next twenty-five year interval, the social and theoretical landscapes have shifted in ways that raise questions about whether all academics who identify as women have the same interest in accessing resources specifically for women. This also raises questions about whether uniform programs designed generally for women effectively meet the range of needs within that particular category of identity.

While my research does not assess the extent to which others filter their perceptions of academic women through a lens of sex or gender, my observation is that not all academic women consider this their most salient identity. In fact, in several instances participants attempted to distance themselves from an association with gender as a factor in their experiences. For example, Meira makes a point to explain,

> I'm definitely one of these people who don't want to be given things on a silver platter because I'm a woman. I feel like I can do the same things my male counterparts can, you know? I don't want things to be watered down because I'm female.

Similarly, Isabel emphasizes that she does not want to be perceived as "playing the gender card," where an aspect of her identity becomes a way to access more favorable treatment. This does not mean that gender is irrelevant to their experiences, but it does offer insight into the ways in which academic women embody the idea of meritocracy by pointing to objective measures of their success. In this way, some academic women might not identify strongly with the category "woman," either because it does not seem relevant in the way it is articulated, or as a result of concerns that it will somehow lessen their credibility as academics.

In this section, I have explored the individual and interpersonal strategies that academic women adopt to help them negotiate higher education. What becomes evident is that there is not a universal strategy that works well for all women. Some rely primarily on informal networks or on colleagues outside the institution. Others turn to formal mentors to help them identify and develop such necessary skills as protecting their time. There does not appear to be the need for a single, uniform approach to equipping academic women with the strategies for negotiating the process

of promotion and tenure. Unfortunately, there a number of examples where academic women neither enter the tenure-track equipped with the resources for success nor manage to acquire them along the way. This gap will be foundational to the conclusions I present at the end of this research.

The Sum of Her Parts

In the previous chapter I explored the extent to which academic organizations are prepared to accept the realities associated with academic bodies. I return to similar themes in this section, but here I highlight the perspectives of academic women negotiating whole, complex lives. The last chapters of both Bernard's and Simeone's work focus on the marital status and parental status of academic women. They each explore the incidence of marriage among academic women and the impact of having children on those who are mothers. Certainly since Bernard's work in 1964 and even since Simeone's research in 1987 conceptualizations about women as partners and parents have been shifting. That is not to say that they do not remain relevant topics; rather, the range of life choices and experiences and the ways in which they affect women in academic careers must be broadened.

While the previous chapter focused on institutional supports and barriers, the focus in this chapter is on the ways in which academic women perceive and are affected by the presence of a variety of factors that co-exist with their academic identities. That emphasis is important because, all too often, a dichotomy is created between "work" and "life" as if everything that happens within the public sphere of

the university is not somehow related to the private sphere of the home. This was particularly evident during my interview with Sidney when she asked me, "How much personal and professional do you mix here? Because I have my interview answers that I would answer professionally, right? But then there's always personal reasons, which you leave out of professional interviews."

In my observation, the academic persona and the private persona are inextricably linked and separation is artificial, at best. The reality of the participants I spoke with is much more complex and, in some instances, the rhetoric of balance is more harmful than helpful. While spillover from one realm into another can be challenging, it is not always negative and the experience of being a partner can be improved by the experience of being a professional, as can one's work as an academic be enhanced by being a mother, for example. Thus, in considering the various ways women respond and adapt to myriad situations, it becomes evident that the whole is a more useful level of inquiry, rather than the sum of disarticulated parts.

Marital Status and Academic Women

In 1964, Bernard discovered that academic women were less likely to be married than academic men and their marriages were less stable. In 1987, Simeone found that these trends in the instance and stability of marriages persisted. The research she cites indicated that women continued to be less likely to be married than academic men and the marriages of academic women continued to be less stable. The research conducted over the past twenty-five years is much less conclusive. For

example, some research indicates that marriage increases the likelihood that women

will be employed in the academy in part-time, non-tenure-track positions (Perna

2001b). Other studies find positive impacts of marriage for women, including that

once a woman has been promoted and tenured as an associate professor, marriage

increases the likelihood she will advance to full professor (Wolfinger et al. 2008).

Further, the marital status of academic women must also be considered in the broader

social context where new census 2010 figures report that the number of married

people nationwide is at an all-time low and the divorce rate hovers around 50 percent.

That is not to say that the marital status of academic women is not a concern, but it is

important to recognize that marriage as an institution has shifted over the past fifty

years.

Nevertheless, just 23 percent of survey respondents identified as single while

the remaining 77 percent indicated being in a committed relationship, registered

domestic partnership, or marriage (See Table 2). This research is not intended to

specifically consider the marital status of academic women, but what is important is

how such relationships are understood and negotiated by women who are also

attempting to navigate the academic organization.

The question of marital status becomes particularly interesting when both

individuals in a couple are academics, which is the case for 23 percent of interview

participants. As mentioned in the previous chapter, dual-career academic couples can

have a challenging path to negotiate, and research suggests that oftentimes it can be

difficult to find two jobs in the same geographic area, let alone the same university

(Wolf-Wendel et al. 2003). Although Arianna had been successful once, when she began feeling uncertain about whether she wanted to stay in her department, one of her primary concerns was whether it would be too challenging to relocate her family and find two new tenure-track positions for her and her husband. Yet, among the subset of interview participants who are part of a dual-career academic couple, only Susan has been unable to navigate the "two-body problem" by identifying a proximate position for her husband; fortunately, he has been able to find work as an instructor for a distance education program at another university.

Despite the challenges, both Susan and Alexandra both spoke of the benefits of having a partner who is also in academia. This is consistent with research that indicates women with academic partners fare better than women with partners who are outside of academia (Astin and Milem 1997). Alexandra specifically contrasted this to her parents who she says, "don't understand what I do…they don't understand the academic side at all." Each spoke about how beneficial it was to have someone who could help them navigate the process of promotion and tenure in a way that was both encouraging and realistic. As helpful as it is to talk with peers who are experiencing the same process, those relationships can succumb to competition whereas Alexandra and Susan described their husbands as unconditionally supportive.

Another benefit to having a partner who is also in academia can be the understanding of the time commitment. While Lily describes feeling pressured to limit her working hours to provide relief to her husband who was home full-time with their two children, Alexandra and Susan talked about having husbands who seemed to

recognize the time demands associated with trying to earn promotion and tenure. For example, Alexandra describes a period after her mid-term review where she made a decision to attend more conferences so that she could give talks and connect with her colleagues and she says, "That's exactly the kind of thing I'm not sure would have been clear if [my husband] wasn't someone who had not just been through the [promotion and tenure] process himself." Having a partner who is an academic at the same university can also help mitigate the time demands of promotion and tenure; one participant whose husband is in the same department laughs when she says, "Thankfully I see my husband because he works here!"

Conversely, Rosie and Nicole are also both married to academics, but describe experiences that seem to fit well with Hochschild's (1989) description of the "second shift." When Rosie had her son both she and her husband were in graduate school, but when it came time to balance childcare and research she says, "It was me that did that, the mom, the woman." In Nicole's case, the concerns were less about the reproductive work associated with tending a home or raising children and more about the emotional and relational work associated with being someone's wife. Although her husband had recently completed his own doctorate, Nicole says he "felt very neglected," and she adds, "He even thought about leaving me." When I try to encourage her to say more by asking, "Even though your husband had just been through the same process?" she simply replies, "Mmmmhmm" and moves on.

Academic Women as Mothers

When I walk into Annie's office, I notice that she has several colorful drawings, presumably done by children, hanging on the walls around her desk. She reads me one that says, "Dear mommy, I missed you today a lot and you probably missed me, too." Another one reads, "Come home to see kids before dinner starts." She explains that they were in fact drawn for her by her daughters, who were both under five when Annie was hired into her position. She recalls that in her first few years as a new professor she would often tell her husband that she would be home by 5:30pm, and when he would call her at 6:00pm she would say she was on her way out the door, only to finally start her drive home at 7:00pm. In retrospect, she says she felt like she was constantly "between a rock and a hard place," simultaneously worrying about the grant that was due the next day and the fact that she desperately needed to trim her daughters' fingernails.

Parents in all professions find themselves negotiating the demands of their jobs and the demands of their families, and academia is certainly not the only profession that emphasizes the need for performance and productivity during one's early career. Yet, there are strong, competing perceptions about whether academia is amenable for parents. Some think the flexibility of daily schedules and the nine-month academic year make higher education an ideal setting for people with children. Others find the rigorous demands of tenure so daunting that they cannot imagine trying to also care for children. In fact, Mason and Goulden conclude, "Women faculty throughout the United States are less likely to have children than are men faculty" (2004:97).

For Maria, the strongest messages about academic women as mothers came from her major professor, who firmly believed that women should not have children until after they are tenured and promoted. Shortly after Maria informed her advisor about her pregnancy, she selected another student over Maria to work with her on a new research project. She believes it was because she was clear that she would not be available for the sixty-hour work weeks the professor expected, but it left Maria feeling vulnerable about her standing in her doctoral program.

As with marital status, both Bernard and Simeone are interested in the number and timing of children, and their effect on the careers of academic women. Bernard is writing in an era where some universities have policies prohibiting teaching during pregnancy. Thus, it is not surprising that she finds, "Academic women have fewer children than do women with comparable training who are not academic women" (Bernard 1964:219). In 1987, Simeone finds the effect of children on academic women to be mixed. While some studies show the time commitments associated with parenting young children can hinder the productivity of academic women with regard to scholarship, others find that women with children are no less productive than women without children. More recent studies indicate that having children can hinder the likelihood that women with young children will find tenure-track positions, although the same effect is not true for men (Wolfinger et al. 2008), but once on the tenure-track parenting does not negatively impact women's career trajectories (Morrison et al. 2011).

One possible explanation for the mixed results Simeone encountered and those that persist in more recent studies is that "mother" cannot be viewed as a homogeneous category because each individual experiences the impact of having a family in a different way and makes various complex decisions about raising children. Some rely on full-time childcare while others prefer that their children are always with a parent. Arianna started her position at the university when both of her children were under the age of three. Because her husband also worked at the university they decided the best option for their family was to look for full-time care. Her eldest child was able to attend a private school that would accommodate Arianna's eleven-hour days, but it was more difficult to find care for her infant, which is anecdotally described as a common problem in town. Of course, this approach does not come without a financial and emotional cost.

Emotionally, Arianna found it difficult to pick her children up at 6:00pm, feed and spend time with them, and then put them to bed in time to wake them up early the next morning. She is certainly not the only one who described feeling guilty and then overcompensating for the limited time they spent with their children on a daily basis. Because of her philosophy about childrearing, Emily felt uncomfortable having a child and then deciding to place her in full-time childcare so that, as she describes, "someone else ends up raising her." Eventually, after she was no longer nursing, Emily did decide to place her daughter in childcare two days per week.

Maria and Maya have similar approaches to parenting, which they both attribute to their personal and cultural value systems. Maria cites culture and religion

as significant in shaping her perspective on raising children and viewing how they impact her life and her career. Her children are recently both attending school, but much of her pre-tenure process was defined by her experience as a mother of young children. She started her position at the university when both of her children were under the age of three, but neither she nor her husband wanted to rely on daycare providers. Instead, she explains that her husband "basically put his career on hold for five years to be home with the children," although he eventually found hourly work in the evenings. She explains that her mother raised her and that experience has shaped the decisions she makes about her own children, but she is also confronted with real challenges concluding, "Figuring out how to have a career and a family but still be true to, you know, my values and ideals and things is pretty challenging."

For Maya, the values she has stem from what she describes as "feminist mothering," which for her means the personal act of being a mother is, as the feminist mantra suggests, inherently political. She describes the importance of raising children who do not feel as if they have been sacrificed for her success as an academic, but making her family a priority is not always simple. At times, she is confronted with situations where her own politics have to "take a back seat," such as when she faces deadlines or receives requests from her dean that make demands on her time.

Lily also decided that if she was going to have children, she did not want to be an "absent mother." For her this meant tying to confine all of her teaching, research, and scholarship into a compressed workday, coming in early and working though lunch so that she could arrive back home early in the afternoon. She explains, "It was

never satisfying or adequate to me to think that I would come home at 5:30pm or 6:00pm like most of my male colleagues, see the kids for two hours, and then go to bed and that was parenthood." The challenge for all of these women, and for others who share a similar philosophy, is reconciling what they believe to be best for their children and their desire to become what Emily terms, "power scholars."

The financial burden of raising children is not insignificant. Financially, Arianna explained that she has accepted the high cost of quality childcare because she is ultimately able to be more successful in her research and teaching if she is not constantly worrying about the well-being of her children. Nearly everyone who spoke about childcare commented on the cost. For Lily and her husband, the cost to have both of their children in full-time care was more than whatever income he could earn, so the most financially sound decision was for him to stay at home. The decision Maria and her husband made to not rely on daycare was informed primarily by their cultural and religious values; however, she shared that they did consider daycare during a particularly busy time in their lives and realized they simply could not afford the cost.

Several participants spoke about the difficulties of raising children in an area so far removed from their own extended families. For Maya, the stress of moving to a new community was compounded by the fact that she was also leaving the support system of her extended family. Her mother was able to visit for the several weeks before Maya's mid-term review in the Division of Arts and Sciences so that she could focus on putting together her dossier while her mother took care of Maya's two young

children. Because Maria and her husband have made the decision not to rely on daycare, there are not a lot of other people involved in the lives of their children. This has meant that she and her husband are constantly juggling their schedules, which has significantly impacted her ability to travel to conferences. At one point, when her children were young and she was searching for tenure-track position, first her parents and then her husband's parents were able to fly to where she was in graduate school and provide some temporary relief. When Arianna struggled to find full-time care for her infant, her mother flew from a long distance to provide care until a more permanent solution could be found.

Not having a strong support system, whether it is comprised of family or friends, can be particularly difficult when the daily routine is disrupted either by acute or chronic illness. Having a child come down with a cold is not something that can be planned around, and when many of the local daycares will not accept sick children it can be difficult to find alternate care. After rescheduling our initial interview to take care of her son who had just caught a cold, Meira explained that when he is sick the responsibility to care for him falls to her. She specifically emphasizes that she lacks the family support because her own parents live far away, whereas, she observes, "There are some people who are fortunate that they have family, that the grandparents could take care of the baby, or that there is someplace where they can leave the baby with peace of mind."

In *Academic Women*, Bernard (1964) does not mention the role of fathers in childrearing, and the trend was only an emerging when Simeone wrote her book in

1987. Several participants in this study had husbands who stayed with their children; however, on more than one occasion the arrangement was motivated by the husband's under- or un-employment. Even when fathers are engaged in childrearing, I observed that some academic women experience gendered biological and social pressures *as mothers*. For example, Lily began her first tenure-track position with a newborn and had her second child three years later. At that point she describes feeling like she barely had the opportunity to write and that it was not feasible to ever actually publish anything. She recalls feeling like a failure when she would compare her productivity to that of her colleagues who were men, but she realized they were able to arrive in their offices early or stay late because they had wives at home. Although Lily's husband was, in fact, staying home with the children she explains it was a very different than the scenario with academic men and stay-at-home wives. She shares that her husband and the other stay-at-home dads she observed were very clear about their limits, such as not cooking meals or cleaning the house. Lily also found her husband was willing to spend most of the day with their children, but he also wanted to know when she would be coming home. So, Lily explains, "I would go into the office really early and try to come home by 2:00pm or 3:00pm so that my husband wouldn't go stark raving mad staying home with a screaming infant." Once home, she would start what she describes as her "second job" spending time with the children, preparing meals, and putting them to bed. Yet, she did not see any academic men making that same commitment to their stay-at-home wives. Thus, she concludes, "It seems to be a strike against you if you're a woman academic and you want to have children."

Productivity and even basic functionality can also be concerns for academic women who are mothers. Emily describes that when her daughter was born she regularly worked past midnight to catch up on her work. About a year after her daughter was born she was in her lab with several of her graduate students when she suddenly ducked to avoid a bird that was flying overhead. When her students informed her that there was no bird Emily realized that minor hallucinations were a common sign of the sleep fatigue from which she was clearly suffering. She then began making a concerted effort to sleep more, but says, "There's no way that I can say that having my daughter hasn't slowed me down in terms of my productivity." Still, she concludes that her decision to have a child was worth it and, in fact, she now finds herself less worried about the outcome of her upcoming bid for promotion and tenure because of the new perspective she has about what in her life is most important.

For most of Lisa's academic career, she focused primarily on her goal of becoming a professor. She did not expend a lot of energy on interpersonal relationships in order to preserve her opportunities first with regard to education and later to expand her chances on the job market. She explains that she "started really late" because she waited until she secured a tenure-track position in the Division of Earth Systems Science to get married. Given this delay, she had to confront reproductive realities before she earned tenure and promotion. When we spoke, her son had recently turned one, and she was finally starting to get more sleep. After his birth, however, she says her "productivity just crashed."

For Gloria, having her son midway through her process was "one of the best things that happened." She describes becoming more focused and productive than she had been previously. Although she is not the sole provider, she reflects on no longer feeling motivated by her own self-interest, but by a new "allegiance" and commitment to provide for her family. She explains,

> I think the role of being *his* mom, versus everybody's mom, was appealing to me and it was something I could do, you know. And being his mom was doing my job well, and not wasting my time by coming to the campus and not getting what I was supposed to get done, done.

Prior to his birth she describes that she had been "incubating" a lot of ideas, but had yet to turn them into successful publications. When her son was born Gloria decided to extend her tenure clock and found that she became more productive than she had been previously, which she was hesitant to share because having her son was what provided her access to the time she needed to catch up on her scholarship. In this sense, having a child was the right pressure Gloria needed to motivate her to succeed in earning promotion and tenure.

In talking about the personal and professional demands faced by faculty, one administrator explains that those with children need to make time to be with them because what they'll regret in fifteen years is not missing one more conference, it will be not being with their kids on the weekends. Indeed, many participants described their difficulties simply finding the time to both be with their children and meet the expectations for promotion and tenure. A number of individuals with children try to arrive home in the evenings with enough time to see their families before the children go to bed. Afterwards, they often return to their work, responding to email, grading

student papers, or working on their own research. Before Marie had children, she would eat a quick dinner and then return to her office to work, but she describes no longer feeling that freedom now that she has children. She also adds, "I don't think my husband would tolerate it very well either, to just be left in the evenings." Meira, who just recently had her first child, also wonders about how to both put in the hours to get where she wants to be as an academic and still have time for her son.

Given such dilemmas, some academic women choose not to have children. Despite Elissa's perception that she is "atypical for women in academics," 48 percent of survey respondents indicated that they do not currently have dependent children. Peggy recalls seeing people from her doctoral program leave after having children and not return to complete their degrees, and she and her husband simply decided that having children was not their priority. She adds, "I decided I would just go with the education." Some academic women elect not to have children simply because they do not want to, or because it is not a priority. Susan shares that her decision was not about academic pressures or career aspirations; rather, she simply states, "I think some women have a clock and I think mine is broken, or doesn't exist or something." She recognizes that her promotion and tenure experience might have been more stressful if she had also been raising children, but ensuring an easier process was not her motivation. After the formal interview ended and we continued talking, she shared that she was aware of societal expectations that she have children, but she never felt what she described as a "biological urge." Toni also emphasizes that she did not "give up" on having children to pursue her career, she just never felt inclined to become a

mother. Another participant explains, "I think having kids was one of those things I'd always thought would happen and it didn't, it didn't happen because I didn't make it happen." She is content to be someone who has "no kids, just pets," but remarks that sometimes "not having kids is weird," simply because it seems everyone else has children. The perspectives of these women are important because they suggest that the decisions of some academic women may be less explicitly about the pressures of academia and more about a range of other personal reasons for opting out of motherhood.

For academic women who do want to have children, the tenure clock also frequently coincides with another ticking clock. As Lisa explains, "Charlie Chaplin had a kid when he was 59, I can't do that." She did not deviate from her academic course, moving from a doctorate, to a postdoctoral fellowship, to her first tenure-track position. She accepted the position at the university when she was in her early thirties, but she soon faced what she describes as, "The end of my reproductive years." While it might be ideal for her career, and for the careers of other academic women, to earn tenure and *then* have children, it is often not biologically feasible. It is easy to observe that the traditional path toward tenure coincides with the optimal years, biologically speaking, for women to bear children. Despite the seductive imagery of women waiting until their forties to have children, 35 years-old is commonly described as the boundary between women's biological prime and "advanced maternal age."

As Bronstein and Farnsworth explain, "the simultaneous ticking of the biological clock and the tenure clock creates difficult decisions of whether to postpone

either childbearing or tenure, or to drop off the tenure-track altogether" (1998:559).

Thus, academic women who want to become both mothers and tenured professors are faced with the dilemma of determining, if not the *ideal* time, at least not the worst time to have children. Angela, who does not have children, recalls thinking, "Holy crap!" when she saw her graduate student peers starting families in the midst of completing their degrees. She goes on to share her observation that, "There is no good time to do this, relative to the different expectations and standards there are for women. You're just screwed if you want to actually have a baby." As Lily explains, "You're kind of a rarity if you have children before tenure, but that all depends on your graduate work going very smoothly and not having to change gears or switch tracts." She was 35 when she started her first tenure-track position and did not feel that she had time to "dilly dally," or delay having children for another six years. Her main concern was age, both with regard to the biological feasibility of having children starting in what would be her late-thirties or early-forties, and the amount of energy required to raise young children.

Although they are still pre-tenure, Beth and Nicole each recently decided that it was time to start a family before the biological feasibility of doing so diminished. Nicole explains that she waited until she was in her forties because she was working, but became concerned about waiting any longer. Beth acknowledges that it was not the best timing for her career and that her productivity declined near the end of her pregnancy and during the early months of caring for her son. She describes her careers as important, but also concludes that having her son was one of the best decisions she

has made. She has since tried to reduce her work hours to spend time with her son, and feels fortunate that her husband's job also affords some flexibility so that their child is only in daycare three days each week.

Similarly, Emily started her position at the university when she was in her early-thirties, so she passed into the realm of "advanced maternal age" at the same time she completed her mid-term review. At that point, she realized that if she and her husband continued to wait for a "convenient" time to have a child they would always be waiting. She came to the realization that she would likely never regret the decision to have a child, but if she continued to delay she might find herself becoming "the disgruntled older academic with cats and plants," wondering why she kept waiting for "perfect" conditions. So, a few years shy of both forty and tenure, she and her husband decided to "jump off a cliff" and hope they "landed on their feet." When she learned she was pregnant she told her department chair, who responded, "But you're not tenured yet!" To which she replied, "I think the appropriate response is, 'Congratulations.'"

Yet, others consciously try to put off having a family as long as possible in order to first try to successfully get through promotion and tenure. While this may make sense to other academic women, Sophie recalls trying to explain her dilemma about whether or not to delay having a family to her doctor. She is in her early-thirties, but only in her fourth year on the tenure-track. When she told her doctor that she can think more seriously about starting a family once she earns tenure, he seemed incredulous saying, "You're going to base whether you have kids on whether or not

you get tenure?" She realized how ridiculous that might sound to someone outside of academia, but she shared with me that being so uncertain about her academic future makes it difficult to commit to starting a family.

Another participant describes working fourteen- to sixteen-hour days as a junior faculty member and realizing that she could not manage both what she was expected to deliver as an academic and start a family. She felt particular pressure as a woman in a discipline dominated by men to perform at their same level. They could manage to have families and work long hours because many had wives as home to take care of the family. For this particular participant, whose husband also has a demanding career, waiting to have her first child until she was tenured and promoted was what felt like her only option. She explains that she knew she would be "shortchanging" her family if she had children during the time when she was intensely focused on having a career, but she also recognizes that she was incredibly fortunate to have a baby in her forties. She adds, "It would not have been surprising to me if we had been without a baby of our own."

Having children during graduate school is not necessarily easier, it just comes with a different set of challenges. At the time Gwen was on the job market she was also trying to complete her dissertation and care for her two young children. The situation was exhausting, but it had become a financial imperative that either she or her husband find full-time work. He also has an advanced degree, but she was more marketable and when she found her position at the university they decided he would stay home with the children. Although she reflects that having her children while she

was in graduate school was "crazy," she concludes, "But it's better than when you're trying to get tenure."

Maria also had both of her children during the time she was working on her doctorate. Now she says, "I honestly look back and I wonder how on earth I did it." She was pregnant with her first child during her most intensive period of data collection, but having advanced to candidacy meant that she no longer had to attend classes, and she had more flexibility with her time once her daughter was born. Maria was still nursing her second child when she began to apply for tenure-track positions. Oftentimes, interview schedules are grueling, day-long endeavors with few breaks, and Maria recalls the discomfort she felt carrying her breast pump and asking for breaks throughout the day. At the same time, she was also using every possible minute she could find to complete her dissertation. She explains, "There was not a minute to spare and with all the pressures it was like literally just push yourself beyond belief, you know, not sleeping very much and just taking *every* last moment." Yet, she shared that shortly after she completed her degree a new doctoral student contacted her for her advice about whether graduate school was a good time to start a family. Maria explains that her belief is that any time is a good time to have a child because, if a woman wants children, she cannot assume that she will be able to do so at a later date. The risks increase with age and she adds, "You're making a lot of assumptions there, trying to control nature a little too much."

Lily was six months pregnant when she applied for her first academic position. She recalls borrowing clothes from friends that would help disguise her pregnancy

because she was concerned that she would not receive offers from potential employers who might assume she would immediately take maternity leave. Lily was so concerned with disguising her pregnancy that she admits, "I even drank a beer during my campus interview" because two men who were on the search committee wanted to talk with her at the bar. This admission was one of the most impactful stories for me out of all of the interviews because it was a simple, but stark example of a disparity that persists for academic women, but that does not exist for academic men in the same way.

When Maya learned she was pregnant with her first child during the time she was writing her dissertation she was worried about telling her mentor and being perceived as less serious about her research. Initially, she thought she would be able to finish her writing while her daughter slept because she had heard from others that this was an ideal time for academic women to have children. Yet, no one ever said, "Watch out, you might have a baby who doesn't like to sleep," which Maya explains was the experience she had with her newborn daughter. For Maya, this meant delaying her completion by a semester and then missing the academic hiring cycle for that year. She was able to find work as an instructor before accepting her current position, but her experience highlights how the rigid cycles of academia, from the job market to the tenure-track, can be difficult for anyone whose life deviates in any way.

Personal Finances

One theme that emerged from conversations with academic women is concern about the realities of their financial situation. This is consistent with studies that have found that male faculty members earn more than their female counterparts, even when comparable levels of measurable expertise are considered (Toutkoushian et al. 2007). While this is related to more frequently addressed concerns about pay equity between men and women, it is less specifically about salary and more holistically about the financial status of individual women and their families. The status of the personal finances of academic women is often tied to their ability to navigate the "two-body" problem. While that phenomenon was discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, it is also important to focus on the impact of being the sole or primary wage earner. For example, Viola had to teach during her entire first summer at the university because her husband was having a difficult time finding work, and they were struggling to live on her salary alone. While he eventually found work and she has not had to teach summer courses since, she is concerned that her research program has suffered as a result of a slow start her first year. Both Alice and Lily also regularly teach summer courses in order to support their families. One recently tenured participant reflected on the experience of another junior faculty member in her department who has two small children and a husband who has been unable to find a consistent source of income. She observes,

> I can't imagine if you have kids and your husband's out of work and so you have to do all that extra work to get more money, when are you going to do the research that's required to get tenure? You know, it becomes one of those

things where you're really pushing people not to have kids until after tenure, and that's just not a good thing.

Additional teaching obligations certainly impact the time a junior faculty member has to devote to research. Another financial consideration is the limited amount of university support for travel to conferences, which is imperative to faculty and the development of their ideas and national reputations. Viola was able to supplement the limited support offered by her department with the compensation she received from teaching a course in another department, but she regularly pays any remaining expenses herself.

For academic women, this reality exists in stark contrast to the prevailing discourse about "academic man" and his ability to live comfortably and provide for his family based solely on his earnings as a professor. One narrative that was repeated both in conversations with participants and in various discussions with others is that the university salaries for academic faculty are despairingly low. In some instances, the inability to offer a nationally or internationally competitive salary is mentioned as a barrier to recruiting efforts. This is particularly emphasized in conversations about diversity, particularly recruiting and retaining domestic faculty of color. With a number of universities interested in increasing their representation of faculty of color, the ability to offer a competitive salary is important. Of course, the ability to attract and retain any talented faculty member is much more complex, but the financial pressures for current faculty are very real.

The precarious financial status of some participants was impacted by the country's overall economic decline and made worse at the university level by several

years of a salary freezes and the aforementioned furlough program. In this sense, the actual salary academic women earn is relevant, particularly because I observed a common theme to be criticism of the university's notoriously low salaries compared to other universities. Emily ultimately accepted an offer at the university despite having opportunities elsewhere, but she made a point of saying it was "*not* because of the salary, which is very, very low to other universities," a fact that is compounded by the high cost of living in the surrounding community. Emily goes on to wonder whether people who have not been on the market recently "really trust how bad it is," and she adds, "I mean, it's abysmal compared to what the rest of universities are offering." As one administrator, who is in a discipline still dominated by men explains, "Women academics are in high demand and they can oftentimes make quite a bit more money at other universities."

Another consideration, also compounded by furloughs and freezes, is a phenomenon referred to as "salary compression." This is particularly evident in academia where the options for salary increases are confined to promotions and the occasional merit and cost of living increases. One participant, who is still pre-tenure, was asked to serve on two different search committees, which require a considerable amount of time. She describes devoting her efforts to reviewing applications, interviewing candidates and even "pulling personal connections to talk up" the university. After two candidates were hired, she learned through departmental gossip, which was later substantiated, that the new hires would both be coming in at a more junior level than her and making a higher salary than she makes as a fourth-year

assistant professor. During our conversation, she became visibly upset and shared that she felt exploited by the university and now plans to start applying for other positions. She adds, "Thinking about the new hires is sometimes bittersweet cause I like them a lot, I'm looking forward to them being here, but it also is a reminder of some of the issues that I have with my college, with the university as a whole."

Individual salaries are determined based on a number of factors. One consideration is discipline, which is often also said to be tied to external market forces. For example, Engineering as a discipline, particularly in a university striving to attain national recognition in that area, pays higher salaries than English. Within Engineering, someone with expertise in energy efficiency might command the highest salary because of the strong demand for innovation related to sustainability. The funds available for salaries can also be determined by the parameters or the management of grants. Toni, who is now nearing her sixth year, explained that when she was supporting herself entirely on soft money she paid herself a low salary to preserve her lab's budget.

To some extent, an individual's salary can also be tied to their success in negotiating with the hiring official. There is some research that points to gender-related disparities in the level of comfort and competence women bring to their salary negotiations (Toutkoushian et al. 2007). Several participants suggested this can be compounded by a lack of preparation or awareness among graduate students, many of whom have been subsisting on small stipends for six or more years and who find anything that resembles a living wage appealing. The purpose here is not to revisit that

topic in-depth, but it is relevant that several participants raised concerns related to negotiation, unprompted. For example, Viola shares that at the time she was offered her current position she also had an offer for a salary $20,000 higher from another university. In retrospect she says, "I should have played hardball, but you don't want to be the bitchy one, you don't want to be the diva coming in." Her reflection is likely impacted by the fact that she recently saw a man hired into the department who did "play hardball" and was able to negotiate a higher salary.

It took several years for Angela's husband to find full-time employment, and she describes their first three years as "a struggle, financially." Similarly, for Rebecca, whose husband has only been able to find part-time, low-paying work, the financial strain is becoming unbearable. Their ability to rely primarily on her income diminished when they had children. Without extended family in the area, Rebecca and her husband rely on childcare, which she explains they're "going into massive credit card debt" to pay for. As a result, they find themselves in a vicious cycle where they need to place their children in daycare so that her husband can engage in some wage labor and seek other options, but doing so creates a nearly insurmountable financial burden.

In this section I have presented some of the ways in which academic women experience and make sense of their whole, complex lives. The varied experiences further suggest that there is not a standard experience that is shared across all academic women. For some, marriage has been a supportive arrangement while for others the challenges associated with addressing the two-body problem become a

significant source of stress. Throughout the entire chapter I have explored the ways in which women select and navigate academic careers, as well as considered the individual and interpersonal resources they draw on to negotiate the organization. These individual perspectives and resources combine in a variety of ways with the structural forces of the organization to inform the extent to which academic women are successful in traversing the university. In the next chapter I will rely on case studies as a way to more fully explore some of the emergent themes that represent the array of experiences of academic women as they navigate academic organizations.

<u>Chapter Five: Case Studies</u>

Initially, I decided against case studies, although not for lack of ethnographic material; rather, I wanted to minimize any risk of identification of individual participants. I have made no real attempt to conceal the location of my research and while I have tried to obfuscate their identities, an enterprising or well-informed reader might still be able to recognize participants. At the end of one interview, the participant expressed certainty that she would identify herself in these pages; I wonder whether that is the case.

Given my unwillingness to expose individuals, I questioned the value of case studies. Would anything I was able to craft be so obscure as to have little significance? Ultimately, I concluded that case studies can be used to draw on the important elements of the experiences of individual participants without divulging individual identities. Case studies also help illustrate the various paths of academic women by tying together the themes about academic organizations presented in Chapter Three and those about academic women presented in Chapter Four. In addition to aligning the experiences of individuals with the context in which they are embedded, the case studies presented here provide greater ability to explore themes such as negotiating the "two body" problem, understanding the expectations for advancement, forming meaningful connections, and managing various time commitments.

As mentioned previously, following a single cohort through the duration of their pre-tenure years would not have been feasible. Thus, participants were selected at

various phases so that together they form a picture of the years pre- and immediately

post-tenure; the case studies that follow are intended to provide similar insight into a

range of themes and experiences related to academic women navigating academic

organizations. Each case is a composite, and each composite is identified by a new

pseudonym not assigned to any individual participant. The demographic information

does not reflect the true details of specific participants; rather, the particular

characteristics are assigned here to enhance the theme(s) highlighted in each case. In

some instances, details such as race and marital or parental status are featured as

integral to understanding the theme or themes exemplified by the case studies. In other

instances information about aspects of identity is included to help provide depth,

although it may not be the explicit thematic focus of the case study.

Lauren

Lauren is an associate professor in the Division of Academic Affairs and is

someone who has negotiated the logics, structures, and expectations of the university

with relative ease. She started as an assistant professor in the fall of 2003 and was

tenured and promoted in the spring of 2009. She is Caucasian, in her late-forties and

married, but does not have children. Overall, she says her experience with promotion

and tenure was positive, primarily because of the culture of her department, which she

describes as "wonderful." She developed effective individual strategies and made

strong connections with many of her colleagues. Her interpersonal strategies included

becoming particularly close with a cohort of other faculty in her department who had been hired at around the same time she started at the university.

In addition to these relationships, Lauren's positive experience is also informed by supportive practices within her department, which she explains was more important than anything the university did structurally. For example, her supervisor conducted an annual review both to measure progress and to prepare junior faculty for the promotion and tenure process. Each year Lauren prepared a "mini version" of her dossier, about which she received detailed feedback, including where she was doing well and where she needed to improve. She explains that this helped her develop a clear sense of the expectations early in her process.

Another important experience for Lauren was attending several university-sponsored forums where she learned about the expectations related to promotion and tenure. As she listened to the questions raised by audience members she felt fortunate to be in a department where she had support and senior colleagues who seemed to want her to be successful. She was also connected with a mentor when she first arrived at the university who regularly asked how she was doing generally, and how she was progressing with her research. Laruen explains, "As long as you're kind of on the ball and they see you put forth a good faith effort, I feel like they really support you."

Lauren also entered the university well-positioned for success as an academic. As a graduate student she had the opportunity to participate in a pre-doctoral summer fellowship where she learned some of the professional skills she would need as a future faculty member. Through this experience, Laruen had considerable training as

an academic and was prepared to enter the university as a faculty member with the knowledge and skills she needed to meet the expectations and navigate the process of promotion and tenure. This was particularly true with regard to scholarship, both in terms of how to conduct publishable research and how to produce scholarship that would be valued and understood within the broader institution.

Although Lauren reflects on the ease of her process, she explains that she was reluctant to ever admit as much to her colleagues. She had the sense that no one wanted to hear her describe her time as an assistant professor as "a piece of cake," which was not exactly her experience, but she does describe feeling certain that if she simply did the work, she would be successful. By the time she submitted her dossier, she remembers thinking, "Well, I'd have to really muck something up not to get it now," and so while the waiting was difficult, she felt good about her prospects. Or, at least she felt that she had done everything that she could do and it would either be acceptable to the reviewers, or not.

Shannon

Individual academic women each approach the idea of motherhood in different ways. Some have children in graduate school, others have their first child pre-tenure, others take their chances with ticking biological clocks by trying to wait until they are tenured and promoted to start families, and still others decide to forego motherhood altogether. Shannon is in her second year in the Division of Business and Engineering. She is Caucasian, in her mid-thirties, and married, and in part because of the demands

of earning promotion and tenure and also because of the norms of her discipline she

does not currently have children. Recently, two of her close friends had children and

she has observed the strain it puts on their marriage, not to mention their research

careers. When asked about her own thoughts on having a family, she laughs and says,

"I wish I knew!" She adds,

> It's something I think I would like, but I'm just not sure it's compatible and, as
> I've said, the job is not something I'm willing to give up, the research is not
> something I'm willing to give up, I feel like I'm not even willing to take a
> break from those things. I want to keep going, kind of full bore on all of that
> and I'm just not sure that I can manage a family with that.

Given that she is in only her second year as an assistant professor in what is a

particularly competitive and demanding college, she is concerned that the commitment

that a child requires would take away too much of her focus and energy. She recalls

that as a graduate student she did not see any faculty members who seemed able to

balance a family and a career. Everyone that she worked with appeared to have

decided on their career over their family, so they had "high-powered careers," but they

did not have families, beyond possibly a partner. One faculty member in her

department who went up for promotion and tenure was denied, and Shannon recalls

the rumors at the time were that ever since the faculty member had her first child

several years prior she had been perceived by others in the department as not pursuing

her career as seriously as she could, or should have.

All of these observations have shaped Shannon's perceptions about the

feasibility of pursuing a successful career while also trying to raise a family. She

explains that there are high expectations in her department and there is very little room

for her to pursue any personal interests and still manage to produce what she is expected to deliver. Aside from a few limited observations Shannon explains, "Look, in my field there aren't many women you can talk to, and the kind of people you meet in my area are people like me." By this she means that she and other women in her field look at what is expected in order to be successful and they "give up something" in order to work the 14 to 16 hour days that are necessary to remain competitive as scholars.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth is Caucasian and in her early-forties, and she is experiencing challenges associated with residing in a complex human form, where her lived experience includes embodied realities typically unaccounted for in conceptualizations of the academic persona. She recently married a man with two middle school-age daughters from a previous marriage, but she does not have children of her own. Elizabeth is now in her second year as an associate professor in the Division of Arts and Sciences; however, her path was complicated when she was diagnosed with an autoimmune condition in her fourth year on the tenure-track. When she started her position in 2002 she was single, she had no children, and she was excited to begin her research. Her first several years went well and at her mid-term review it was determined that she was making reasonable progress.

Everything shifted for Elizabeth at the start of her fourth year. When one of her colleagues left suddenly Elizabeth was asked to add a class to her already full course

load. During that term she began experiencing symptoms of her condition, which at the time had not yet been diagnosed. Depending on the severity of her symptoms, she struggled to meet proposal deadlines and was unable to travel to conferences and meetings, which was particularly detrimental given the importance in her field of working with collaborators. As she started to grapple with the realities of her illness she found that there was very little structural support available within her department or even at the level of the university for someone in her situation.

Her productivity suffered dramatically at a critical point in her pre-tenure career and, although she understood the expectations, she had not fully made up for the decline by the time she was scheduled to submit her dossier. While her department and college stated their support, the final decision was that she be denied tenure and promotion. Shortly after she received the decision, her department chair spoke with administrators at the college- and university-level and determined that an appeal was appropriate in her situation. As a scholar and member of the university Elizabeth showed incredible potential and administrators determined that she deserved the opportunity to try to recover the loss of productivity she had experiences as a result of her illness.

Even though she was eventually tenured and promoted, Elizabeth still feels what she describes as "residue" from her initially negative experience. Her sentiment is not directed toward her department; rather, she still feels resentment toward those at the university decision-making level. The decision to deny her tenure was ultimately made by administrators who she says, "Don't know me at all," and who did not seem

to be concerned with her as an "embodied" person. As a result of this lingering sense of being undervalued and underappreciated, Elizabeth has often thought about leaving. What keeps her at the university is the individual support she has received from her department chair, her dean, and her immediate colleagues.

When I ask Elizabeth whether anyone talked with her about extending her tenure clock, she says that at the time no one realized how sick she really was, including herself. She always showed up to teach her classes, but then she would immediately go home and sleep. Since it is normal for faculty to engage in activities related to scholarship outside of the walls of the university, and because Elizabeth maintained a minimal presence, none of her colleagues realized the toll her illness was taking until she was denied promotion and tenure. Even if she had been offered leave, she says that it would not have been a viable option because she was single at the time and could not afford to be without an income.

In retrospect, Elizabeth thinks it was the stress of that difficult term that triggered the onset of her illness. Yet, she saw no recognition in the promotion and tenure process for the circumstances of her illness, and ultimately she felt as if she had been "chewed up and spit out." The feeling of betrayal stems in part from the fact that at the time her illness flared she was working hard on behalf of her department and the university. She wonders why the university did not provide enough resources to the department so that her chair would not have been in the position to ask an assistant professor to teach additional courses.

Kelly

Kelly is struggling to access the support she needs from her department, and she has found it difficult to make meaningful connections within the university. She is Caucasian and in her mid-thirties. She is married and has a daughter who just turned three and a son who will be starting first grade in the fall. She initially talks about the demands of raising two children, but she is mostly focused on the fact that she is completing her third year in the Division of Arts and Sciences, but she never received a mid-term review. This is only the most recent in a series of examples of how she has received little guidance about the policies and practices of her department, and of the university.

When Kelly started her position, she was hoping to establish a relationship with a mentor because she knew it would be an effective strategy to find someone who would help her understand the expectations for promotion and tenure. Unfortunately, she does not feel like she has had strong mentorship and, in fact, she now describes her view on such relationships as "jaded." She explains that she has both directly experienced and observed junior faculty begin their positions with a lot of energy, of which their senior colleagues take advantage. Although she does not think it is either a conscious or intentionally malicious decision, she describes that when she started, her colleagues reacted, thinking, "Oh, here's some fresh blood. She can be on this committee and she can get on that committee, and she can do this work." Even when they might have said to one another, "Oh, but we have to protect junior faculty from too much service," they still ultimately decided that there was a long list of ways that

she could, and should, be involved. Thus, she has found that senior faculty and administrators in her department seem uncommitted to helping her protect her time.

Kelly says she observed a distinction between the "ideal selves" and the "real selves" of her senior colleagues. Their "ideal selves" wanted to protect her, a vulnerable junior faculty member, from too much extra service or teaching. At the same time, their "real selves" were faced with work that needed to be completed, and a limited capacity to do so. As a junior faculty member, Kelly is aware of her vulnerability and has often felt insecure about her advancement and admits that it has been very rare for her to say, "no" to something that has been asked of her, which she says means, "If you compare my service record to some other people in my department, it is really not comparable," because she has done considerably more work.

Lacking consistent, trustworthy mentorship has left Kelly feeling cynical and over-burdened, and it has also meant that she has had to navigate policies, procedures, and politics on her own. She explains that often she learns by first "stepping over a line" that she didn't realize existed. Now she simply accepts that there will be times when she will just have to say, "Oh, I'm sorry, I didn't know that line was there. Now I do," and learn from her mistake. Yet, she thinks she would not find herself in this position if she had received a more comprehensive orientation to her department and the university, or really any orientation at all.

When Kelly arrived to campus after relocating her family to a new community she says the people she first met seemed confused, even surprised to see her. When

she inquired about an office, someone replied, "Oh, yeah, an office. We'll, we're doing all this remodeling and we're not going to have one ready for you for a long time." She was finally offered her pick of offices that were each "filled with a bunch of crap," and told that the department could probably find a graduate student to clear everything out. She adds, "I wasn't even on the email list [in the department] for like six months, so I was kind of out of the loop."

After somewhat of a difficult introduction, Kelly says that she found her colleagues to be friendly. Now that she has been at the university for several years, she wonders whether the senior faculty were secretly waiting to confirm that she was not going to leave right away. She explains that the department had not hired a new junior faculty member in quite some time and she thinks they might have been nervous about their ability to retain her. While her colleagues did eventually start to welcome her presence, she still never received a formal orientation. As an example, she says she was given students to advise with little understanding about what that role entailed, or even an explanation of the undergraduate curriculum. She was able to sort out the details, but is still concerned that her senior colleagues do not seem to be certain about what to do to help a junior faculty member navigate the process of promotion and tenure.

As a recent example, Kelly shares that she has not received a formal mid-term review, despite the fact that she will soon be starting her fourth year in her position. The only feedback she has received thus far has been via an annual review, which she describes as consisting of "putting our CV up to that year in a certain format, meeting

with the chair, and the chair sort of says, 'Oh, this looks good, maybe you could improve here.'" Although she has received some feedback about general areas to work on and encouragement to write more papers, it has all been delivered in informal, ten-minute conversations that leave her uncertain about her actual progress.

From her perspective, the mid-term review is an important part of assessing progress and she states, "I think there should be a policy that a third-year review is absolutely mandatory." The fact that there *is* a policy means little for faculty like Kelly who still do not enter an environment what those processes are in place and the leadership know their responsibilities with regard to implementation. Thus, her next point is important because she adds, "If it doesn't happen, it's the leadership who should get punished," but instead she feels as if she is the one who will suffer. Since it was apparent that no one else in her department was going to make sure the mid-term review happened, she asked for someone to take ownership and she even tried to assemble her own review committee. Despite her efforts, the mid-term review never happened and now she is concerned that all of the things people have missed along the way put her as risk because there is only so much she is in the position to do as a junior faculty member.

Kelly has attended several of the university's workshops on promotion and tenure and has been disheartened to realize that so many processes, such as the mid-term review, are left to the responsibility of the department. Yet, in her case, she does not feel anyone in the department has been held accountable, nor have they personally

experienced consequences for not following the policy. Instead, she has had to assume much of the responsibility herself. She explains,

> I mean we're supposed to be the ones there advocating for ourselves, in addition to everything else, which I've done, but I mean there's a point at which like you know, knowing precisely how to advocate for yourself or knowing, spending that much time having to advocate for yourself sort of takes you away from doing what you need to do to begin with, I mean honestly that time is taken away from publishing and scholarship with me just having to track down people to get something done.

At this point, Kelly is incredibly frustrated about expending her time, and her physical and mental energy trying to make happen processes that really should be the responsibility of the leadership.

Ideally, Kelly would also like less ambiguity with regard to the quality and appropriateness of what she has done so far. She would also like more specific guidance about what else she needs to work on, including a specific number of publications to aim for. Instead, she has received more equivocal answers such as, "Well, if you had ten publications, it would be a lot easier." When asked about whether the requirements for promotion and tenure were ever explained to her by her senior colleagues or by her department chair, she simply replies, "Oh, no, no, no." Instead, much of what she has learned about the informal and formal rules for promotion and tenure has come from listening to and observing others. She describes being in conversations and hearing a senior colleague casually talking about others who have come through the department. For example, she has heard comments such as, "Somebody came through and they only had three pubs. Can you believe it?" which has caused her to think, "Ok, well, 'check,' that's too few." She laughs, but it is

strained laughter that makes it clear she is frustrated with the informal, vague nature of her orientation to the expectations of being a junior faculty member at the university.

Ines

At the time of our interview, Ines is starting to work on her dossier to submit the following fall; however, she is struggling in a variety of ways from protecting her time and balancing motherhood, to managing the shifting dynamics of a proposed departmental reorganization. She is in her late-thirties and she reports a Hispanic-American background. She is married, and has a son who is almost two years old.

When Ines started her position in the Division of Arts and Sciences, she was surprised by the informal and independent culture of both the university and the region, particularly compared to the university where she completed a one-year post-doctoral fellowship. She came from an institutional culture where everything was documented and expectations were clearly articulated in writing. In her current college a lot of agreements and expectations are expressed verbally, so she often finds herself feeling uncomfortable asking for written documentation. In fact, the one time she did ask the dean at the time to prepare a memo outlining a particular decision she says she was met with surprise and distrust. This distinction has become particularly relevant for Ines in light of the reorganization under way in the college and the university.

This shift is particularly difficult for Ines because she had formed a strong bond with the person who had been her department chair. She often went to him with questions because she viewed him somewhat as a mentor and, as she adds, "It was

convenient, too, because he was the chair." Ines explains that it provided her a sense of security to hear the expectations and receive explanations directly from her department chair, but now she says, "I do not feel secure at all because someone else is setting the bar." She is concerned that some of the expectations and assurances she had received from her former department chair will no longer apply when her department is reorganized and new, interim leadership is appointed.

In addition to concerns about changing expectations, Ines is worried that her dossier is not where she would like it to be, particularly with regard to her publication record. She explains that much of her time has been consumed by service, leaving little time for conducting research and writing articles. Her service load has been particularly heavy over the past year because of the organizational restructuring, heavier, she adds, than any assistant professor in her department in recent memory. Some of her responsibilities have been assigned to her as a member of a small college with more work to do than people to do it. Ines has also wanted to be involved so that colleagues with whom she had not previously worked as closely would at least know who she was when it came time to consider her for promotion and tenure. The review committee will consist of several people from her previous department, but will also include new members she will not know as well.

Another reason that Ines has such a heavy service load is because of all the time she spends mentoring students of color. As she reflects on her own experience she explains that one reason why she has struggled is because, "I don't think a person who's not a faculty of color knows the kinds of struggles I face without having to

explain myself or, you know, say too much." Her experience is consistent with research that suggests that Latina faculty members may find themselves struggling to learn how to navigate, let alone excel, in an organizational culture that is largely unfamiliar (Medina and Luna 2000). As a result of her own experiences Ines spends a lot of time mentoring students of color and helping them, many of whom are first-generation college students, to succeed in higher education.

In addition to managing her heavy service load, Ines is also concerned that the person identified as the new leader will want her to explain the significant gap in productivity shortly after her mid-term review. She jokes, "Maybe I'll just say, 'Yeah, there is a gap, it emerged from my womb!'" Of course, Ines is referring to the birth of her son nearly two years ago, after which she experienced a decline in her productivity. Over the last two months she says, I have "upped my work and my lack of sleep" trying to increase as much as possible the number of articles that are at least in press. Ines feels as if nothing can give, so she explains, "I am working weekends and holidays, as much as I humanly can to try to accommodate all of the demands that are being placed on me." At the same time, she recognizes that the last five years are over and it is impossible for her to go back in time and do anything differently. Now, she is simply trying to focus on her work and continue to move forward.

Amina

Amina is a solid researcher and productive scholar, but she is struggling to negotiate her department's expectations related to teaching and to obtain the guidance

she needs to be effective. She was born in India, but she moved to the United States to complete her graduate degree Division of Arts and Sciences in 2006. She is in her mid-thirties and married, but does not have children. She wants to have children, but the pressures of being an assistant professor have caused her to feel reluctant about starting a family until she earns promotion and tenure. Amina is also one of only a few women in a department dominated by senior faculty men. While she does not feel comfortable attributing her experiences entirely to sex discrimination, she does wonder whether there are ways in which being an international woman impacts how she is regarded and treated.

The pressures Amina faces in her department primarily stem from the standard expectation to bring in more money and produce more publications, and, while they mean she regularly works long hours each day, they are not her most significant source of stress. Amina's primary concern is the pressure within her department to graduate master's and doctoral students. To be seen as a competitive and desirable program, the department emphasizes the importance of attracting students, getting their research published, and then ensuring they graduate and start successful careers. To her, the emphasis appears to be on the quantity of students moving through the program, not the quality of their education.

Another frustration for Amina has been one of her colleagues who has found it his prerogative to confront her about "not working the students so hard," lest they decide to leave the field altogether. She explains that she covers her standards and expectations with every student at the start of the academic year. She outlines her

expectation that students will produce one publication per year of residence; however, she also acknowledges her need to be realistic with what they can accomplish given the time it takes to conduct research and produce data, as well as the sometimes limited access to necessary equipment. Having shared her expectations and answered any questions, Amina explains that she and her students are then prepared for the year.

Nevertheless, one of her colleagues still confronted her about the standards she had set saying, "At this university, you shouldn't expect so much." She took her colleague's comment to mean that the department does not offer a highly ranked, highly competitive program that would warrant such rigorous standards. He even looked at the grade point averages of several students and questioned Amina about why these otherwise "A students" were not earning higher grades in her class. Another time, she asked the same colleague to proctor an exam for her students while she was traveling for a conference. When he saw the exam, he pushed her to explain the purpose of several questions. She had drawn the questions from an exam given by the senior faculty member who taught the course the previous year, and Amina thinks her colleague never would have questioned him in the same way. She adds, "It was very interesting to me to see how they felt that they could come talk to me about these things when they left all the new male faculty alone."

What was particularly frustrating for Amina was that her colleague had openly shared his perspective with her students, which she worried would lower their respect for her. Her immediate fear is that their attitudes and perceptions may negatively impact the student evaluations of her teaching. Amina is also concerned that

prospective students might not want to work with her and instead clamor to work with a professor whose reputation is to give easy degrees to his students. This concern is furthered by a trend she has observed among students who bring less enthusiasm and ambition to their work, instead preferring to perform no higher than the level of minimally passing. Yet, Amina is not interested in promoting what she believes to be mediocrity. She explains, "I think a Ph.D. has meaning and it's not 'rubber-stamping.' There is an expectation that students contribute something original to the body of knowledge that exists today, and that an expectation that is fair to have of a Ph.D. student."

Anna

Anna's is an important case study because she is an example of someone who has unsuccessfully negotiated the demands of a tenure-track position. In her case, there is not one clear catalyst; rather, there are several individual and organizational factors that precipitate her failed attempt to earn promotion and tenure. Anna is Caucasian and in her late-twenties. She is also single and does not have children because she has spent the last six years primarily focused on her promotion and tenure process. Unfortunately, when we spoke, Anna had just learned that her dossier had been denied at the college level. While there are a number of factors that brought her to this point, she believes the most significant is the fact that she is an Extension agent in a county nearly 200 miles from where the university is located. This geographical distance from the main campus has made it difficult for her to develop relationships

and fully understand the expectations of the university. After Anna received the news, her staff chair shared that he has seen other Extension faculty denied for promotion and tenure and he feels strongly that it is challenging to be on the tenure-track in their organization.

While Anna was able to make connections in her local community and even formed some personal and professional relationships with her colleagues on the main campus she explains, "Main campus looms very large on the horizon all the time and we're just a little blip." She becomes tearful trying to talk about how she has often felt as if she was forgotten out in her county, not because of any personal motivations on the part of her colleagues, but simply because of proximity. Anna continues to cry as she talks about how exhausting it has been for her to constantly be saying to her colleagues, "You forgot us, *again*!" and even though she has come to expect it, she still finds herself tired from the effort.

After completing her master's degree Anna was excited to begin working as a county Extension agent and pleased that she had been able to find a tenure-track position. Being in Extension had not been a specific goal, as it was for some of her colleagues, particularly those who grew up with close connections to programs such as 4-H; rather, it just happened to be where a position for which she was well-suited was available. Initially, she was eager about the possibilities to directly apply her interests in a local community, and to even engage volunteers in helping with research. Unfortunately, Anna soon realized that satisfying her Extension responsibilities

required a lot of time-consuming administrative work that quickly detracted from her ability to further her research agenda in a way she would have liked.

These demands were heightened by the fact that Anna's position was initially created to relieve some of the pressure of another Extension faculty member who needed to have time to focus more on producing scholarship for her own promotion and tenure process. As a result, Anna ended up being the "front lines person" with many of the responsibilities for directly interacting with community members. This ultimately caused a strain on the relationship between the two women as Anna started to make more connections, of which the other faculty member became jealous. In retrospect, Anna sees that they were both negatively impacted and what she had hoped would develop into a mentor relationship never did. Without this relationship, Anna received little guidance in understanding and negotiating the expectations for promotion and tenure.

With regard to both the administrative duties and the geographic distance from the main campus she explains, "I had no idea what I was getting in to," and admits she might not have accepted the position if she had known more. She also had not realized how frequently she would be in the position to defend her work, both to community stakeholders and to other members of the university, even people in her own department. She explains that the non-Extension colleagues in her department seemed to view her work with skepticism, as if it were not truly academic. For example, instead of traditional undergraduate students her learners were often adults, and many of her articles were written and published in journals for non-academic audiences. At

the same time, Extension offices throughout the state were facing severe budget cuts, which meant that Anna was also regularly in the position to justify the ongoing need for Extension agents. She attributes some of this sentiment to the growing amount of information that is available online, where disseminating new knowledge from university researchers had previously been the work of Extension agents. Although Anna believed in the importance of her role, she started to feel obsolete, and not entirely understood by either her campus colleagues or her community stakeholders. In the end, she says, "I really felt hung out to dry."

Charlotte

Charlotte is struggling to protect her time in the face of a variety of organizational and individual demands. She is Caucasian, in her early-forties, and she and her husband recently had their first child. She is in her sixth year as an assistant professor in the Division of Health Sciences where she has significant administrative responsibilities and limited time to fulfill the most important expectations for promotion and tenure. She was hired to lead a program after the previous person, who was an associate professor, left the university. When she arrived, the program had been neglected for some time and required a lot of attention. The expectation was that the program needed to be functional immediately, so Charlotte says, "It was like literally eighty-hour weeks for six months, and then people being very critical saying, 'You're not working fast enough. You're not working hard enough.'"

Unsurprisingly, Charlotte recalls there being little time to work on her own research. She also remembers numerous occasions when she just wanted to quit. In retrospect, Charlotte wonders whether her department had any awareness of the consequences of asking an assistant professor to assume significant administrative duties. She explains that, under normal circumstances, "Just being an assistant professor is tough enough" with the responsibility to bring in research money, advise students, develop courses, and publish research. Yet, she thinks the college made the decision to hire her because they were struggling to balance their budget and knew they would not have to pay her has much as the previous person. In Charlotte's case, the logic of the market appears to have been more influential than any commitment to support her success.

Charlotte's frustration is apparent as she says, "I don't think if someone had a really good idea of what this is like, they would ever let, who in their right mind, I mean, I don't know, would like let a new assistant professor be the lead of a whole program. That's just not right." Charlotte recognizes the strategies she needs to employee, and she explains how important it is for new assistant professors to be in a creative, energizing space where they have time to find their way without being overloaded with administrative duties. Yet, she describes all of the time she has spent on "tedious administrative paperwork" as "the antithesis to creativity."

At the same time Charlotte was working to manage a program and navigate promotion and tenure, she also realized that her opportunity to start a family was rapidly diminishing. She and her husband both really wanted to have a child and so

they made the decision to do so, despite the fact that she still had almost two years before she needed to submit her dossier. Currently, she explains, "I am a little bit in crisis mode." When her daughter was born, Charlotte's productivity with regard to scholarship suffered even more than it had been previously due to her administrative responsibilities. Since she has less than a year before she submits her dossier she says, "I am not going to get promotion and tenure unless something really drastic happens really quickly."

Charlotte is also concerned because at the time she was hired she says, "[The administrators] gave me their word that I would get special consideration for revitalizing the program, but now it doesn't seem like that even counts." Although she never had a formal mid-term review, Charlotte says that she has recently been told that she has not brought in a sufficient amount of grants, nor produced enough research. She starts to become tearful as she says, "I'm at the point where I'm tired. I've worked my ass off for this place. I've worked sixty, eighty hours a week." She feels strongly that she is good at what she does, but now she is receiving the message that she might not be tenured and promoted because she lacks the research record. "Well," she says, "what about all of the other work I've done to build this program? Doesn't really count, I guess."

Since her daughter was born she has tried to spend as much time with her as possible; however, she still faces immense pressure to publish and to get grants, which means that after she goes to bed Charlotte stays up working. In fact, she shares that after her daughter was born, one of the administrators in her college made the

arrangement of doing her work late at night sound so simple, but she remembers thinking, "Well, how much do I have to sacrifice?" Charlotte's focus now includes her family, which means that her time management has changed considerably. She also finds that she is exhausted all the time and says, "It's *really* hard. I mean, people tell you how having a baby will affect you, but you don't *really* know until you go through it." She explains her daughter is "not a great sleeper" and so to get even a few more minutes of the sleep she craves Charlotte finds herself either sleeping in her daughter's room, or bringing her to bed with her and her husband. There is a hint of guilt in her voice, but mostly just exhaustion when she says, "I don't feel like I have the resilience to do any sleep training, it just feels like we're just trying to survive." She goes on to say, "Having a family is a full-time job and if you've got a full-time job on top of that it's just overwhelming."

Although she is worried about not having enough publications, Charlotte also says she does not want to devote all of her time and energy to the pursuit of promotion and tenure. At the time we spoke she seemed resigned to her situation saying, "I might not get tenure, and that was my choice. My choice was to have a family and I don't, I'm not going to regret that. If I don't get tenure, I'm still not going to regret the decision." She concludes, "At some point you just have to do the best you can and then wait and see."

Katy

Katy did not initially aspire to become an academic and she is aware that she still has options in her area of expertise outside of higher education. She has also employed a number of successful strategies, such as protecting her time and learning how to negotiate the politics of the university. She describes herself as Asian-American, and she is in her early-forties, married, and has one child. She recently earned promotion and tenure in the Division of Earth System Sciences, but she has not followed a linear academic trajectory. After completing her Master's degree she spent several years working with a private corporation, but she ultimately decided that she could have more of an impact completing her doctorate and conducting applied research at a university.

Katy says that she came out of her doctoral program with a clear sense of what she was passionate about and an understanding of the strategies she would need to successfully "play the game" of higher education. She had already worked in industry where the research agenda was set by others and driven by money, so when she started her position at the university she had a strong drive to pursue her own interests and a lot more focus than many of her peers who started at the same time. Katy also says that she is a "systematic thinker" who likes to focus on the "big picture." Throughout her pre-tenure experience she says that she was constantly focused on whether the tasks she was performing on a daily basis fit into her larger goals and, "If something didn't feel right, big picture-wise," she explains, "I was really likely not to do it."

In reflecting on her experience as an assistant professor, Katy also describes herself as "very pragmatic," recognizing that in many ways the academic environment is inefficient compared to her industry experience. She even describes the hierarchy as "kind of strange" and the decision making as "convoluted," joking that "You might have five committee meetings before you can even name the committee." She relied on this perspective to navigate throughout a process she describes as highly social and very subjective.

Yet, in approaching her pursuit of promotion and tenure with such singular focus, Katy explains that neither her identity as Asian-American nor as a woman were particularly prominent. While these are important components of her who she is, Katy was also aware of the demands to engage in teaching, service, and mentorship that women faculty and faculty of color often face. Throughout her graduate career and in her early years on the tenure-track she explains what she saw happen to other women of color by saying, "I think people throw themselves under the bus with service, like women especially, and women of color especially."

Katy reached her goal of becoming a tenured associate professor, but she also describes feeling "a little bit of guilt" saying, "I don't feel like a true woman of color on campus." When I ask why, she explains, "Because I did not overcommit myself in terms of service, you know?" She describes an encounter she had during her first year at the university with another new faculty member who strongly identified with her Asian-American identity and was very politically active. She and Katy clashed on a number of occasions because the other faculty member saw Katy's absence in every

event as a lack of loyalty and commitment. Katy shares that at one point the other faculty member told her, "You're betraying our people because you're not being an example."

Yet, Katy is very interested in making a difference and pursued academia for the possibility of producing applied research, but she opted for a different approach. She explains she wanted to earn her doctorate and be a part of the institution so that she could bring about permanent change. She adds, "I'm not interested in temporary change, I'm interested in permanent, institutionalized change." She says that she understood that if she was not successful in her own promotion and tenure and in her own career path she was never going to be able to make a difference for others. She says, "I think many of us who find ourselves in the minority, and double minority for that matter, have such idealistic hope to make a difference, to change, and it's very, very difficult for us not to have that always be our priority."

With this in mind Katy says, "You've got to pick your battles and keep them to a minimum." She realized that she would be unable to accomplish her goals if she failed to earn tenure and promotion, so she focused on the sequence of what she saw needed to happen. First, she needed to be tenured and promoted and, now that she an associate professor, she is in a position to give more time and energy; however, she explains that she is still focused on the next step of being promoted to full professor. She sees each goal that she accomplishes as a way to free herself to give more and to effect more permanent and significant change on a larger scale adding, "I think if we can understand that, and see that path clearly from the beginning it's more about

understanding the natural progression that will actually get you to a point where you can really effect change on a larger scale."

Patricia

Patricia's case study provides insight about the extent to which one's experience of promotion and tenure may vary based on the norms, policies, and structures of a particular institution. She has experience as an assistant professor at two universities, which provides her the opportunity to reflect on what she learned previously and enact that understanding to be effective in her current position. Because of the considerable amount of time she has spent on the tenure-track, she now jokingly describes herself as, "The world's oldest living assistant professor." Patricia is Caucasian, married, and has a daughter in middle school. She is only in her late forties, but she is at least a decade older than her junior faculty peers, and she is ready to move on to the next phase of her academic career. She shares that she recently realized her daughter had been talking about "ten year" because she thought that "tenure" meant one had been working for ten years. Although Patricia laughs, it is clear that she is tired of being an assistant professor.

Patricia initially followed a fairly standard academic path, moving directly from her undergraduate to graduate degrees, and then immediately into a tenure-track position, but this is her second academic position. She spent five years as an assistant professor at another university, and she decided to leave when it became clear that she would not be successfully tenured and promoted. Patricia began looking for new

positions shortly after a challenging mid-term review, and eventually landed her current position at the university, where she is now in her fourth year.

Having been on the tenure-track twice, at two very different institutions, Patricia has insight into various approaches to promotion and tenure. She describes the process at her previous institution as "opaque," and not something in which junior faculty were provided the opportunity to participate. During her time there she saw other colleagues in her department who were denied tenure and promotion, but she never knew more about the reasons why than what she heard through the "rumor mill." For that reason, Patricia often wondered about her own standing relative to her unsuccessful peers. What did seem clear was that the fate of junior faculty seemed to rest largely on the quality of their interpersonal relationships and the number of their connections to influential decision-makers within the department and the university.

Based on this reference point, Patricia describes the process in which she now finds herself as "transparent," and she adds that she and other assistant professors are invited to take part in the promotion and tenure processes, at least at the department level. Although the junior faculty are not able to vote on promotion and tenure decisions, she has been provided the opportunity to view the dossiers that are being considered. While this information is helpful, what remains unclear is the exact length of her tenure clock. During the original conversation she had with her chair at the time of the hire he said, "Yes, you should certainly get some credit for time served," but now Patricia says the message has changed. She explains that the new chair of her department has been reluctant to set a specific timeline saying "The university doesn't

like to see people go up early." Patricia feels as if she is being made to follow the same tenure clock as her peers who started at the university directly out of graduate school, although she has a decade's worth of experience. She laughs as she asks, "How is that early?" She continues to laugh as she talks about whether or not she will get any credit toward "time served," joking, "Time served? Sometimes that's what it feels like!"

While Patricia understands that the university rarely grants tenure at the point of hire, she explains "They didn't hire me as an empty slate." She has asked a variety of people about the applicability of her previous publication record, but was recently told that only scholarship conducted since she has been with the university will be considered. Patricia panicked and tried to seek clarity from higher up in the university's hierarchy. She was eventually told that she would be able to include "umbrella statements" about her previous grants and publications that provide an overview of her career, rather than listing everything individually. Thus, while her experience is that the process has been largely transparent, Patricia does see the lack of consistent information between various levels in the organization. She explains, "There are the explicit guidelines on the website that anyone can read, but then it is very much up to individual departments to define what that means for them."

Conclusion

In summary, it is important to reiterate that each case study is a composite constructed in such a way as to highlight particular themes. The themes are both about

the individual factors that impact how women experience academic organizations and how organizations and the ways they are structured impact the experiences of academic women. There are individual and interpersonal strategies that some individuals successfully enact and others struggle to effectuate. For example, some individuals find ways to protect their time while others encounter institutional and individual barriers to doing so effectively. Additionally, some academic women may recognize the importance of informal relationships and professional networks, but may be limited by factors such as geographical distance and departmental dynamics. In some instances, elements of personal identity such as race, marital status, and family status also inform the experiences of participants.

The case studies also feature themes about the structures, policies, and logics of the organization and their impact on the individuals within it. For example, there are ways in which the university ineffectively addresses the embodied realities of academic women, which makes experiences such as starting families or facing chronic illnesses challenging. There are also examples of inadequate connections between setting expectations and providing the necessary support to realize them. The case studies bring together the findings of Chapter Three with those presented in Chapter Four to demonstrate the various ways in which academic women and academic organizations are mutually constituted. I continue this discussion in the next chapter where I also offer a way to examine the experiences of academic women that moves beyond "woman" as the sole category of analysis by considering both the accumulation of capital and the ordering of the university.

<u>Chapter Six: Discussion of Findings</u>

The narratives of the participants interviewed for this research show the various ways women respond and adapt to the policies and practices of academic organizations. This is further evidenced in the previous chapter by featuring case studies constructed around key themes that emerge both for academic women and academic organizations. There is reflexivity between the actions of individuals, which create organizational-level outcomes, and the order and logic of organizations, which influence individual actions. Within this dynamic relationship, academic women are both subjects formed in relation to power and agents able to exercise power in a multitude of often unexpected ways.

Although Chapters Three and Four address academic organizations and academic women separately, the case studies presented in Chapter Five provide insight into some of the ways in which all of the themes can more accurately be viewed as the result of complex interactions between structures and agents. One benefit of the composites is the ability to explore how these complexities are experienced by academic women, while still protecting the identities of individual participants. As Ortner describes, "social agents…are always involved in, and can never act outside of, the multiplicity of social relations in which they are enmeshed" (2006:130). At the same time, organizations are constituted by the actions of individuals embedded within them. Thus, the outcomes, experiences, plans, and

processes evidenced by this research are best understood via a combined consideration of individual agents and institutional structures.

I will begin this chapter with my findings regarding the notion of "academic women" as a useful analytical category. This question emerges upon reflection over the last half-century of efforts to understand the experiences of women in the academy. The fact that it has been possible to add a third work to the series started by Bernard and continued by Simeone suggests that something about the topic remains meaningful in the twenty-first century, although not necessarily in the same way it has over the past fifty years. Through development of a metaphor of navigation I will make new contributions to the conversation by offering a more nuanced framework for understanding the range of experiences contained within the category "academic women." To do so, I will combine a consideration of the individual strategies and resources of academic women with an exploration of the academy through the lens of organizational justice to understand the various ways women negotiate academic organizations. Lastly in this chapter I will articulate the significance of this research and its contributions to furthering the discussion about academic women.

"Her Infinite Variety" and the Persistence of Academic "Women"

In *Academic Women*, Bernard devotes an entire chapter to some of the differences she has observed among academic women. She states, "The population of academic women is itself no more homogeneous than is the total population" (Bernard 1964:96). Yet, her focus begins with the differences between academic men and

academic women, and the result is that she only alludes to some of the ways in which academic women vary among themselves. For example, she details the differences in the class backgrounds of academic women and men, but only suggests that among academic women there must also be differences. Instead, the "infinite variety" that becomes the focus of her chapter includes the differences between nonacademic and academic women and the divide between those in colleges versus those in universities. The distinctions are not insignificant, but they do nothing to question whether the category of "woman" itself is one that should persist.

When Simeone continues the inquiry into the status and experiences of academic women twenty-five years later even a basic attention to heterogeneity seems lost. Instead, her work primarily attends to the shared experiences among academic women. Further, both she and Bernard assert that, whether an academic woman is a department chair or a professor, her professional status is not the primary determinant of how she will be seen by others; rather, the most salient identity informing the perceptions of others will be her sex. Rooted in similar conclusions, early feminist efforts across the United States urged women to work together to overcome their shared oppression *as women*; however, the emphasis on sex and gender as the common reference points for solidarity has proven to have limitations.

The limits to the use of "woman" as a universal category representing common objectives and experiences are evidenced by the ethnographic accounts of academic women presented in the previous chapters. This is consistent with the observation that, "Clearly, neither Western feminist discourse nor Western feminist political practice is

singular or homogeneous in its goals, interests, or analyses" (Mohanty 2003:17). In this way, my findings about academic women align with broader feminist research and scholarship. Although all of the participants self-identify as women, they do not all share one standard personal or professional experience. One reason is that while gender identity and socialization inform the lives of women they do so in conjunction with a range of other characteristics from race and age to parental status. The way in which these various components of identity come together is often described as "intersectionality." While this concept is useful in troubling the primacy of gender, simply replacing an emphasis on one aspect of identity with an emphasis on intersecting aspects of identity risks perpetuating an essentialist perspective, albeit a more refined version.

For this reason, there is difficulty in translating the value of this theoretical concept to the creation of applied categories of analysis. Accounting for the ways in which gender intersects with components such as race, class, and sexual orientation is important, but this approach does not fully explain the complex forces that impact the lives of individuals. Further, it is important to recognize that the presence of identity-based commonalities among groups of academic women does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that sharing one identity or a set of intersecting identities will lead to a uniform experience with navigating the academic organization. For example, the experiences of Latina professors from working class backgrounds are very likely informed by intersections between race and ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status, but this understanding does not lead to the creation of conceptual categories

broad enough to making meaning of all of the factors that inform the navigation of the academy. In addition to being imprecise, there is the risk that such an approach is potentially harmful as it obscures the opportunity to recognize other factors that inform experiences of both success and struggle.

Indeed, there are a variety of reasons why some women successfully navigate academia while others might be described as having "run aground." Among those who succeed are women with children, women of color, and women in the STEM disciplines, which are each factors thought to intersect with gender in ways that put academic women at risk for failure. At the same time, academic women who possess these components of personal identity are, in fact, also represented among those who struggle. Without discounting the realities of identity-based experiences, this evidence necessitates seeking alternate explanations for the varied ways in which women navigate academic organizations.

One goal has been to consider the status, experiences, and needs of twenty-first century academic women in a more nuanced way in order to align conversations about women in academia with shifts in theoretical perspectives about sex and gender. A goal has also been to gain an understanding of the twenty-first century academic organization in order to suggest opportunities for changes that might benefit more than academic women. At the same time, it has been useful to employ "woman" as the framework for analysis in a way that is similar to how the category was used by Bernard and Simeone. Doing so has provided the opportunity to situate this study in the context of five decades of research about the status of women in academia. The

research presented here is neither comprehensive nor definitive, but it does continue an important conversation by drawing on previous research while also offering a new direction for future studies.

As evidenced in the previous three chapters, there are common themes both between the works of Bernard, Simeone, and my own, and between some academic women. Yet, the distinction between the findings here and those detailed by many who write about the experiences of academic women is that the discussion is not intended to reveal that which needs to be done for all women. In fact, it is difficult to identify ways academic organizations are failing, or even simply lagging in their efforts for *all* academic women. Instead, the focus here shifts to that which can be seen by bringing a more nuanced, critical perspective to understanding the experiences of women in academic organizations.

Individual Considerations and Structural Forces

If gender alone does not provide enough information to understand the experiences of academic women it becomes necessary to employ an alternate framework. The data presented in Chapters Three and Four suggest that there is a wide array of individual and structural factors that interact to inform the experiences of academic women as they negotiate academic organizations. As with sailing a ship, there are strategies employed by the sailor and critical decisions that she makes during her journey. At the same time, there are external forces that impact the conditions for sailing. Sometimes the circumstances are navigable while at other times even well-

equipped sailors run aground. In this section I will review the primary individual considerations and structural factors that interact to inform the experiences of academic women, and in the section that follows I will offer a metaphor for understanding the various ways in which they navigate academic organizations.

The Acquisition of Capital

Some academic women step into the role well-prepared and others acquire strategies over time, but there are also individuals who struggle to develop the knowledge and resources needed to successfully navigate academic organizations. Through the lens of intersectionality, it becomes apparent that there are ways in which experiences related to gender intersect with other components such as race, class, and sexual orientation. While identity-based characteristics may inform the experiences of academic women to some extent, the results of this study suggest that they are neither the only predictor, nor do they fully account for the complex forces that inform the lives of individuals. Thus, it is necessary to consider other factors that impact the extent to which academic women are able to negotiate the structures and procedures of the organization.

With this in mind, I want to return to the concept of capital and the impact that various forms have on the ability of academic women to navigate the academic landscape. By drawing on an understanding of the ways in which capital is acquired and enacted it becomes possible to expand on the basic concept of intersectionality to achieve a more robust understanding of the factors that interact to impact the

experiences of academic women. In addition, integrating the concept of capital into the analysis highlights the ways in which academic women act as agents who engage in individual and interpersonal strategies as they negotiate higher education. The first form is social capital, which encompasses the range of networks and connections that can positively influence the potential for academic women to succeed within the university. These relationships may be formal or informal, and they may be within or outside of the institution, but at a basic level they prevent personal and professional isolation during the most formative years of a junior faculty member's career.

The next form is economic capital, which may be conceptualized slightly differently in academia than in other contexts. The data gathered as part of this study provide no evidence to suggest that the accumulation of material possessions impacts the extent to which women navigate academia successfully. What is important, however, is a basic sense of financial security both for individuals and their families. Although it is not a material possession, another valuable resource is that of time, which includes a figurative space in which to be productive. Economic capital in a professional context is also important. While it is more directly a function of the department in which one is situated, access to resources for travel and research are important forms of economic capital that contribute to success.

The accumulation of cultural capital is also important to the successful navigation of academic organizations. One way in which this is evident is in the value of what Bourdieu (1986) describes as the *embodied* form, which includes the knowledge, skills, and competencies necessary to understand and negotiate the

relationships, structures, and procedures of the university. Also critically important is cultural capital in its objectified form, where the materials in question are the products of one's scholarly activities, primarily publications and grants. To some extent, cultural capital in its institutionalized form is also valuable, although the acquisition of degrees, for example, may be more beneficial in helping academic women gain access to the institution than in ensuring their successful advancement.

Lastly, symbolic capital is also an important factor in determining whether academic women successfully negotiate the structures and procedures of the organization. Its value is particularly important as an implicit part of the promotion and tenure decision where individuals are evaluated, at least in part, on the extent to which they are seen as having acquired the necessary forms of capital to advance within the organization.

Before moving to a discussion of the structure of organizations, it is important to clarify my own concept of capital as it applies to higher education. In this context, I see that which is considered to be "capital," where capital is a positive resource, as largely defined and perpetuated by the organization via the individuals within it. That is, the forms of capital considered to be beneficial in navigating academic organizations exist within, not outside of the particular context. I mention the forms of capital here as a way to understand the resources that individuals appear to need to be successful within academic organizations as they exist currently, but do not intend their use to imply that they are representational of how the academy ought to be organized. As a way to bridge the conversation between the university as it exists

presently and its potential to become more just, equitable, and inclusive, I will now

consider elements of an organization that is structured to support the success of

individuals within it.

The Structure of Organizations

A discussion of capital alone is not sufficient for developing an understanding

of the various ways in which women navigate academic organizations. Instead, the

data presented in the previous chapters suggest that the experiences of academic

women emerge from complex interactions between individual and structural forces.

There are even examples in which academic women well-equipped with various forms

of capital struggle to successfully navigate academic organizations. Thus, it is also

necessary to revisit the ways in which the academy itself is organized.

There are a number of ways to make sense of the organization of the academy

and its impact on the experiences of women who must negotiate its structures and

procedures. One that I find most compelling is an assessment of the extent to which an

organization is ordered around the principles of justice. In general, justice in

organizational settings focuses on the fairness of outcomes, the fairness of procedures,

and the fairness of treatment (Colquitt et al. 2001; Greenberg 2009). For the purposes

of making sense of the findings of this study, I will use these expressions of justice as

guidelines to offer insight into how the university is structured to support the success

of academic women.

The first considerations are the clarity of policies and procedures, and the manner in which they are communicated. With their introduction of the notion of "interactional justice," Bies and Moag (1986) made clear the importance of the polite and respectful treatment of individuals within organizations. In particular, the manner in which expectations and procedures are communicated impacts the extent to which individuals feel that they have been treated fairly. In the context of academic organizations this also includes whether individuals feel as though they have received clear explanations about the requirements and processes related to promotion and tenure. The importance of what Greenberg terms (2009) "informational justice" might also be extended to the need to provide people with a clear and thorough understanding of their rights and resources as employees within the organization.

The distribution of resources within the organization is also important. In fact, one of the earliest ideas of the study of justice in organizations is Adams' (1965) concept of "distributive justice." Within academic organizations this can be seen in the distribution of office and lab space, in the distribution of money for research and travel, and even in the distribution of human resources such as access to peers, mentors, or graduate students. This component of justice is also closely aligned with access to training and support. While the university can reasonably expect that junior faculty will bring with them disciplinary knowledge and expertise, this is different from possessing the skills to be an effective faculty member. Thus, it is important that the university ensure all faculty have equal access to the experiences and opportunities that promote success (Perna 2001a).

These are some of the primary components of organizational justice, which I will further refine in the next section through the use of specific examples. Taken together, the principles of distributive, procedural, and interactional justice provide insight into components of an organization that make for fair and reasonable working conditions, as well as a structure in which academic women can succeed. I will combine these elements of a just organization with the various forms of capital in order to propose a new way of thinking about the ways in which the structural forces of academic organizations and the individual resources of academic women combine to impact the experience of navigating the university.

Navigating Academia

As evidenced by the ethnographic data presented in the previous chapters, a nuanced and thorough understanding of the experiences of academic women is difficult to achieve through the use of a single, overarching category. While this is somewhat difficult to fully realize in Chapters Three and Four where only a partial depiction of participants is offered, the complexities of their experiences become more evident by examining thematic case studies. It is in Chapter Five that some of the varied experiences of academic women become apparent via a consideration of how various individual and structural forces interact to inform their personal and professional lives. To understand these diverse experiences, and to develop a more accurate sense of how women are faring, it is necessary to construct a framework that accounts for the various factors that inform their ability to navigate academic

organizations. In this section, I introduce a metaphor that endeavors to emphasize both the individual strategies and the structural forces that interact to shape the experiences of academic women.

Bourdieu's (1977) concept of "capital" highlights the ways in which the everyday practices of academic women lead to the development of certain dispositions that position them along a continuum of success. Concurrently, the principles at the core of organizational justice suggest that the organization of the academy, including the allocation of resources and the formation of procedures also defines the landscape academic women must negotiate. My aim in aligning the two is to move beyond a uniform application of gender, and even beyond an analysis that attends to the intersection of gender with other features such as race, class, and sexual orientation. While these considerations are important, a more robust analytical approach is necessary to provide a sufficiently nuanced understanding of the broad range of individual and structural factors that shape one's experience navigating academic organizations.

The metaphor of navigation provides an opportunity to observe that some academic women are "making way" while others are "lying ahull." Yet, the categories presented below are not intended to be all-encompassing, nor are they designed to be static; rather, they reflect observations about a group of academic women at a particular point in time. The categories are also not entirely discrete. They provide a framework, but there are also ways in which the categories overlap because they are

each formed via complex interactions between shifting individual and structural forces.

The categories ultimately reflect my educated interpretation of the data. Although I did not explicitly ask participants to categorize their approach to navigating the university, assignment to a particular category reflects my assessment of what participants shared. Thus, it must be recognized that participants undoubtedly filtered what they disclosed to me and, at the same time, I made sense of the information by way of my own methodological and epistemological perspectives. Nevertheless, the categories outlined below are part of a metaphorical framework that can be used as a means to begin a more nuanced exploration of the experiences of academic women navigating academic organizations.

Making Way

In navigation, "making way" describes a vessel that is moving under its own power (MacEwen and Lewis 1953). Here it is used to describe academic women who possess an effective combination of various forms of capital and who benefit from supportive structures, or at least avoid significant structural barriers. In the previous chapter, Lauren's case study highlights an example of someone who is "making way." She strengthens her social capital as she forms strong relationships with her peers and develops a connection with a mentor, who also helps her acquire the knowledge she needs to navigate the organization.

Similarly, Miriam had an advisor in graduate school who was instrumental in helping to imbue her with the knowledge and skills she would need to be successful. She explains, "He was very supportive and prepared us to get the jobs that we would end up getting." Given this knowledge of the politics of academic organizations, Miriam was able to start her first tenure-track position well-equipped to succeed.

Often, the academic women in this category may not recognize the extent to which they have successfully accumulated the necessary resources to "play the game," as Bourdieu (1986) describes, of academia. One participant was able to reflect on how conscious she is about her own understanding of the culture of the academy, but likened the experience of many people to the idea that "Fish don't know they're in water." That is, individuals with dispositions toward academia do not always recognize that they so successfully embody the norms of their social location. Nevertheless, the formation of strong social networks and the development of the knowledge necessary to navigate the organization are critical to their success.

While the acquisition of various forms of capital is important, the structure in which one is embedded also impacts whether an individual is identified as "making way." For example, Amelia entered her tenure-track position with a solid reputation in her field, but she was also pregnant with her first child. While this might have negatively impacted her ability to navigate the pre-tenure experience, she was fortunate to be in a department that promoted reasonable working conditions and that had practices in place to help her manage her time. Christie also benefits from being in a supportive department that she experiences as being invested in her success,

particularly because they strive to ensure that the departmental and university policies and expectations are communicated clearly.

None of the academic women in this category are in departments that are perfectly organized around the principles of justice. Further, not all of the women in this category are from academic families, or even from middle-class families. There are women of color in this category and there are also women who had their first child before they were tenured and promoted. What they all have in common is that they acquired the necessary social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital, and they encountered structures with supportive elements; the combined outcome is that the women in this category are "making way" in the university.

Between Wind and Water

When a vessel is at sea, there are times when the hull is submerged and other times when it is brought above water; progress on the course is steady, but the ride is occasionally tumultuous (MacEwen and Lewis 1953). A number of participants are generally moving in the right direction, but for various reasons they do not always experience "smooth sailing." For some women the barriers are structural; they possess considerable human capital but something about the organization does not work. For others, supportive structures are in place, but insufficient human capital makes it difficult to proceed.

As case study examples, Elizabeth, Amina, and Patricia find themselves "between wind and water," each for different reasons. Elizabeth had acquired many of

the important elements of capital needed to successfully navigate the university, but she began to struggle after she was diagnosed with an illness during her fourth year. In her case, the organizational structure was problematic for two reasons. First, Elizabeth was overburdened with a heavy teaching load, and in retrospect she believes the stress exacerbated her illness. Secondly, no one intervened on behalf of the university to notify her about the policies for taking leave, or even her right to possibly access resources such as a reasonable accommodation under the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The particular challenge faced by Amina has been acquiring the cultural capital necessary to successfully navigate systems of higher education in the United States. She demonstrates considerable knowledge in her area of expertise, but she struggles to navigate the norms of her department, particularly with regard to setting expectations for her students. Conversely, Patricia is well-versed in the culture of academia, having been on the tenure-track at two different institutions, but she is "between wind and water" because she is struggling to make sense of what she perceives to be unclear policies and procedures.

Some who fall into this category possess considerable academic potential. For example, Maria graduated from one of the top programs in her field and was offered a prestigious postdoctoral position, but she opted instead to accept a tenure-track position at the university because she decided it was the better option for her family. Despite her acumen as a scholar she has struggled, at least in part, due to the lack of clear guidance from any of the administrators in her college. Maria is the type of

person that one administrator says, "My heart breaks for" because, as the administrator goes on to explain, "It's not like they intentionally chose to not do what was required. It's just that they were not guided, they were not given information, they were not given the broad picture of all this all works."

Other academic women who find themselves "between wind and water" enter tenure-track positions without sufficient cultural capital to adequately "play the game" of academia. One participant explains that she enrolled in her local university because that was the expected next step after high school, but at the time she had no idea what a bachelor's degree was, let alone that graduate degrees even existed. Her parents valued education, but they did not understand enough to imbue her with the knowledge to navigate the institution on her own. Although she describes herself as "academically inclined," she was "just bumbling along" until one of her friends helped her acquire the skills she needed to successfully negotiate the organizational politics.

The academic women who find themselves "between wind and water" often manage to still earn promotion and tenure, but they are likely to describe the process as arduous and cumbersome. Many of the participants in this category wondered whether something was wrong with them, or with their situation; given the complex interactions between individual factors and structural forces, either or both might be accurate. That is, some academic women manage to ultimately successfully navigate the academic organization, but their process is hindered by gaps in the accumulation of capital, deficiencies in organizational justice, or some combination of the two.

Embayed

As with the previous category, academic women who are "embayed" are generally moving in the right direction to successfully earn promotion and tenure. What distinguishes women in this category from those described as "between wind and water" is that they are endeavoring to negotiate a specific experience. In sailing, a vessel may be described as "embayed" when it is enclosed between two capes (MacEwen and Lewis 1953). Here, the "two capes" are academia and motherhood.

Not all academic women who are also mothers find themselves "embayed." There are women who have their first child pre-tenure and are still "making way," and there are other women who do not have children, but who are struggling. Thus, it is important to recognize that one of the reasons why academic mothers find themselves in this category is because they encounter barriers specifically related to their family status. In some instances, academic women find it challenging to acquire and maintain the necessary economic capital to support their families and pursue promotion and tenure. For other academic women the struggle is negotiating structural barriers, such as departmental practices or university policies.

In the previous chapter, Charlotte's experience exemplifies the challenge some academic women may face as their biological clock coincides with the tenure-clock. Once she turned forty, Charlotte realized the window in which it would be physiologically feasible for her to start a family was closing. Although she is still an assistant professor, she made the decision to have a child and has since been struggling to recover from a significant decline in her productivity. In Shannon's case she has

decided not to have children, at least not while she is still an assistant professor, specifically because she is worried about becoming "embayed" and losing the momentum of her career.

The blend of experiences that define the case studies of Charlotte and Shannon are similar to the actual experiences of Nicole. Nicole had her first child before she earned promotion and tenure, and now she is concerned that she might not be successful. Although she started her position well-equipped with the knowledge and experience necessary to navigate academia, her capital, both in terms of time and scholarship, has diminished since her son was born.

While the university has no ability to intervene with regard to the biological clocks of academic women, it is does have the responsibility to design and implement just organizational policies and practices. Unfortunately, Lisa became frustrated with the bureaucratic barriers she encountered at the university level when trying to access her resources as a new mother. In her experience, the policies were difficult to find and not clearly communicated, and she shares that some of her interactions with university administrators were negative. In other instances academic women might find the university's policies sufficient and accessible; instead, their struggle is against the norms of their discipline. For example, Carla decided not to pursue a tenure-clock extension in part because she was concerned that it would disadvantage her ability to advance in her competitive, male-dominated field.

Some research suggests that the careers of academic women suffer "because they marry and have children, not because they are women" (Wolfinger et al.

2008:395). While the data collected as part of this study indicate that some academic

mothers successfully navigate the academic organization, others do, in fact, find

themselves "embayed." What creates tension for women in this category is some

combination of individual and structural forces that cause being an academic and

being a mother to be difficult to negotiate.

Underway

In navigation, a vessel is "underway" when it is neither at anchor nor made

fast, neither aground nor adrift; it is simply moving forward under control (MacEwen

and Lewis 1953). The women in this category are adept at choosing the path that best

suits their personal and professional needs, even if that means leaving higher

education. They differ from those who are "making way" toward the clear goal of

earning promotion and tenure, but that is not to say that they are unmotivated. Instead,

they might be described as exhibiting ambivalence in the way Ortner (2006) uses the

term to explain the tension between resistance and non-resistance; it is not evidence of

disinterest, but divided interest.

For example, Sidney explains that "academics wasn't something that was a

clear goal in my mind." She worked hard and was a good student, but she was not

driven to pursue a graduate degree; instead, she says she just "kind of continued on for

the Ph.D." because she was encouraged to do so. Elissa feels similarly about tenure; as

she explains, "I was never worried about tenure…it wasn't a goal for me…so I didn't

waste a lot of emotional energy on worrying about it."

Toni, who came to a tenure-track position after an extended period working exclusively on grant-funded projects, also spoke with ambivalence about earning tenure. Having been self-supported for so long she says, "I guess tenure isn't a do-or-die thing for me." One focus group participant entered higher education because she really enjoys teaching and for her, "Tenure is a necessary evil." She is not driven by the goal of being tenured and promoted; rather, she is following a passion and simply dealing with the various requirements she encounters along the way. None of these responses seem to be about either arrogance or a lack of motivation; instead, the academic women who fall into this category seem to want to be successful, but they do not want to be completely consumed by the process.

As a case study, Katy is an example of someone who could also be considered to be "underway." She started a tenure-track position after a successful career in private industry, and she has a clear sense of the passions that motivate her. She is interested in making changes in the university, and she recognizes that she needs to be strategic to succeed, but she has not been willing to overextend herself for the sake of the approval of others. In fact, all of the women in this category have viable career options outside of higher education and spoke about their willingness to leave the university if they ever needed or wanted to do so.

It is important to recognize the academic women who are "underway" because they exist in contrast to a prevailing narrative in academia that emphasizes an all-consuming drive to succeed in a traditional, linear way. Some are interested in teaching and others are interested in research, and ultimately they have the potential to

be successful within or outside of academia. As a result, they are not in pursuit of advancement in academia as a singular goal because, as one participant explains, "You can't really sacrifice your soul on the altar of your P&T process."

Lying Ahull

The final component to the navigation metaphor is the category of academic women whose experience is similar to that of a vessel waiting out a storm (MacEwen and Lewis 1953). Based on both my interpretation and their own self-assessment, women in this category have struggled or are currently struggling to navigate the academic organization. Two of the participants who fall into this category were initially denied promotion or tenure and promotion but were later successful. Another participant has recently learned that she will not be successful and is now making plans to leave the university.

The participant who is leaving because she has learned she will not be tenured and promoted repeated several times that when she reflects on her experience she realizes that she did not have a "good start." As she explains that she neither made the connections she needed to negotiate the politics of the university nor started producing scholarship early enough to establish a strong record, it becomes apparent that she struggled to acquire the social and cultural capital necessary to succeed. These individual factors were exacerbated by her experience of being in a position that left her disconnected from her peers, and of feeling as if no one in her department offered meaningful support until it was too late.

Similarly, the case studies of Kelly and Ines exemplify what can happen when academic women struggle both to acquire capital and to navigate a structure that is not organized around the principles of justice. One specific deficiency in Kelly's experience was the failure of her department to conduct a mid-term review, or to offer any other form of specific feedback about her progress. In fact, this was true for at least five participants who also received no formal review of their progress in or around their third year on the tenure-track. Those who possessed sufficient capital managed to succeed despite the organizational oversight, but for some women the structural deficiency exacerbates the experience of "lying ahull."

Kelly was also disadvantaged by her department's lack of preparedness to receive her when she first started her position. This case study example is actually comprised of the experiences of three participants who each shared that they arrived to the awkward situation of not having an office. One participant ended up in a cleaned out storage closet. Another participant shared, "People weren't knowledgeable about certain basic questions that I needed answers to" so, she says, "I literally just had to go and find the answers somewhere else and kind of make my own way."

For Ines, the dynamics that result in her being placed in this category include individual and structural forces that are also shaped by her racial identity. Although she was not raised in an academic family, the mentorship and encouragement she received first as an undergraduate student and then as a graduate student helped equip her with the necessary cultural capital to at least enter a tenure-track position. Now, as a woman of color at a predominately White university, she has

struggled to establish the informal and formal relationships she is seeking to enhance her social capital. As a result, she has received little guidance about how to navigate the organization or effectively allocate her time while also attending to her belief in the importance of providing mentorship to students of color.

All of the academic women in this category encountered ways in which their department or the university was deficient in some component of organizational justice; however, this fact alone does not account for their difficulties navigating the university. The women in this category also struggled to acquire the social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital necessary to be successful. In some instances, this combination of individual and structural forces intersects with personal identity characteristics in ways that intensify the challenge of navigating the organization. Yet, some of the women in this category are from academic families, or even from middle-class families. There are white women and women of color in this category. There are also women with no children and others who had their first child before they were tenured and promoted. What they all have in common is that and they encountered structures that lacked supportive elements, and they faced challenges in the acquisition of capital; the combined outcome is that the women in this category are "lying ahull" and struggling to successfully navigate the university.

Navigating the Discourse

In addition to the individual strategies and the structural forces that interact to inform how academic women navigate the organization their experiences are also

shaped by the language, categories, and practices of advancement within and about academic organizations. All of the participants in this study have internalized messages about the meaning of academia, which they produce and understand through what Foucault (1979) describes as "discursive practices." At the same time, the university, the departments within it, and the disciplines they represent each have unique cultures, histories, and contexts that inform the experiences of academic women. Had elucidating the discourse and discursive practices of academia been my specific aim I would have likely taken a slightly different approach to the research. Nevertheless, it is still clear that as women navigate the university they enact their sense of the experience, and they internalize the meaning made by others all within the context of a complex organization.

For example, there is a meaningful connection between Annie's drive to produce more publications than, in retrospect, she thinks would have been necessary and her comments about the ways in which graduate students are conditioned to approach tenure-track positions with trepidation. The running joke about academics enjoying the "freedom" to select *which* eighty hours they get to work each week conveys an implicit message. As Annie explains, she and her fellow doctoral students were led to believe, "The tenure-track is really hard and you gotta really bust your ass all the time, you don't really ever have time to relax, and you're going to be unbalanced, and you're going to get out of shape, your family's going to be neglected."

This narrative about the tenure-track as difficult and stressful shapes more than the language used to talk about the faculty experience, it also shapes the daily practices of academic women in tenure-track positions. Annie goes on to explain that as she was approaching tenure people would say, "Oh my god, you're going up for tenure? It is *so* stressful to go up for tenure!" In her experience, the most stressful part of her entire six years was trying to assemble all of the information she needed for her dossier and ensure that everything was properly formatted. Yet, the language and categories employed by others to make meaning of her experience impacted her practices because ultimately she admits that she pushed herself to produce more papers and pursue additional grants. Because Annie's recollection of her experience is that it did not match the intensity of the messages she received she concludes, "I probably made it into more of a big deal than it needed to be."

The same discourse that inspires so much fear and anxiety about the "mysterious" process of promotion and tenure also causes faculty who are "making way," as Susan is, to lower their voice when they talk about feeling confident about how they will fare in their promotion and tenure review. As Susan explains, generally people expected her to experience the process as stressful because that was their social reality. She was concerned about not engaging in the expected ways, so often she modified her actions and did not correct people who talked about the level of stress she should be experiencing. Instead, she only talked with her husband and closest friends about the ease with which she was moving through her term as an assistant professor.

Thus, it becomes apparent that the experiences of academic women are also shaped by the language, categories, and practices used to make meaning of the structures and procedures of academic organizations and the individuals within them. That is not to say that real barriers, both individual and structural, do not exist or significantly impact the experiences of academic women. The findings of this study suggest that the ability of academic women to successfully navigate academic organizations is shaped by their individual strategies and resources combined with the structural principles and elements of the university, and, at times, aspects of their individual identity. At the same time, the ways in which the discourse of navigating the organization is produced, understood, and enacted impact the experiences of individuals.

Attending to the ways in which the navigation of academic organizations is defined and discussed does not necessitate artificially constructing a pleasant experience. At the same time, it ought not to mean intentionally constructing a miserable experience for the sake of perpetuating a sense of tradition. By reflecting on the powerful impact of the discourse, I simply intend to draw attention to the idea that language, categories, and practices together create the context in which capital is acquired and organizations are structured. To effect change, materialities must be addressed, but it is also important to begin with recognition of the powerful discourse that shapes and is shaped by academic organizations and the individuals within them. In the next chapter I will discuss more specific recommendations about how to address

the question of academic women. First, it is important to articulate the significant

contributions this research makes to the discussion.

Significance

In this section I will discuss the significance of my work, particularly as it

contributes to previous efforts to elucidate the experiences of academic women. As the

third work in a series started by Bernard in 1964 and continued by Simeone in 1987,

my study builds on their previous efforts while also furthering the conversation by

aligning the scholarly engagement with questions about academic women with shifts

in the broader context of feminist thought and perspective. Having identified

limitations to the use of "academic women" as a single, uniform category I make the

important contribution of a more nuanced framework that draws on both individual

strategies and organizational structures to make sense of the ways in which academic

women navigate academic organizations.

To understand the importance of my work it is necessary to reflect on the

conclusions of Bernard and Simeone and the contexts in which they were derived.

Although the concept is more complex, a simplified version of Maslow's "Hierarchy

of Needs" is regularly used as a way to explain why it is difficult, for example, for an

individual who lacks basic life needs such as food and shelter to expend energy on

developing relationships. To extend this analogy, it is logical that in 1964 Bernard

focused largely on the base needs of academic women as a whole. When she

conducted her research the most recent statistics indicated that women comprised just

19.4 percent of the professoriate, and equal opportunity to gain entry to higher education was the primary concern (Bernard 1964:30). At the time of Simeone's research in 1987 academic women were still collectively hoping to realize a sense of security and belonging in a way that precluded the disarticulation of more specific, nuanced needs. When she conducted her research, affirmative action was a relatively new concept and the efforts to achieve equality were largely focused on ensuring that academic women were represented in approximately the same proportion within the professoriate as academic men.

At each interval, the contributions of Bernard and Simeone helped to further the understanding of the experiences of women in academic organizations. While I have situated my own work as the third interval in this important series, my contribution is more than simply a status update. The cultural, economic, and political contexts have shifted over the past fifty years and the value in my research is that it brings the conversation about academic women in line with the contextual and theoretical setting of the twenty-first century. Further, my work troubles the very question of "academic women" and concludes that within the shared category there are nuances to the ways in which women navigate academic organizations.

My purpose in proposing a new framework is not to discount either the real or perceived impact of the biological and social realities of gender, or of the persistence of cognitive and structural biases informed by sexism. Further, I recognize that there are some ways in which the experiences of academic women are informed by such components of identity as race, socioeconomic background, and parental status. This

is evident both in how they negotiate relationships and structures, and in how the individuals and organizations they encounter respond. Yet, the data presented here question the sole reliance on single aspects or even intersections of identity. What my analysis indicates is that the experiences of academic women are informed by more complex interactions between individual considerations and structural forces.

Reflecting on the nearly half-century that has passed since Bernard published her work, and even the two decades between Simeone's work and my own, it becomes necessary to offer a new conceptual framework for understanding the experiences of academic women. Through analysis of the data collected for this research I have identified two primary ways in which previous efforts are no longer sufficient: 1) the view that "academic women" comprise a homogeneous class obfuscates variation in people and differences in needs, such as those based on marital and family status, and 2) the efforts of academic organizations to focus primarily on basic needs, such as access, result in only limited revisions to the principles around which the university is structured. The findings presented in the previous three chapters indicate that there is not simply one way that all women experience the university. Instead, academic women navigate the process of promotion and tenure in a variety of ways that reflect complex interactions between individual and structural factors. Therefore, attempting to understand and respond to all academic women as if they were part of an identical group not only obscures the successes of some, it also misses the opportunity to respond to the specific needs of others.

As individuals, academic women enter the organization having accumulated various forms of capital in different quantities. Their access to social relationships, economic resources, cultural knowledge, and symbolic prestige combine in ways to either make it possible for them to "play the game" or hinder their ability to do so successfully. Yet, the individual navigator is not the only determinant of how the course of academia will be experienced. There are also ways in which the academic organization can be structured to encourage success via the clarity of procedures, the equitable distribution of resources, and the adequate provision of support. This more nuanced framework is significant in that it begins to shift the conversation about academic women to a new paradigm in which questions are posed and solutions are sought in ways that that may move beyond what either Bernard or Simeone imagined.

<u>Conclusions and Recommendations</u>

Conclusions

As the third in the *Academic Women* series, this work concludes that the
scholarly engagement with questions about women in academic organizations must
adopt a more nuanced approach to remain relevant in the twenty-first century. This
conclusion also extends to academic organizations that strive to be equitable and
inclusive because it suggests that they must design and implement more flexible and
refined policies and practices. Over the nearly fifty years since Jessie Bernard
published *Academic Women* and the twenty-five years since Angelo Simeone
published *Academic Women: Working Towards Equality* the logics driving academic
organizations have shifted. In some ways the results for women have been positive as
many of the structural barriers to their participation in higher education have been
removed. Yet, the nature of work in the academy is also increasingly informed by a
corporate ethos that appears to some to value profit over education. As a result, I
suggest that academic organizations that desire to ensure equity must realign their
values, and I point to the principles of organizational justice as one way of achieving
this goal.

Additionally, over the past five decades the broader context of feminist thought
and perspective has shifted, resulting in the questioning of the value of using "woman"
as a uniform category of analysis. There have been ways in which aligning around
shared experiences has helped women to counter everything from feelings of isolation

to experiences with sexism. Yet, the overemphasis on universality risks obfuscating important differences. To some extent, the concept of intersectionality offers a way to trouble the homogeneity of gender by accounting for the intersections of differences due to race, class, sexual orientation, etc. I have referenced this and other important conceptual contributions as a way to question the efficacy of considering "academic women" as a single category. While accounting for intersections of identity does serve to trouble assumptions about women as a homogeneous group, when applied the theory is not sufficiently broad to account for all of the forces that interact to shape the lives of academic women. Ultimately, I draw on the concept of "capital" in order to assess the different knowledge, skills, and competencies that impact the various ways in which individuals are able to negotiate the relationships, structures, and procedures of the university.

As a result of the conclusion that a thorough understanding of the experiences of academic women is difficult to achieve by way of a single category, I offer a framework that draws on both the individual strategies and the structural forces that interact to inform the experiences of academic women as they navigate academic organizations. What emerges through the application of this more nuanced framework is evidence that some women successfully negotiate the demands of the university while others struggle, or even fail. What can be learned by examining these divergent experiences is that the extent to which an individual has accumulated various forms of capital and the organization has aligned with the principles of justice informs whether she is "making way" or "lying ahull."

As with any framework, the one I propose has limitations. The metaphor of navigation relies on categories that are not entirely discrete, and it is derived from one set of ethnographic data gathered over a limited period of time. Yet, the value is not necessarily in determining whether the categories persist. Instead, their importance is that they are part of a metaphor which offers a way to begin refining the category "academic women" in ways that will more accurately account for the range of experiences that individuals who self-identify as women have in academic organizations. Relying on the concepts of "organizational justice" and "capital" also has limitations. To a large extent, one's experience of whether an organization is just is subjective. A university might believe that its policies are designed to treat people fairly, but individuals within the organization may have very different perceptions. In some instances, this divergence can be tied to aspects of an individual's identity. For example, in an objective sense, having a policy that allows individuals to use family medical leave aligns with the principles of organizational justice. Yet, the data presented in previous chapters suggest that some individuals with life events that qualify them for the leave, such as the birth of a child or the diagnosis of a chronic illness, find the procedures to be obstructive. For this reason, it is important that a university committed to justice remain flexible and adaptive to emergent concerns. The concept of "organizational justice" does not suggest a final outcome; rather, it offers the principles that inform an ongoing process of reflecting on and enhancing an organization's policies and procedures in ways that balance objective measures with subjective perceptions.

Similarly, the concept of "capital" has limitations. Most notably, there is a danger that mentioning the forms of capital associated with success in the academic organization implies that they ought to be used as actual requirements for success. That is, if not employed thoughtfully, the analysis might recognize that academic women with significant cultural capital appear to be successful, and then conclude that only academic women who have accumulated particular types of knowledge should succeed. I mention the concept of "capital" as one component of a formative assessment of the acquired resources that may contribute to success in the organization, as it currently exists. A radically transformed university might include a much wider range of ways for individuals to exist and advance within the organization. In the meantime, a discussion of various forms of capital offers a way for individuals and organizations to make the components of success less mysterious so that individuals can acquire and organizations can support the acquisition of these resources.

Having concluded that the contemporary notion of "academic women" must be more nuanced than was evident to either Bernard or Simeone, I have offered a framework that provides a refined approach that might be used over the next twenty-five year interval. Although there are limitations, the framework I suggest draws on an understanding of individual considerations and structural forces to uncover the various ways in which academic women navigate academic organizations. My most significant contribution has been to help shift the conversation about the experiences and needs of academic women. It is also important to articulate some of the ways this

refined understanding might be applied in contemporary academic organizations. Thus, in the next section I will offer broad recommendations based on themes that have emerged as part of this dissertation. Resources for implementing these recommendations are included in Appendix A: Practical Strategies and Resources for Universities.

Recommendations

Three Levels of Commitment

Before moving to specific recommendations, it is important to recognize that any changes for academic women in academic organizations require efforts at no fewer than three levels. First, individuals play an important role in the process of navigating the organization. In the metaphor I offer for describing the experiences of academic women I deliberately use "making way" because the term describes a vessel that is moving under its own power. The academic women whom I have placed in this category benefit from supportive structures, or at least manage to avoid significant barriers; however, they either enter their positions with the disposition to "play the game," or they quickly identify and acquire the necessary resources. I do not intend to place blame on individuals who are "lying ahull," but it is important to recognize the various competencies that impact the ability of an individual to navigate the academic organization.

At the same time, it is also important that academic organizations structure themselves in ways that foster success and that individuals within the organization

strive to enact policies and procedures that support academic women and equip them with the necessary knowledge and skills. These efforts must occur both at the level of the department and at the level of the university. At the local level of departments, and to some extent colleges, unit leaders and senior colleagues play a critical role in the integration of junior faculty into the organization. They are also most directly involved in supporting the development of their junior colleagues throughout their term as assistant professors. Further, given the structure of power in academic organizations and the strong allegiance that many faculty members have to their discipline, a lot of authority and responsibility is concentrated at the department level. Thus, it is important that departments commit to ensuring the equitable treatment of junior faculty, which is distinct from treating everyone equally. Equity requires fairness in standards, norms, and practices, and it also recognizes that what is necessary to enact that commitment may vary for each individual. Although this requires diligence at a local level, the long-term investment in the success of junior faculty members can have significant benefits.

The commitment to being an equitable organization and to supporting the success of academic women must also occur at the highest levels within the university. University administrators set many of the overarching policies and procedures, and they make significant contributions to the culture of the organization. With significant influence comes a corresponding level of responsibility. At the university-level, less attention will be paid to the needs of specific individuals; instead, the efforts must involve attending to broad themes and ensuring that the institutional commitment to

addressing the various needs of academic women via nuanced policies and practices is in place. Unfortunately, even within a supportive university, some academic women will encounter significant barriers that emerge from the broader culture of their discipline. For example, academic women may feel unable to take advantage of the tenure-clock extension offered by the university because the competitive nature of their discipline precludes any possible breaks in productivity. While an individual university has limited ability to significantly shift disciplinary culture, academic organizations that are committed to equity must still endeavor to contribute to efforts to realize change.

Three Areas of Focus

Instead of a universal category and uniform practices, the framework I propose suggests the importance of refined categories and nuanced practices. This approach can be applied to numerous policies and procedures and, to the extent that an academic organization wants to be more equitable, it is important that mechanisms are in place to detect and alert decision-makers to evolving areas of concern. Below I have selected just three broad themes that have emerged as important areas to address. The recommendations consider what can be learned by examining the complex interactions between the accumulation of capital and the structuring of the organization as they inform the experiences of academic women who are "making way," those who are "lying ahull," and everyone in between. I draw on each of these varied examples in

order to recommend ways to create the optimal conditions for supporting the success of academic women and creating more navigable academic organizations.

Provide and Acquire Knowledge

Access to knowledge about the policies, procedures, and expectations of the university is important to the success of academic women because the awareness in each area becomes part of a map that can be used in navigating the organization. This recommendation has two components: 1) equipping faculty with the necessary skills to be successful, and 2) ensuring that the expectations for success are clearly stated. New tenure-track faculty members are hired for their disciplinary expertise, but this does not mean they enter the university as expert faculty members. A university committed to equity and success will provide meaningful orientation to new faculty members, which includes clearly stated expectations for success.

To align with a commitment to organizational justice, transparent, objective standards about the procedures used to determine outcomes for conferring privileges, such as reward and advancement, must be clearly articulated and fairly applied. When people understand the processes and procedures of an organization, when they know the reasoning behind particular decisions, and when they are treated in a way that shows dignity and respect they are more likely to accept even less favorable outcomes.

The university's Promotion and Tenure Open Forums both for faculty and administrators are examples of positive efforts; however, if promotion and tenure begins for faculty at the point of hire the process of orientation should start at the same

time. Such efforts can be supported at the department-level through the provision of consistent, comprehensive guidance about the procedures and expectations associated with a tenure-track career. This includes comprehensive mid-term evaluations initiated by department administrators. It is also important that individual faculty members ask questions and seek information. By all accounts one's term as an assistant professor passes quickly, so it is important to clarify expectations and understand procedures early in the process.

<u>Provide and Develop Connections</u>

The accumulation of social capital plays a significant role in the extent to which women are able to successfully navigate the academic organization. The ways in which individuals structure their systems of support vary, but all of the women who are "making way" develop a range of informal and formal connections. The results of my research do not indicate one approach that is favorable over another, but it is important for the university to foster a variety of opportunities for connection. This is particularly relevant given that the university's land grant mission means that faculty are distributed throughout the entire state and some individuals may struggle just to connect with the central campus, let alone other support systems.

Some academic women will seek formal mentors, and the university can strive to ensure that individuals serving in this capacity are well-equipped with accurate information. Other academic women find themselves isolated as the only junior faculty member in the department. To the extent possible, departments can consider

strategies such as hiring in cohorts to create systems of support within the unit. Departments and colleges can also assist individuals in making connections across units through such efforts as the College of Liberal Arts' Junior Faculty Lunches.

It is important to recognize that some individuals will want to make connections with others on the basis of what they perceive to be shared identities and they may benefit from opportunities to connect with other faculty women, for example. Other people may simply want to know whom to contact when they have questions, so it is beneficial to provide a variety of options and to remain flexible to respond to emerging needs. Academic women also need to develop the interpersonal strategies that best meet their individual needs. Whether it is seeking a formal mentor, joining a social group such as the Lady Profs Social Club, or remaining connected with colleagues from graduate school the point is to counter personal and professional isolation by developing networks of support.

Foster Holistic Academic Personas

As one participant explains, "If we want full participation from people who also see themselves as human beings we're going to have to think about how being a faculty member can be a human endeavor." The heyday for "academic man" has passed and academic organization must be prepared to accept the realities associated with the full lives of their academic faculty. This is particularly relevant as universities prepare for significant turnover due to retirements and consider how to identify a new generation of academics.

The current social, political, and economic reality is such that academic women are part of dual-career partnerships with academics and non-academics, they are the primary wage-earners in their families, and they apply for jobs when pregnant and have their first children before tenure. Academic women are also diagnosed with chronic illnesses, they care for aging parents, and they have priorities that extend beyond a singular focus on academia. Many of these academic women possess incredible potential as scholars, which means that academic organizations seeking talent and attending to equity must find ways to foster and accommodate whole individuals. While this is difficult in a climate of scarce resources, considerable financial output it also required to recruit and train the replacements of individuals who are unsuccessful.

The university has the beginnings of a promising Dual Career Hiring Initiative and is currently seeking to fill a position that will in part be responsible for a Greater Oregon Higher Education Recruitment Consortium, which will include resources for dual-career partners. Strengthening both of these efforts is important to fostering success. Academic organizations might also consider questioning the myth of meritocracy in order to establish multiple paths to advancement, such as providing an extended tenure-clock where individuals have 12 years to produce six years' worth of scholarship.

More immediately, departments can support faculty in the development of individual strategies, such as protecting their time, maintaining a manageable service load, and preserving literal and figurative space for creative endeavors. It also means

assisting faculty who need to avail themselves of benefits such as reasonable accommodations and tenure-clock extensions in doing so. Academic women must also seek to develop the individual strategies that will help them successfully navigate the academic organization. At the time of writing, the university is recruiting for a position in the Office of Academic Affairs that will in part be responsible for helping faculty to identify the programs and services they need to achieve whole, successful lives. Whether it is through accessing such formal support opportunities or developing one's own tactics, it is important that each individual play an active role in developing her own sense of a reasonable, holistic persona.

Final Thoughts

At each interval, the inquiries into the status and experiences of academic women have provided valuable insight. In the nearly fifty years since Bernard first published *Academic Women* real disparities have been documented and should not be ignored. At the same time, the landscape has changed both within and outside of academic organizations, and neither the academic organization nor the academic woman of Bernard or Simeone's respective eras persists in quite the same way.

I have argued via this research that there is little more to gain by remaining wedded to a paradigm where "academic women" is considered a homogeneous category of analysis. Instead, I have offered a more nuanced framework that draws on an examination of individual considerations and an assessment of structural forces to understand the various ways in which academic women navigate academic

organizations. Using this framework, I have also suggested key emergent themes to benefit both the university and the individuals within it. Together, these comprise my important contributions to fifty years of "academic women."

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Appendices

Appendix A: Practices for Individuals and Organizations

Diagnostic Questions

These diagnostic questions address key elements of promising practices for academic institutions committed to equity and success for academic women. They can also be applied to the assessment of efforts to support all incoming tenure-track faculty.

Providing and Acquiring Knowledge	**Yes**	**No**
1. **Enhancing Skills for Success** Does the university offer meaningful orientation to new faculty?	□	□
2. **Communicating Expectations** Does the department provide consistent, comprehensive guidance about the procedures and expectations associated with a tenure-track career?	□	□
3. **Conducting Evaluations** Does the department conduct comprehensive mid-term evaluations?	□	□
Providing and Developing Connections		
4. **Fostering Connections** Does the university provide a variety of opportunities to establish meaningful connections?	□	□
5. **Attending to Geographical Location** Does the university provide opportunities for faculty who are distributed throughout the state?	□	□
6. **Providing Mentoring** For individuals who are interested, does the university provide access to informed mentors?	□	□
7. **Remaining Flexible** Are departments flexible and able to respond to emerging needs related to establishing effective connections?	□	□

Fostering Holistic Academic Personas	**Yes**	**No**

8. **Attending to Dual-Career Partnerships**
Does the university provide adequate resources to effectively
support dual-career couples? ☐ ☐

9. **Protecting Time**
Does the department support faculty in the development of
strategies to allocate adequate time to all activities detailed
in the position description? ☐ ☐

10. **Accessing Resources**
Does the department support faculty in understanding and
accessing their rights and benefits as employees? ☐ ☐

Individual and Organizational Strategies

Tenure-track faculty benefit from acquiring an effective combination of knowledge, skills, and resources and encountering just, supportive structures. The strategies listed below are intended to guide tenure-track faculty and university administrators in successfully navigating the process of promotion and tenure.

Strategy	Individuals	University Administrators
#1: Establish a range of networks and connections	To counter personal and professional isolation it is important that you develop interpersonal strategies to support your success. Consider the support structures that will work best for you, whether that is establishing a formal relationship with a mentor, developing networks with others in your discipline, or making informal connections with other junior faculty.	Encourage faculty to develop informal and formal relationships within and outside the university during at least three critical points in their term as assistant professors: 1. **At the point of hire** ensure that new faculty are aware of existing groups and networks at the university and in relevant disciplines. Help individuals who are interested identify informed mentors. 2. **At the mid-term review** discuss with faculty the status of their support strategies and offer additional resources, as needed. 3. **Prior to initiating the recommendation for promotion and tenure** ensure that faculty have sufficient support in preparing their dossier and negotiating the review process.
#2: Develop adequate financial resources	While access to resources is often a function of the department in which you are situated, financial support may exist in other sectors of the university. Thus, it is important that	Within your unit, ensure that resources are distributed equitably, which includes access to financial support for travel and research. It is also important that to assist faculty in identifying and developing the

#2 (Continued)	you explore options for funding from a variety of sources. If you are concerned about the inequitable distribution of resources based on discriminatory reasons seek the appropriate university support resources.	skills to access resources in other areas within and outside the institution.
#3: Protect time and balance responsibilities	Develop the strategies necessary to ensure that you are able to fulfill all of the expectations detailed in your position description. By many accounts, one's term as assistant professor passes quickly, and it is important that you develop skills as early in your process as possible. Also set reasonable standards about what commitments you can manage.	Recognize that junior faculty members may experience vulnerability without the protection of tenure. Help them manage their commitments by identifying strategies to use their time wisely, and be aware of the demands that are being placed on their time. Avoid assigning significant administrative, committee, and advising responsibilities to tenure-track faculty.
#4: Understand expectations related to collegiality	University guidelines indicate that it is appropriate for the university to consider collegiality, professional integrity, and willingness to accept and cooperate in assignments. Talk with trusted individuals about what this means in your department. If you are concerned about decisions being made based on discriminatory reasons seek the appropriate university support resources.	Help new faculty develop the knowledge necessary to understand and negotiate the relationships and norms of your unit and the university. While it is appropriate to consider factors such as collegiality, decisions must not violate university non-discrimination policies.
#5: Access adequate information about expectations	Seek to develop an understanding about the expectations for promotion	Help new faculty develop an understanding about how to negotiate the structures and

#5 (Continued)	and tenure in your unit and college, and at the university. Familiarize yourself with the current faculty handbook, but also ask questions about how the expectations will be applied in your discipline. Attend university informational sessions, ask to see the dossiers of successful colleagues, and learn as much as possible about the process.	procedures of the university. To the fullest extent possible, clearly and accurately communicate expectations at the unit, college, and university level. Relevant conversations should occur during at least three critical points in the term of an assistant professor: 1. **At the point of hire** ensure that new faculty are aware of the expectations for advancement and ensure that they begin the efforts as soon as possible. 2. **At the mid-term review** discuss with faculty the status of their progress and offer additional guidance and resources, as needed. 3. **Prior to initiating the recommendation for promotion and tenure** ensure that faculty have a sufficient understanding of how to prepare their dossier and highlight their achievements.

Appendix B: Research Instruments

Interview Test Instrument for Academic Women

This interview is part of a research study designed to understand the experiences of academic women in the promotion and tenure process.

The first questions are to better understand your orientation to the various aspects of pursuing a career as a faculty member.

- What drew you to higher education?
- Tell me about your experience as a graduate student.
- What are your long-term career aspirations?
- Describe the culture of your discipline. How do you see yourself relating to this culture?
- Describe the topic(s) of your research. What led you to this choice?
- What is your understanding of what is required for promotion and tenure?
- How do you see your research activities fitting with your understanding of what is required for promotion and tenure? How is your research situated within your discipline? What is the potential for growth in this area? What funding opportunities are available?
- Candidates for promotion and tenure must demonstrate command of their subject matter and an ability to organize material and convey it effectively to students. Describe your particular commitment to effective teaching.
- All faculty members must also be committed to the well-being of students, both inside and outside the classroom. Describe your commitment to effective advising.
- Is extension part of your faculty assignment? If so, describe your particular commitment to effectiveness in this area
- Faculty are expected to perform a broad array of services including institutional service and professional service to their discipline. Describe the type of service in which you are engaged. What led you to these choices?
- What is your understanding of what "collegiality" means in your department?

The next set of questions relate to your overall experience at Oregon State University and in your department.

- Tell me about your experience as an assistant professor at OSU.
- Describe your social connections at OSU. How did you form these connections? Are you left out of other connections?
- Describe the atmosphere of your department.
- How were you oriented to the department? To the university?

- Describe your interactions with your colleagues. With co-workers? With senior faculty? With your department chair or school head?
- Describe any relationships you have with mentors. How did you connect? What is the focus of the mentoring relationship?
- What professional development opportunities have been made available to you? Do you feel that you need/needed more?

The next questions are more specifically about your experience with the promotion and tenure process.

- Tell me about your experience with the promotion and tenure process.
- How do you feel about how you are/were treated in the promotion and tenure process?
- What is/was your understanding of how your department handles your promotion and tenure process?
- How are you learning/did you learn about the process?
- Faculty are hired with expectations in job performance and scholarship that are established in position descriptions. The PD is an important document in evaluating candidates for promotion and tenure. In your opinion, how accurately does your position description describe the work you do? Are the percentages of time allocated to each aspect of your position an accurate reflection of what you do?
- Do you feel that you have five professional people in your field who can accurately and fairly assess your work?

The next set of questions relate to various components of you identity (e.g., age, marital status, race, etc.).

- Tell me about your weekly routine. What are your responsibilities at work? What about at home? How present are you in each location?
- Describe your relationship status. Describe any ways this has impacted your pre-tenure experience.
- Describe any significant responsibilities you have for others at home (e.g., children, parents, partner). Describe any ways this has impacted your pre-tenure experience.
- How do you identify your class background? Describe any ways this has impacted your pre-tenure experience.
- How do you describe your racial or ethnic background, and/or your national origin? Describe any ways this has impacted your pre-tenure experience.
- Tell me about any religious or political communities with which you are involved. Describe any ways this has impacted your pre-tenure experience.
- Tell me about any disability or chronic illness that you have experienced. Describe any ways this has impacted your pre-tenure experience.

- Tell me about any way your age has impacted your pre-tenure experience.
- Tell me about any way your veteran status has impacted your pre-tenure experience.
- You have discussed various components of your identity. Tell me about any that we have or have not discussed that are important to you. Tell me more about ways they are important. Describe any ways this has impacted your pre-tenure experience.

The final questions ask you to reflect on your overall experience.

- What piece of advice would you give to someone just starting on the tenure track?
- Is there anything else you think would be helpful for me to know about you or your experience?

Interview Test Instrument for Department Chairs

- Describe the culture of your discipline. How do you see women in your department relating to this culture?
- Describe the atmosphere of your department. How do you see women in your department relating to this culture?
- How do you evaluate "collegiality"?
- How are new faculty oriented to the department? What do you do to help new faculty understand the culture of the department. Describe the professional development opportunities that are made available to new faculty. Describe any differences in the opportunities available to women.
- Describe how your department handles any ongoing review process. How frequently are you reviewed? What is that process like?
- What about the mid-term review? Describe your experience. How do women fare in this process?
- Describe how your department handles the promotion and tenure process.
- When someone is tenured in your department, how is it observed? What happens when someone is unsuccessful?
- Describe any significant responsibilities women faculty in your department have for others at home (e.g., children, parents, partner). Describe any ways this has impacted their pre-tenure experience.
- Is there anything else you think would be helpful for me to know?

Focus Group Guide
I want to remind you that when I ask about your experiences, I am interested not just in the technical aspects of being on the tenure track, about also in the holistic experience of pursuing this career, both personally and professionally.

- Are there any questions before we begin?
- Tell the group how long you have been at the university and where you are in the promotion and tenure process.
- How did you decide to pursue a tenured faculty position?
- Think back to when you first became a faculty member. What messages did you receive about being on the tenure track?
- What was the orientation to the promotion and tenure process like for you?
- What explicit messages did you receive about what you needed to do to be successful?
- What implicit messages did you receive about what you needed to do to be successful?
- What went or is going well about your pre-tenure experience?
- What has been or was particularly frustrating about your experience during the time before tenure?
- In your opinion, what characteristics or factors related to you, the candidate, do you believe did or will most influence the outcome?
- If you had a chance to give advice to a woman just starting as an assistant professor, what advice would you give?
- Is there anything that you came wanting to say that you did not get a chance to say?