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**Through the Looking-Glass Ceiling: The Advancement of Women
Administrators and Women Faculty in an Institution of Higher
Education**

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Education**

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Dedication

To my beloved family: my husband, BoB Beck, and daughter Brittany Valeria Beck. Walk on, with hope in your heart, and you'll never walk alone.

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Hey Brittany, I'm going to gwauwate!

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Education**

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Historical patterns of gender discrimination in institutions of higher education have been well documented, including the structures and practices that reproduce sexism and inhibit change. Despite women having equity of access at the student and junior faculty levels of the university, there continues to be a dearth of women in tenured faculty and top administrative positions. The purpose of this qualitative study was to describe the experiences of, and the strategies used by, women faculty and women administrators when faced with resistant discourses of gender inequity in a research university. Using a phenomenological approach, selected women participated in focus groups and interviews giving rich descriptions of their lives in the academy.

The findings of this study suggest that the women in administrative positions have more resources and stronger support networks than their faculty counterparts. The women faculty described experiences indicating they were more vulnerable to subtle sex discrimination practices than women administrators. However, the women exemplified a diversity of responses to gender inequity and their experiences suggest that the problem is more complex than the structural or temporal solutions currently provided. Recommendations to assist the advancement of women to senior positions in the university are discussed.

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Chapter I: Introduction

It's Friday lunchtime, October 11, 2002, a warm and sunny fall semester day. Two men, presumed to be faculty, descend the steps behind me as we all dodge between students of different sizes, shapes, colors, and genders. I hear but I am silent:

“Got a busy afternoon?”

“Oh, about six files to go through.”

“P (romotion) & T (enure)?”

“Yes, there's one, this woman's got a bunch of kids. I suppose I shouldn't hold that against her. The thing was the department didn't mention it. It was in the letters of recommendation.”

They part, and he heads off towards the School of Business to review the files.

“Donec gratus eram tibi.”

Horace, 65-8 B.C. Odes, III.ix.I

There are few White women, and even fewer women of color, in positions of authority in institutions of higher education today. In this regard, institutions of higher education are microcosms of our gendered inequitable society. Despite an awareness of the problem for more than two decades, and with efforts by several to improve the situation, progress in education has been slow especially in public four-year universities.

The literature suggests many reasons for this metaphorical “glass ceiling” (Commission, 1995), reflecting each scholar's epistemology and ideology. Some

scholars and hiring committees construe the problem as there being only a limited pool of “qualified” women from which to select when filling high level administrative and tenured faculty positions¹. The noted reasons for this small pool have included women’s “choice” not to pursue positions of authority and the “biological difference” which proposes that women’s inherent nature (emotionality, resistance to risk taking, and irrational methods of decision-making) (Lipman-Blumen, 1992) prevents most women from achieving the skills needed to be effective in positions of authority. Other cited reasons are women’s exclusion from the male informal communication networks (the “good old boy” system) and an absence of role models and mentors which various programs have tried to address. The “Chilly Climate” of higher education is not yet warming (Sandler, Silverberg, & Hall, 1996).

For the past three decades feminist scholars have described both the overt and the hidden societal and institutional reasons for the limited number of women in positions of authority. They have challenged the notions of choice and difference, revealing historical patterns of gender-segregated occupations, unexamined beliefs of White privilege and male heterosexual privilege, and systemic practices of racism and sexism. Feminists within educational administration have suggested that keeping the focus on women, individually and collectively, as the problem allows the dominant discourses of educational leadership to go unexamined for gender and racial biases. Some authors believe

¹The work of Susan Jones and Susan Komives in the student affairs arena refutes this perspective. They demonstrate that in student affairs, women are clustered in mid-level positions despite many of them holding doctoral degrees (Jones & Komives, 2001). As they so clearly state, “The leadership pipeline for women in student affairs is full. However the institutional gauge must be opened so that access to leadership positions is achieved.” (p.242).

that current practices in universities not only disadvantage women collectively, but also may disempower women individually through the reproduction of hierarchical patterns of power.

Statement of the Problem

The dearth of women in higher-level positions in universities and colleges has been recognized within the academy, at a university system level, and at a state level of administration. This recognition has spanned more than twenty years with suggested remedies only making a limited impact on the advancement of women.

There is evidence that some institutions are beginning to perceive the need for change with regard to structural gender discrimination problems. In 1999, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) issued a report acknowledging that,

Men not only earned more money than women, but also had bigger offices, were given more plum committee assignments, and were granted more departmental awards and distinctions (Miller & Wilson, 1999, p. A18)

MIT is implementing changes campus wide, supported by the institutions provost and president. This also spurred eight other research universities (Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, Yale, California Institute of Technology, University of California at Berkley, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and the University of Pennsylvania) to pledge, with MIT, that they would work toward “better treatment of female faculty members in science and engineering” (Cox, 2001, ¶1). This acknowledgement of gender inequity in male dominated institutions and disciplines included reference to the need to change significantly procedures not only within the institutions concerned, but also within the science

and engineering community as a whole. The latter component will require a deeper commitment to change. Women faculty are reported as being hopeful that accountability measures will be adopted by the institutions to ensure the attainment of the goals set.

At the University of Texas System awareness of the problem of lack of women in higher-level positions in its component institutions was heightened by a request from Regent Beryl Buckley Milburn in 1984. This request was for component institutions to begin to identify and groom women in lower levels of administration (department chairs, assistant deans, deans) to become senior administrators (Board of Regents, 1984). This led to an 11% increase in the number of women in administrative positions of director and above, over eight years, to a total of 30.6% at all University of Texas System components in 1994 (Board of Regents, 1994). In the academic year 2000-2001, the percentage of women in executive positions (senior level officers) at all University of Texas System components was 32.2% and in administrative positions (Assistant or Associate Vice Presidents and Directors) 43.9% (System, 2001). Even with these increases and the awareness at the Board of Regents' level, change in the University of Texas System has been slow, with more progress occurring at the lower administrative levels than at the senior executive positions.

At the University of Texas at Austin, a recent report on the status of women faculty (Gilbert, 2000) concluded that although salaries were generally gender equitable, there were still some colleges, schools, and departments that employed very few women faculty. Despite the proportion of female students

being between 35% (Chemical Engineering) and 65% (Pharmacy), depending on the academic discipline, the proportion of female faculty ranges between 5% (Chemistry) and 39% (Fine Arts). For example, in the Department of Chemistry approximately 50% of the undergraduate students are women but only 5% of the faculty are women. In the College of Fine Arts approximately 60% of the students are women and 39% of the faculty are women. Only in Nursing are the proportions similar between women faculty and women students. The gendered division of labor is also reflected in the hierarchical levels of administration. In clerical and secretarial positions, 70% are filled by women. In the more diverse category of executive/administration/managerial positions, 41% are women, but at the executive leadership level only 33% are women (Studies, 2000).

At the State level in 1997, the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board's Advisory Committee on Women and Minority Faculty and Professional Staff report (Advisory, 1997) noted barriers and suggested solutions in the areas of pipeline/pool, recruitment, promotion, and retention of women and minority faculty and professional staff. However there is little research on how gender inequity can be eradicated. Women at different levels in universities have seldom been given a voice² in the research literature to examine the issues around career promotion and inequity in their institutions. Some studies have focused on women administrators in the K-12 school system, but there is very little data on women (administrators or faculty) in the university setting. Feminist scholars in educational administration have called for further examination of women's

² Voice is used here in both the literal sense, and in the metaphorical sense representing women's experiences of isolation and connection in a society where they often are silenced or their contributions are ignored or devalued (Belenky, 1986).

experiences to provide a deeper understanding of the ways in which women negotiate gender and racial inequity in the university. Do women acknowledge, challenge, or reproduce sexist and racist institutional practices? Are women describing ways to effect change from their position as “other”³ within the institution? From their different worldviews and daily experiences as academics or administrators what do they identify as the critical factors in achieving positions of authority?

Current practices, both inside and outside universities, have included some emphasis on the need to provide opportunities for women to develop strategies to assist their rise in the public sphere. For example, some scholars have suggested that women should establish their own networks, considered a key component in the male career advancement paradigm. A report from the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board’s Advisory Committee on Women and Minority Faculty and Professional Staff (Advisory, 1997), cites several studies demonstrating that informal networks are crucial in the promotional decision-making process, and additional studies suggest women and minorities are prevented from participating in these networks, so limiting their opportunities for advancement. Many universities identify and sponsor women to attend leadership programs that encourage the development of formal and informal connections between women who aspire to positions of authority, as well as other practices to assist promotion such as mentoring.

³ Other is used in feminist literature as describing women’s historically based marginalization from the dominant male discourse that is the central, rarely questioned, norm of western society. For an early discussion on the definition of “woman” see de Beauvoir, (1949).

National executive leadership programs such as Harvard University's Executive Education programs are oriented towards corporate business leaders. Participants learn both trait and team leadership theory (Harvard, 2001). A parallel Women's Executive Forum is also provided which emphasizes collaboration, mentoring, and integrating career and personal life. In Texas the Governors Executive Development Program is aimed at top executives in public agencies and universities (Development, 2001). One of its objectives is to link participants to encourage inter-organizational cooperation. Texas also has a program developed just for women, Leadership Texas.

Leadership Texas was established in 1983 under the guidance of the Foundation for Women's Resources, later becoming a model for similar programs in other states, and was the forerunner of a national sister program, Leadership America (Handbook, 2002). Programs such as Leadership Texas strive to "identify and develop the women leaders of Texas" by providing them with "essential information, an awareness of ongoing changes, sharpened skills, and an enduring network of women from diverse backgrounds"(Handbook, 2002, ¶ 1). The program's vision also articulates the necessity of providing these women with "the initiative, where necessary, to rewrite the rules" (Foundation, 2001, Vision section). Women participants, in "classes" of approximately one hundred at a time, are exposed to role models in the community and encouraged to use their classmates as a support and career advancement network.

These practices designed to assist the advancement of women raise the following questions: How do women faculty and women administrators, at a large

research institution, describe the practices they use to gain promotion? Do they describe formal and informal networks when discussing the advancement of their career? Is the use of a pseudo “old-boy” network, inappropriately referred to by some as an “old-girl” network, an option for women in higher education? Do women in higher education use formal and informal networking to challenge the gender inequity that limits their attainment of career goals? Have leadership programs assisted women, and, if so, which types of programs are most helpful?

In the consideration of women and their access to and utilization of a networking system, scholars have built on the work of Mary Field Belenky and others (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarul, 1986) and their call both to value the “ways of knowing” developed by women and to discuss the emergence of a new paradigm for leadership (Guido-DiBrito, Noteboom, Nathan, & Fenty, 1997). This new paradigm proposes a lesser role for the traditional top-down control of information model, with an emphasis on a sharing of information and decision-making through connecting with other group members. If a diversity of leadership practices is desirable in higher education, then how are women positioned to use the connectivity of a new emergent leadership paradigm? What is the relationship between mid-level women’s networking practices in an institution of higher education and the new paradigm of leadership?

Purpose of the Study

Over the past twenty years there has been recognition within institutions of higher education that the advancement of women into positions of authority has been slow. Solutions have been proposed and implemented with limited results.

These strategies have addressed the issue from both the structural aspect of institutional policies and procedures, and the aspect of the skills an individual woman needs to be successful. However little attention has been focused on the experiences of women in the academy who are confronting gender inequities on a day by day basis.

Therefore, one purpose of this study was to give voice to women administrators and women faculty on gender inequity within the context of one university. The women are central to the issue and are therefore made central in the study. A second purpose was to identify the practices the women use to challenge or reproduce gender inequity. Through an examination of the strategies described, conclusions are drawn about the ways in which women advance their careers. A third purpose was to compare and contrast the experiences and perceptions of the women in administrative positions with the experiences and perceptions of the women in faculty positions. From the recognition of the similarities and the differences between the groups of women, the complexity of the problem of gender inequity in one institution of higher education was examined.

Research Questions

Arising from the statement of the problem and to address the study's purpose, the following questions were examined in this study:

How do women in administrative and faculty positions describe their experiences as they respond to resistant discourses of inequity in their university?

How do women in administrative and faculty positions describe practices they use for career advancement and/or for preparation for the assumption of emergent leadership roles?

What relationships exist between inequity factors and career advancement practices as identified by women faculty, and inequity factors and career advancement practices identified by women administrators?

Organization of the Study

This study was designed to collect knowledge centered on the realities of women's everyday lives with the intent to have women's experiences recognized and valued. It was assumed by the researcher that women possess knowledge that is contextually specific and that information may or may not be generalizable to others. In addition the researcher was an integral partner in the research process, and, therefore, must make her subjectivity known to the reader which "increases the objectivity of the research and decreases the objectivism which hides this kind of evidence from the public" (Ardovini-Brooker, 2002; Harding, 1987). Therefore this study was organized to uncover the participant's situated knowledge and to describe the location of the researcher within the research itself.

Chapter I introduces the study by presenting a brief overview of the problem of the advancement of women in higher education and the research questions which arose from the statement of the problem. Chapter II presents the pertinent literature regarding women in higher education, gender inequity, and the barriers to and strategies used by women trying to break through the glass ceiling in academia. Chapter III describes the research methodology and how focus

groups and interviews were analyzed to produce diagrams of the relationships within the data. Chapter IV presents the findings in the voices of the women participants. Chapter V discusses the data analyses and the relevance of the findings to the literature and to current practices in higher education. Chapter V concludes with recommendations for individuals wishing to assist the advancement of women faculty and women administrators and suggestions for future research on this topic.

Study Limitations

This study had several limitations. The context was restricted to one institution of higher education in one State. Women in other universities and community colleges will have a diversity of experiences that may or may not be similar to those described in this study. Universities have different cultures and organizational structures that are historically influenced by their leadership and the communities they serve. Thus the university in this study may be unique.

The number of participants in this study was small and they were purposively selected using narrow criteria. The participants were women mostly already in senior positions who had either attended leadership programs and/or been identified by other women as having demonstrated leadership within the institution. There was a degree of self-selection to this group, and their experiences should be read with this in mind. The small number of participants in each focus group generated several themes, but those themes had restricted depth and so a full range of experiences may not have been explored in this study.

Also, the experiences of women who did not agree to participate in this study and the women not identified as being in leadership roles were not captured, and so many women in this institution could not be represented. Another limitation was the very small number of women of color who participated, which did not allow for their experiences of the dual discrimination of gender and race to be explored.

Definitions for this Study

Administrators:

Job titles of department chair, director, associate/assistant dean, dean, vice-president, president

Faculty:

Job titles of assistant professor, associate professor, and professor; tenured and tenure-track, and lecturer and senior lecturer non-tenure track

Emergent Leadership:

Styles of leadership that assume a relational context in which leaders share power, information, and decision-making with other group members.

Discourse:

“a historically, social and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories, and beliefs” (Corrin, 1999, p.240).

Experiences:

This term is used inclusively for personal, professional, social, and political events that may be described by the women participants.

Glass Ceiling:

A metaphor for “an invisible-but impenetrable-barrier between women and the executive suite, preventing them from reaching the highest levels of the business world regardless of their accomplishments and merits” (Commission, 1995, p.iii). For the purpose of this study this definition is extended from the business world to the academic world.

Reflexivity:

An exploration of “the ways in which a researcher’s involvement with a particular study influences, acts upon and informs such research (Nightingale & Cromby, 1999, p.228).

Significance of the Study

The data from this study, through the rich description of the experiences of women faculty and women administrators, from diverse backgrounds, in a public four-year university, provides a clearer understanding of their advancement within the system. From these women’s voices, conclusions are drawn about the relationship between gender inequity and women’s academic and administrative careers in institutions of higher education. From the exploration of the practices of women as they advance their careers, which may or may not have been used as resistive strategies, information emerged that may be of importance to other women working in academia. The experiences of women faculty and women administrators were compared for intersections and divergence which disclosed information that may be used by individuals and leadership in institutions of higher education.

From the findings of this study suggestions are offered to women and men in institutions of higher education as to possible strategies to combat institutional sexism which prevents women from achieving and remaining in positions of authority. In addition, people currently in leadership positions within universities are provided with suggestions for ways to facilitate strategies for the implementation of a more emergent leadership style, hailed by many scholars as essential for a future in higher education where women are welcomed as equals.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Institutions of higher education are complex organizations working within a societal context that promotes the marginalization of women⁴. It has been well documented that the organizational structures, processes, and cultures of higher education are embedded with practices that reproduce inequality and inhibit change (Bensimon & Marshall, 1997; Blackmore, 1999; Park, 1996; Rinn, 1994; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1992). Despite women now composing slightly more than one-half of all undergraduates and earning one third of doctoral degrees (Nidiffer & Bashaw, 2001) there continues to be a small number of women and especially women of color in higher-level positions in institutions of higher education.

For women in higher education the social construction of gender and its structural basis in the academy continues to provide barriers to success. Examining the organizational charts of the majority of universities demonstrates how men continue to be in positions of power while women occupy the lower echelons and the behind-the-scenes departmental jobs that allow men to be successful. Thus, in education and educational administration, as in society, women have been, and continue to be, the “wrong” gender. As Virginia Woolf (1929) said:

Women have served all these centuries as looking-glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size (p.35)

⁴ Jana Nidiffer describes the marginalization of women in the academy as arising from structural barriers, organizational culture, and as existing in all things historically associated with women or femininity (Nidiffer, 2001b).

Women trying to advance their careers have, historically, encountered a “glass-ceiling”. Today, in many ways, they encounter a “looking-glass ceiling” where the “inferiority” of women continues to reflect and enlarge the men who maintain positions of prestige and leadership. Texts abound that describe the necessary characteristics that leaders should possess, and they are ones of strength, risk-taking, and rationality to which only the “right” gender can aspire.

Jill Blackmore (1999) continues this theme in discussing women and their career advancement in education suggesting, “Women are positioned as either without gender, or having the wrong gender” (p. 83). Blackmore’s statement encompasses the important concepts of the invisibility of gender neutrality, the exclusion of women because they are not men, and the concept of positionality, which are salient to the study of the advancement of women within the academy.

This literature review describes the historical basis for the current issues surrounding women’s lack of advancement in institutions of higher education. It begins with an overview of the roots of gender inequity in society, the glass ceiling phenomenon, and the parallel gender bias in institutions of higher education. The barriers to women’s career advancement are linked to the traditional paradigm of leadership, followed by a discussion on gender and emergent leadership theory. Women’s reactions to sexism within the university are then discussed and the possible strategies of networking and mentoring as assets to career advancement are described.

Gender

Feminist scholars continue to disagree on how gender inequity is defined, and how gender equity can be achieved. However there is agreement that the concept of gender is socially constructed, that women and their experiences have historically been excluded from the development of knowledge, and that feminisms in all their diversity demand that the balance of power relationships be changed politically, structurally, and interpersonally (Schmuck, 1996). Until the first-wave feminist critique, gender was not considered important in society and was subsequently ignored. Women were wives and mothers in a stratified patriarchal society, deriving their status from their fathers and husbands, and, therefore, did not need to be heard, nor studied.

The first-wave feminists⁵, with a limited focus on the rights of middle-class women, argued against inequality and a corrupt social system maintained by and for the benefit of men (Wollstonecraft, 1792). Mary Wollstonecraft was one of the earliest White women to articulate an understanding of the depth of gender inequality in her society. She believed that if socialized equitably, both men and women would develop character and virtue. She was very clear that the cause of women's oppression was men.

By the late nineteenth century, the major influence on society was Darwin's ideology of the survival of the fittest, which included the sexual selection of men as the more evolved, and more varied, sex (Solomon, 1985). This positioned men as being in control of society to bring order over the

⁵ Feminists in the 18th and 19th centuries.

“simpler” women (middle and upper class) who were placed on a pedestal and “protected” from having to labor outside of the home, for which they would need an education. Accordingly, feminists promoted a separate but equal life for women, reflecting two other current strains of thought prevalent at that time. The modernist belief in the inherent rationality of all people implied that women had the potential to possess the same intelligence as men, and the belief that women were different than men, nevertheless, were melded by the feminist movement into a resistance coined by Estelle Freedman as “separatism as a strategy” (Nidiffer, 2001a, p.141). Women argued that their separate sphere was distinct from but equal to the men’s sphere. However this strategy was less than successful as it mirrored the rise of specialization and professionalization in the public sphere, reproducing gender schema, and reinforcing the male norm (Valian, 2000). The separation of the theoretical (considered masculine) from the practical (feminine) was the common division (Nidiffer & Bashaw, 2001), limiting choices for women in both the private and public spheres.

Beginning with Woolf and Simone de Beauvoir, the second-wave feminists⁶ began to problematize the definition of “woman” and to reveal the invisibility of women in the public sphere. Throughout the late seventies and early eighties, several approaches to challenging gender inequity emerged, settling into three broad theoretical areas of liberal feminism, radical feminism, and socialist feminism (Luke, 2001). Liberal feminists argued for equality from Wollstonecraft’s perspective of natural rights, whereas radical feminists argued

⁶ Feminists in the 20th century.

for women's difference and the need for alternative women-centered systems. Socialist feminism also argued for separate systems but those which dismantled capitalist institutions.

With the rise of poststructuralism⁷, and the emergence of postcolonial theorizing within feminist thought, as Carmen Luke notes:

The essentialist, totalizing construct of feminine subjectivity gave way to one celebrating identity politics based on kaleidoscopic difference and diversity, hybridity, and multiplicity. (Luke, 2001, p.11)

Feminist thought moved along within the postmodern⁸ wave "toward epistemological uncertainty, the rejection of metanarratives and universalisms" (Luke, 2001, p 11). Feminist scholars began to deconstruct resistant discourses and to value the difference of experience. For Black women in the USA the challenge to be seen and heard, and the challenge made to White women to see themselves, has given them an insider/outsider status in society and within academic institutions (Collins, 1986). Black feminist literature exposes the continuing difficulties women of color have in their daily lives within a White norm society. This is especially apparent in academia where women of color in faculty or administrative positions can look vertically and horizontally and see nobody, or few like them. Sonia Thompson (1998) documents how Black women faculty find it difficult to survive within a system where White women have greater access to resources, i.e. power, because of their shared culture with White men. bell hooks (2000) describes White women silencing the voices of Black

⁷ Theorists such as Jacques Lacan, Julia Kristeva, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault (Mills, 1995).

⁸ A paradigm which rejects the meta-narratives of modernism. See Corrin (1999) page 244.

women, and calls for the building of a totally inclusive feminist movement with feminist writing that speaks to everyone.

Voice and silence have been used by feminist scholars as metaphors for “women’s views of the world and their place in it” (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarul, 1986). Women are beginning to claim back the power of their own lives but continue to face many obstacles. Men dominate workplace conversations just as they control classroom discussion (Sadker & Sadker, 1994). Men’s reinforcement in the skills of interruption and speaking with confidence, received through their educational experience, render women powerless in the boardroom. A workplace culture of male dominance is continued and becomes more likely to reproduce itself, when men are supported and promoted because of the historical mores of society and the institution. In a landmark work, Joan Acker (1990) argued convincingly that all organizations are inherently gendered and not gender neutral, as they might appear. Through the largely unconscious, systemically constructed, gender inequity reproduced in part by institutions of higher education, society has difficulty breaking the cycle.

History of Women in Higher Education

Within higher education, women have struggled against gender inequity in ways that mirror the wider societal movements. From separatist strategies of the early women’s colleges, through the development of coeducation, and the continued struggles to implement Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, women and some men within institutions of higher education have challenged the resistant discourse of gender difference.

Before the civil war girls were educated, if they were educated at all, primarily in domestic studies, so that they could assist their husbands and educate their sons (Rudolph, 1962). College education was considered unnecessary for women, as it was for most young men, due to its emphasis on the classics. However there were individual resisters to the societal norms, both men and women, who developed colleges for women and who accepted women into previously all male institutions. The growth of the state universities and the establishment of the land-grant colleges gradually popularized co-educational higher education, starting in the West and then gaining acceptance in the East (Rudolph, 1962).

Between 1902 and 1912 there was a large increase in the numbers of women enrolling in co-educational institutions (Solomon, 1985). This produced a new fear that women would take over and, by implication, devalue the education that colleges provided. One solution to this threat was to encourage segregation through the curriculum, with the division of courses into “those which were useful, full-blooded, and manly, and those which were ornamental, dilettantish, and feminine” (Rudolph, 1962, p.324). The curriculum became a battleground for faculty concerns over student enrollments, with the view that unless men enrolled in a course in large numbers the subject would be devalued (Solomon, 1985).

The historical gendering of the curriculum and the subverted ideology that women do not need to be in institutions of education can be resistant to change in many forms. Sadker (1994) found the most gender biased teaching practices in education occurred not in high school, but in the college classroom. Men are

twice as likely to monopolize the class discussions and women are twice as likely to be silent. At Harvard, Krupnick (1985) also discovered a phenomenon where males perform, and females, even the most academically talented ones, watch the performance. When females did speak they were more likely to be interrupted. They were also more likely to preface their comments with self-deprecatory comments. Hall and Sandler (1982) found that professors gave males more non-verbal attention as well as increased eye contact, waited longer for an answer, and were more likely to remember the names of the males (Hall & Sandler, 1982).

However, despite the many barriers that existed and continue to exist, education has been, and continues to be, the way for women to uncover gender inequity and to redress the balance of power (Solomon, 1985). Now that women are in equal numbers as students in higher education, the variety of educational options need to continue to be equalized and women faculty promoted to professorships. Here again, the historically gendered curriculum can be a barrier to career advancement. Women “chose” literature, social sciences, health courses (except medicine) and liberal arts while men claimed the “hard” sciences and professions such as engineering, law, and medicine (Sadker & Sadker, 1994). Although these barriers are changing, it is still difficult for women to succeed in the hard sciences, and many report a continuing hostile environment in many law and medical schools (Thomas, 1990). Where men have controlled a discipline historically there is difficulty for women in both finding mentors and in being promoted to positions of power. Even in education, where women earn the most Ph.D.'s, less than half of the faculty are women and few are women of color.

Glass Ceiling

Once women make it into a “male profession” they still encounter the barrier of the “glass ceiling.” This term was first used in management literature and is mainly applied to women (David & Woodward, 1998). The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) defined it as a metaphor “an invisible – but impenetrable – barrier between women and the executive suite, preventing them from reaching the highest levels of the business world regardless of their accomplishments and merits” (p.iii). It is apparent in higher education where women faculty are rarely full professors, and, if they are, it is in the humanities. As a general rule, the lower the faculty rank, the higher the percentage of women (Headlee, 1996). Structural gender bias, that is organizational bias existing within the policies and procedures of the university, is one explanation given for the slow rise of women into positions of authority.

Laura Perna’s (2001) study examined the employment status of faculty and their reported family responsibilities with regard to gender equity issues. She found that even after controlling for differences in race, family responsibilities, human capital, and structural characteristics, women are more likely than men to hold full-time, non-tenure positions: that is, they hold positions of lower status in the academic labor market hierarchy. Further, the effects of family responsibilities are less advantageous for women than for men. Perna proposes that women get less support for research activities, less collegial support, and have higher teaching loads that affect their movement up the academic hierarchy.

The American Association of University Professors' (AAUP) response to inequity in higher education centered on family responsibilities and academic work. In their statement they suggested that "institutional policies may be easier to change than institutional cultures" (Professors, 2000). Little has been written on the role individual men and women play in the maintenance of sexism in the academy. This may be because it takes the form of more subtle sex discrimination in the implementation of "gender-neutral" departmental policies and procedures.

Sexism and Higher Education

Nijole Benokraitis (1998) describes how gender inequity has become less visible and less obvious in institutions of higher education but is still present in the form of subtle sex discrimination. This subtle sexism, as blatant sexism, occurs at the individual, organizational, institutional, and cultural levels in higher education.

At the individual level subtle sex discrimination examples include questioning a woman faculty member's professional authority and devaluing research and publications on women-related topics. Women faculty have reported receiving less departmental resources than their counterparts and being assigned the least desirable teaching schedules despite seniority over newly hired male faculty (Benokraitis, 1998). Publications in women's studies or feminist journals are dismissed as not "prestigious" contributions to the academic body of knowledge. Kolodny (1996) calls this "antifeminist intellectual harassment," because these attitudes and comments promote a work environment where

“research, scholarship, and teaching pertaining to women, gender, or gender inequities are devalued, discouraged, or altogether thwarted” (p.9).

Subtle sex discrimination at the organizational level is the gender bias of the practices embedded within the functions of the university. Benokraitis (1998) emphasizes two, the first of gate keeping practices that limit the recruitment, hiring, and tenuring of more than a few women faculty per department. The second is the difficulty of women students and faculty finding mentors in the academy as compared to male students. Women faculty in senior positions are fewer in number and may be viewed as less effective mentors than men. Rushing (2002) describes the reproduction within the university of the “ideal” faculty member historically based on the male definition, that is a person who can devote all their time and energies to research and teaching. Rushing suggests that these expectations of exclusive devotion to work, and these areas of responsibility, are reinforced by faculty members themselves. She advocates for a broader view recognizing that all faculty members have personal lives outside of their jobs, not just family responsibilities.

Subtle institutional sex discrimination in higher education has already been described with the example of the historical gendering of the curriculum and the devaluing of women dominated professions on campus. Lastly, subtle cultural sex discrimination is the hardest to reveal because of its deeply embedded nature into all facets of cultural life. Society emphasizes the few women and people of color who have “made it” as a reproduction of the general societal belief that

sexism and racism either no longer exist or have greatly diminished (Benokraitis, 1998).

In summary, in the university subtle sex discrimination pervades at all levels. The tasks predominantly performed by men come to be more highly valued and rewarded than those performed predominantly by women. Women already in leadership positions describe how they have had to behave like the men in order to be promoted and be heard in meetings (Becker, 1997; Shakeshaft, 1987). Women have been slow to advance in part because of this gendered view of effective leadership.

Leadership

In higher education leadership, women are either invisible or urged to be like men although masculinity in leadership has also not been examined (Sinclair, 1998). The unexamined norm of leadership derives from a historical societal view of leaders as military heroes. Historical theories of leadership have been proposed and critiqued by White men, and strategies and tactics proposed that maintain the status quo. Stereotypical male traits have been valorized as those concomitant with successful, effective leaders. Women and men have had to conform to these ideas and behaviors in order to be promoted in organizations.

Postmodern and feminist scholars have begun to deconstruct leadership theories for their previously unacknowledged White male bias (Lipman-Blumen, 1992; Rosener, 1990; Shakeshaft, 1987). Some call for thinking of leadership not in terms of an individual but as a team (Bensimon & Neumann, 1993). The work of feminist scholars reveals that the only lens that has been used to view

leadership is that of the White male (Shakeshaft, 1987). If women and men were the same, if they behaved in similar ways, then leaving women out of the formulation of theory wouldn't be a problem. However the White-male paradigm places everything in a hierarchy of domination and subordination, accepting the marginalization of the powerless as given (Russell, 1993). Women are marginal to the male center and, therefore, become the "Other" in discussions of leadership style. The prevailing paradigm expects women to be caring, relational, gentle, and silent whereas leaders are portrayed as tough, decisive, authoritative, and outspoken (Becker, 1997). Women's tendency to be collaborative leaders is culturally influenced and enforced by expectations of the White male system. Perhaps we are only "relational, collaborative, process oriented, informal, and problem solving" in leadership because we are expected or allowed to be? (Becker, 1997, p.35)

In resistance to the hegemonic discourses women scholars have described "women's ways" and styles of leadership. While useful in beginning to uncover the social construction of leadership, the emphasis on difference, as in other feminist areas, has not just celebrated women as leaders but has also valorized "women's ways" over "men's ways." In higher education administration women's styles of leadership were now identified as being different from male styles, and those qualities that made them different were idealized. Theories on the ethics of caring (Noddings, 1992) and women's ways of knowing (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarul, 1986) were used to revalue the experiences of women.

Women's styles of leadership were privileged as being more nurturing, collegial, collaborative, and supportive (Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1990). However these women-centered approaches also homogenized the community of women and led to the social mobility of White middle-class women, at the expense of all others (Blackmore, 1999). They also precluded challenging the linking of rationality to masculinity and leadership and the presumed irrationality of emotion and feminine leadership. A danger exists in identifying a female leadership style, encouraging stereotyping and essentializing, and punishing women who are seen as too male in their style (Becker, 1997). An idea of "women's styles of leadership" promotes a comparative mode of thought as to which is the "better" style. It also allows hidden biases to remain hidden, and women are continued to be judged against the dominant discourse and found lacking (Sadker & Sadker, 1994). The prejudice that difference is weakness comes from this type of dualistic thinking. The idea of women's leadership as being caring, collaborative, and flexible has reified women into one homogenous group, which inevitably constrains and ultimately disempowers us (Blackmore, 1999).

As the literature has shown, scholarly thought on leadership has been dominated either by the White-male discourse or by the women's-separatism discourse. Both discourses have essentialized both women and men. However recent leadership literature, known as emergent literature, is beginning to focus on research that suggests that a connective form of leadership is highly effective in

today's complex, information dominated, multiply constituent climate of higher education (Nidiffer, 2001b).

This new paradigm of leadership is described under varying names, beginning with James Burns' descriptions of transformational leadership (Burns, 1978), moving through generative (Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1992), connective (Lipman-Blumen, 1992) and emergent (Allen & Cherrey, 1994) to an integrative model (Nidiffer, 2001b).

Jean Lipman-Blumen's connective leadership (Lipman-Blumen, 1992) and emergent leadership, as described by Allen and Cherrey (1994), are proposed as effective styles for the changing, global, information age. Emergent leadership is described as a web-like structure to fit the present, unlimited shape of the information age. Lipman-Blumen (1992) provides data supporting women excelling in behaviors needed in the new leadership style, such as collaboration, flexibility, and altruism. She argues that the socialization of women prepares them to be connective leaders.

However, Jana Nidiffer moves further in acknowledging that a "masculine-deficit" model also exists and proposes a model of leadership that values a leader with a blend of stereotypical male and stereotypical female attributes (Nidiffer, 2001b). Within this model leaders would be chosen based on an "integrated collection of characteristics" (p. 112). A benefit of this model is that women will be perceived as being capable of effective leadership. This may address not only the hiring of leaders who "look" like leaders but also the

discrepancies shown by studies between a leader's espoused leadership style and the perceptions of others in the organization.

Margaret Jablonski's study found that women presidents are often not perceived as being emergent or connective leaders, especially by women faculty on campus (Jablonski, 1996). If the campus climate can be changed to acknowledge the gender bias of the traditional view of an effective leader, and to embrace a diversity of leadership styles, then both women and men can begin to operationalize leadership theories for the benefit of the institution. As Guido-DiBrito, Noteboom, Nathan and Fenty (1997) suggest:

While it is likely that people will perceive a connection between gender and leadership for the foreseeable future, it is possible that leadership is evolving, and that effective leaders will more readily utilize elements of both traditional and new paradigm leadership. (p.30)

Women's Reactions to Sexism in the Academy

The stresses experienced by women faculty in the university setting have been reported as being different in both quantity and quality as compared to the stresses experienced by men (Carli, 1998). Linda Carli (1998) suggests that women react in different ways to these gender-related professional stresses, expressing denial, lower feelings of entitlement, self-blame, and reduced feelings of control.

Denial occurs when women individually experience sexism but fail to recognize and name their experience as such. Believing that gender bias no longer exists due to its subtlety, as described previously, women may attribute their experience to bad luck or blame some aspect of themselves (Carli, 1998). They

may further conclude that their experience was unique to them. Carli describes telling a story at a conference about a woman who had come up for tenure and had found some files had disappeared from her packet. Following her talk many women from the audience and the presentation panel expressed that they had experienced the very same thing. Sometimes women recognize discrimination towards other women but not toward themselves because recognizing that victim status is aversive. As Carli (1998) states “women who acknowledge that they are discriminated against must also acknowledge that they lack control and that their colleagues and institutions are treating them unfairly” (p.280).

The results of several studies suggest that women typically are satisfied with lower rewards than men, and that they do not feel as entitled to higher compensation as men do (Major, 1987; Moore, 1992). Moore (1992) found that with women faculty the knowledge of being part of a group that is under compensated actually lowered women’s feelings of entitlement. That is, the more women faculty believed that they were with other similar faculty who were underpaid, the less pay they thought they should receive. Moore concludes that these lower feelings of entitlement are due to women’s lower status in society and thus they expect and receive lower pay.

Self-blame, i.e., taking personal responsibility for events, is common in women in academia especially in the domain of research and scholarly productivity (Carli, 1998). Blaming themselves for their lack of advancement can lead to reduced feelings of control. Some studies have found that women tend to attribute their success at work with external factors including luck (Fox & Ferri,

1992; Heilman & Kram, 1978; Reid, 1987). If some women perceive a lack of control over their own career success then levels of stress increase and women must use passive or active coping strategies to enact change. One of the coping strategies reported by Carli (1998) is for women to seek out social support in response to stress. In the university two options for support are networking and mentors.

Networking

Scholars are producing growing evidence that women in higher education have historically acted as change agents, that is, they have simultaneously both acted upon the institution as well as being acted upon by the institution (Nidiffer & Bashaw, 2001). One form this interaction can take place in is through the use of a networking strategy. Through forming professional networks and organizations women continue to act upon the institution, and women's scholarship is beginning to reveal historically "that women's administrative networks were broader and deeper than one might imagine" (Nidiffer & Bashaw, 2001, p. 3). Scholars who studied women-centered groups in the 1960's suggested that even mature women, although expected to be invested in maintaining the status quo, do instead "embrace activism in various, unexpected forms" (Bashaw, 2001, p 25).

Academics have been noted to have benefited from networking in five different ways: collaboration, exchange of information, support, career strategizing, and visibility (O'Leary & Mitchell, 1990). Through networks academics can further their careers by collaborating on projects, finding information about policies and procedures, gaining professional support in their

work, discussing ways to further their careers, and providing ways to increase their visibility both within the institution and within their profession.

Networks and Gender

In higher education “old-boy” networks have been in existence since the seventeenth century (O’Leary & J.M., 1990) where they were called the “invisible college.” This was the group of favored scholars who controlled finances, reputations, and the fate of new research and scientific ideas (Prize & Beaver, 1966). This pattern has continued both formally and informally since with challenges to its existence only emerging in the late 1970’s/1980’s (O’Leary & Mitchell, 1990). Several scholars have noted the exclusion of women from these networks in both the research and departmental arenas (Mitchell, 1987; Simon, Clark, & Galway, 1972; Zuckerman & Cole, 1975). Mitchell’s study (1987) suggested that women were beginning to rely on female colleagues forming an “old girl” network of connections.

Professional organizations, including the National Association for Women in Education (NAWE) and the American Association of University Women (AAUW), have provided women with significant networking and leadership opportunities (Jones & Komives, 2001). However, as Lipman-Blumen asserts, these networks of women are less like the informal, elite, male informal networks and are more open, formal, and inclusive (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). O’Leary and Mitchell (1990) suggest that women may be reluctant to join networks because of either fear of reprisals from their male colleagues for causing “trouble,” or

because of the lack of sufficient women to form effective networks in the first place.

Mentors

Mentorship, as reported by O’Leary and Mitchell (1990), derives from Greek mythology and describes support and guidance given by an older adult to a younger adult to help them advance through life and work. Today, mentoring is described as a hierarchically structured relationship whose function is to sponsor and coach the younger person towards career goals and to provide the psychosocial functions of role-modeling, acceptance, counseling and friendship (Kram, 1988). For women a variety of different types of mentorship relationships have been described such as short-term mentors, peer mentors, and horizontal mentors who may be older and with longer job experience at the same level as the person being mentored (Duff, 1999).

Research on the utility of a mentoring relationship for advancing the careers of women in higher education has been inconclusive. Research conducted in the 1980’s suggested that mentoring is a very valuable tool for women in administrative positions in the university in assisting them to advance (Durnovo, 1988; Moore, 1992; Queralt, 1982 as reported in Scanlon, 1997). However, later studies have also addressed the disadvantages of mentoring and the difficulties facing women in acquiring mentors. Scanlon (1997) cites research suggesting that women in mentoring relationships may develop dependency upon a male mentor or may demonstrate “adoption of male values in order to be sponsored and accepted” (p.49). Further, with the limited number of women in senior positions

restricting the availability of mentors, married women will often use their spouses in that role (Anderson & Ramey, 1990). Scanlon (1997) concludes that “mentoring, while a powerful tool, is only one means for breaking through the glass ceiling” (p. 55). Another reported reason for the failure of women to support other women at work through mentoring has been called the “Queen Bee” syndrome.

Queen Bees were described by Staines, Travis, and Jayerante (1974) as women who have achieved professional success, are strongly individualistic, and tend to deny the existence of sex discrimination. They were in positions of power but failed to help other women succeed. Various explanations have been offered as to why the Queen Bees were not supportive of other women. Kanter (1977) suggested that they feared other successful women challenging their power. Bardwick (1977) offered an alternative interpretation of the so-called Queen Bees behaviors. She suggested that senior women did not feel powerful, but that junior women saw senior women’s power as a barrier to their own success. Therefore, the relationship between senior and junior women is constrained by the resentment of the junior woman coupled with her need to ingratiate herself with the senior woman. Thus, the Queen Bee senses the ambivalence of the junior woman towards her and gains little reciprocity in the mentor relationship.

There has been little recent research to confirm or refute the presence of the Queen Bee phenomenon. However, feminist and critical race theorists suggest that women can be both oppressed and the oppressors, particularly White women

who have greater access to resources and power secondary to their shared culture with White men (Thompson, 1998).

Summary

The literature describes a historical basis for the lack of advancement by women in higher education. In all aspects of knowledge production and knowledge transmission women have been ignored or devalued. Despite equality in access to undergraduate study and recently in certain fields of graduate study, women remain few in number in senior faculty and administrative positions.

Persistent gender inequity is reported in the research and is described as manifesting itself in a variety of different ways within the university setting. Structure, leadership, and women themselves have been posed as the causes of the very slow movement of women through the glass ceiling. Lack of accommodation for women's family responsibilities, low pipeline numbers, and organizational policies are identified as some of the structural barriers limiting career advancement. Some scholars have suggested that women have been slow to advance in part because of the gendered view of effective leadership. Sex discrimination is reported as continuing in hidden and subtle forms, including questioning women's professional abilities and commitment and devaluing research on women-related topics. Mentoring and networking have been proposed as strategies that women must use to help them advance in their careers to counteract the established formal and informal networks utilized by men.

While scholars have suggested the possible barriers to women's advancement and some strategies to overcome them, little has been written about

how women in the academy today perceive those suggested barriers and strategies. The focus of this study was to explore how women faculty and women administrators describe their efforts to advance within the historically gender biased higher education system. To provide a rich description of the experiences of women as they respond to resistant discourses of gender inequity a qualitative research design was selected. The rationale for the selection of this design and the description of the methods used is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter III: Methodology

Introduction

Much of the literature on women in higher education, gender inequity, and leadership has been and continues to be positivist⁹ with emphasis on quantifying job title and salary differences, and leadership styles. With the purpose of this study being to examine the experiences of women in faculty and administrative positions in one institution of higher education, a qualitative research design was deemed more appropriate. In this chapter the method selection and context of the study will be explained. Then the positionality of the researcher will be introduced and the selection of the participants will be described. Finally, the qualitative research strategy and techniques will be presented.

Selection of Method

The methodology used for this study was a qualitative research design. A qualitative design was selected to add depth and detailed information to those barriers to women's career advancement in higher education already identified in the literature. The emphasis of the research was to further the understanding of the experiences of women who are aspiring to, or who are in, senior level positions within an institution of higher education. It was anticipated that rich data could be collected concerning their activities, including those which challenge inequity and those which support their ambitions. A qualitative methodology

⁹ For a discussion on positivism and its assumptions, including its belief in a single reality/truth and the assumption of the attainability of objectivity see Lincoln & Guba (1985)

supported this aim “to inductively and holistically understand human experience in context-specific settings” (Patton, 1990).

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research has become accepted as the preferred method of inquiry where the issues being researched need to be examined in depth and in detail. Inductive reasoning is one theme of qualitative inquiry. Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) is a method where theory is generated from data using inductive reasoning. Phenomenology is a theoretical orientation within qualitative research where the focus is on people and their experiences and how they make meaning of the worlds in which they live (Patton, 1990). A phenomenological approach to an issue assumes that “there is an essence or essences to shared experiences” (Patton, 1990, p.70). Thus the assumption is of a commonality of experience that can be revealed and that it is of importance to do so. Interactive Qualitative Analysis (IQA) (Northcutt, 2001) developed by Norvell Northcutt at the University of Texas at Austin is a type of grounded theory. IQA combines aspects of grounded theory and phenomenology in producing and analyzing qualitative data. Therefore it was an appropriate strategy to use to explore in depth the complex issues involved in the career advancement of women in higher education. The IQA process will be described in more detail later in the chapter. IQA uses both focus groups and interviews to generate data. Focus groups were used in this study to generate interview protocols. Participants in the focus groups identified broad perspectives on the issues which were then examined in depth in the interviews. To function efficiently, a focus group should not contain too much

heterogeneity (Debus, 1990) as commonality of experience provides faster rapport and greater safety for the participants.

The art of qualitative interviewing has been described by scholars from a variety of different epistemologies (Patton, 1990; Scheurich, 1997; Wolcott, 1995). For this study of women by a woman it was necessary for the researcher to be aware not only of the described types of qualitative interviews but also the feminist perspective that brings gender into the center of the complex interplay between the interviewer and the participant.

Patton (1990) describes three types of approaches towards qualitative interviewing using open-ended interviews “beginning with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit” (p. 278). He describes three approaches as firstly the informal conversational interview which is a natural, spontaneous flow of questions and answers typical of conversations between the researcher and participant occurring during observations in the field. The second is the general interview guide approach where the researcher has formulated questions about the issues to be discussed, but the presentation of those questions are flexible and can be adapted in each individual interview. The third approach is the standardized open-ended interview where all interviewees are taken through the same questions in the same sequence, typically used when large numbers of people are interviewed by multiple interviewers. In Interactive Qualitative Analysis a hybrid of the general interview guide is used with the variant being that the question guide is developed from the words of the participants in the focus groups.

Techniques for semistructured interviewing, as described by Wolcott (1995), emphasize listening and respect for conversational patterns. From a postmodern perspective Scheurich (1997) describes the power and resistance present in any interview:

Interviewees do not simply go along with the researcher's program, even if it is a structured rather than open one. I find interviewees carve out space of their own, that they can often control some or part of the interview, that they push against or resist my goals, my intentions, my questions, my meanings. (p. 71)

He suggests that along with this dominance and resistance interplay, which occurs in any interview, there are events that are chaotic in nature¹⁰ adding an "indeterminate ambiguity" (p.73). This disruption is brought into order by the researchers imposing their conscious and unconscious assumptions, values, beliefs, and social positionality, during both the interview and the interpretive process. Therefore in this study the researcher presents, at Scheurich's and other scholars' suggestion, a brief description of herself to situate the research for the reader. In this way the order imposed by the researcher can be more clearly examined.

One feminist perspective on the interview process presented by Dana Jack (1991) explores how to listen to the voices of women hearing their stories outside of the expected theories that constitute a norm based on men's lives and experiences. This is relevant to the questions asked in this study in the areas of both career advancement and leadership where women's experiences are viewed

¹⁰ Scheurich uses the term chaos to add another dimension to the interview dynamic that occurs with the dominance-resistance binary of critical theory. He suggests that events occur in a "wild profusion" in chaos/freedom that exceed dominance/resistance interpretations (p.73).

as deviant. Jack suggests the researcher attend to both the women's own explanation of words used and also to what is not said in the interview. As she states:

I make sure I attend to what is missing, what literary critics call the "presence of the absence" in women's texts.....Looking closely at the language and the particular meanings of important words women use to describe their experiences allows us to understand how women are adapting to the culture within which they live. (p. 19)

Jack suggests that the researcher listen to the interviewee's point of view by examining the moral language, the meta-statements, and the internal consistency and contradictions in the person's statements about recurring themes. Further, the researcher should listen to him/herself noticing their own areas of confusion and personal discomfort. By attending to the reciprocal, interactive nature of the interview the participant's meaning can be more closely represented. This is done by presenting not only the text but the process of the interview where the woman moves between her own self-reflection and the social and cultural context within which she lives.

Context

The context of a single institution was selected for this study. The university is located in Texas and comparable to other large research universities in the country. Contingency theories predict that the nature of appropriate or effective leadership is contingent upon context (Nidiffer, 2001). Therefore, in order to link the experiences of the women participants it was important that they share a historical and present context for their views on gender inequity. Similarly, their daily experiences were examined from a tactical feminist

perspective that women work for gender equity on a daily basis through their interactions with men and women (Blackmore, 1999).

Using Alcoff's (1988) poststructural concept of positionality, women can take gender as a position from which to derive political agency.¹¹ The policies, procedures, and routines of the institution, in a historical and everyday context, can be examined from a point that exposes them as gender-biased. As Alcoff states:

It becomes possible to ground a feminist argument for women, not on a claim that their innate capacities are being stunted, but that their position within the network lacks power and mobility and requires radical change. (p. 433-4)

Alcoff also suggests that women should define themselves through their relative position to the external situation. Woman, as an individual, has directionality that is specific, but that is only meaningful in relation to her position within a dynamic context. The position in which women find themselves can then be used as a location for the construction of meaning. In this way, by combining identity politics and the subject as positioned, both essentialism can be avoided and gender can continue to be argued as relevant. Essentialism is considered by many feminists to be "an ideological defence of the status quo" (Corrin, 1999) of patriarchy and the oppression of women. Essentialist ideas are those that "consider human behaviour as 'natural' and as permanent and unchanging" (Corrin, 1999).

¹¹ Agency is defined by Sara Mills as "a concern with who acts and who is acted upon" (Mills, 1995, p. 203).

In this study women were asked to construct what career advancement into higher education leadership roles meant to them within their daily context at a large research institution. The perspectives of faculty and administrators are likely to differ due to their different job responsibilities, goals, and perceptions of university life. The results of the American Council on Education's project on leadership and institutional transformation as described by Peter Eckel (1998) found that faculty and senior administration, in this case presidents, disagreed on the role of faculty in leading comprehensive institutional change. He notes:

This divergence is suggestive of different 'world views' of faculty and presidents on who is in charge of both setting the course for the institution and leading it. (p.34)

Therefore, data were collected separately on the experiences of faculty and administrators, with participants self-identifying as one or both.

Positionality

In qualitative research it is important to situate the knowledge for the reader. Donna Haraway describes objectivity in feminist scholarship as "situated knowledge" (Haraway, 1991). She proposes:

Situated knowledges require that the object of knowledge be pictured as an actor and agent, not a screen or a ground or a resource, never finally as slave to the master that closes off the dialectic in his unique agency and authorship of 'objective' knowledge. (p.198)

Both the women participants and the researcher are agents in the research process. To reflect this process brief descriptions of the researcher's background and experiences are presented below, and in Chapter V the writing will change from third person narrative to first person narrative. Writing in the first person is encouraged in some qualitative and feminist research when the researcher needs

to emphasize the mutuality of the knowledge construction (Ellis, 1997; Foley, 1998). It also places the researcher within the experience and not postured as the authority figure commenting on the participants' words from an unbiased stance (Foley, 1998; Van Maanen, 1988).

As a White woman, tenure-track faculty member (in a different university setting) this researcher was not an “objective,”¹² removed observer in the research process; however, the data came from multiple observers grouping their experiences through “consensual validation” (Patton, 1990). As Patton goes on to describe, “objectivity” in qualitative research is about “researcher credibility and trustworthiness, about fairness and balance” (p.481). Therefore, the researcher will describe her positionality to allow the reader to frame the research through an explanation of the assumptions made prior to this research that come from the researchers past experiences, the multiple voices that shape her observations and meaning making. In qualitative inquiry “the researcher is the instrument” (Patton, 1990).

As a woman of multiple backgrounds, contexts, and experiences, the researcher was both an insider and outsider in this study. We, the researcher and the women she talked with, all had commonalities and differences in our experiences in academia and in life. The researcher is privileged and she is oppressed. She has biases and assumptions both conscious and hidden to her. In reporting this study the researcher is not at the center, but her gender and her current profession are. The complexities of inequities, women, and leadership

¹² For more discussion of objectivity and bias see Wolcott (1995, p. 159-166)

have been and continue to be revealed to the researcher throughout her graduate education. Conversations with senior administrators, women and men, highlight the disjuncture between leadership theory and praxis¹³. The struggles of those within institutions of higher education to challenge the hegemony are engaged in by the researcher as an insider faculty member, and received by the researcher as a doctoral student. The researcher's insider/outsider status in the study was explored through reflexivity throughout the research process using journaling.

Sample Size

In qualitative research sample sizes are typically small and the participants are purposively selected for their ability to provide detailed information on the topic to be studied. A purposeful sample was indicated in this study because of the power of selecting "information-rich cases for study in depth" (Patton, 1990, p. 169) to answer the specific research questions posed. The strategies used in determining the sample were criterion sampling and snowball sampling. Criterion sampling was identifying participants who met certain criteria (Patton, 1990) as outlined in the Participants section of this chapter. Snowball sampling is a technique for locating "information-rich key informants" (Patton, 1990). Women identified using criterion sampling were asked to provide the names of other women who, they believed, would meet the same criteria. Used together these sampling strategies provided the most appropriate pool of women to answer the questions that were posed by this study.

¹³ Praxis is "uniting theory and practice through action" (Corrin, 1999)

Patton (1990) suggests that a qualitative sample size should be judged within the context of the purpose of the study (p.185). In this study the purpose is to provide rich descriptions of the career advancement of women in faculty and administrative positions in one university. With such a limited pool of potential informants who had a choice as to whether to participate or not, the sample recruited reflects all of the participants who were willing to be part of the study.

Participants

A purposeful, homogenous, sample of women employed by a large four-year research institution was asked to participate in focus groups and interviews. Focus groups are typically composed of a homogenous sample of participants (Patton, 1990, p.173). The voices of women in higher education, although individually different, have a commonality of background that allows for the generation of rich data. These focus groups and interviews reflected the voices of women who:

- a) hold various full-time faculty and/or administrative positions within the university
- b) have been sensitized to the importance of counteracting gender inequity, in part through their participation in the Leadership Texas program, other leadership programs, or who have been active in women's organizations in the university
- c) who wish to advance their careers as evidenced through their decision to participate in the Leadership Texas program or other leadership programs,

or as evidenced by their identification as leaders by other women in the university

The participants were asked to self-identify as to their role as faculty, administration, or both. Several women self-identified as both faculty and administration but then chose to answer the questions which they felt most reflected their current daily experiences as either a faculty member or an administrator.

The selection of these women allowed for a commonality of contextual experiences while reflecting differences in background and career focus. The literature strongly supports the presence of an additive effect of multiple oppressions for Black women and other women of color, which occurs as an intersection of sexism and racism. However the small number of women of color in higher education precluded the use of focus groups and interviews to explore this intersection directly. Women of color did participate in the study and their voices are present but the majority of experiences presented are those of White women.

The population selected was women faculty and administrators who had attended a leadership development program. The university provided a list of 21 attendees that had been sponsored and 3 additional people who were currently attending a statewide program. Of the 24 women listed 21 were still employed at the institution. All were contacted and 17 agreed to participate. Due to circumstances that either prevented them from attending the focus groups or from scheduling an interview, 11 women from this original list participated in the

study. During conversations with study participants other women were identified as being leaders within the institution itself. This resulted in a list of another 13 women, of which 8 agreed to and did participate in the study. These women met the criteria of having participated in a leadership program other than the statewide program (Leadership Texas) and/or were members of the Faculty Women's Organization steering committee of the institution. Therefore, of a total of 34 possible women identified, 19 women (56%), were ultimately study participants.

Interactive Qualitative Analysis

As noted previously this study used a qualitative research strategy, Interactive Qualitative Analysis (IQA) (Northcutt, 2001). A phenomenological perspective was used to guide the inquiry through a focus, described by Patton (1990), of answering "What is the structure and essence of the experience of this phenomenon for these people?" (p. 69). The data collected are, therefore, the words and experiences of the participants along with the experiences of the researcher. Women were asked to describe their experiences as faculty members or as administrators as they act upon and are acted upon in one institution of higher education.

Focus Groups

A total of two focus groups were conducted, one with each of the following constituencies:

- a) Women in administrative positions in the selected university, who met the criteria stated earlier in the participants section

- b) Women in faculty positions in the selected university, who met the criteria stated earlier in the participants section

Each focus group was presented with an issue statement which was crafted to elicit ideas on the topic of the study:

Please think about the story of your life in higher education and especially here at this university. Reflect on your experiences, thoughts and feelings as a woman faculty member. Picture yourself going about your daily work, and the events and the experiences that have brought you to where you are today. What words come to mind when I ask the question “What does it mean to be a woman faculty member here at _____ University?” Please open your eyes and put those words on the index cards in front of you. Put one word or thought per card. The question is what words come to your mind when you consider what it means to be a woman faculty member at _____ University.

Northcutt (2001) suggests that the issue statement be vague rather than specific and that a “carefully constructed metaphor” could be used. Vague was interpreted by the researcher neither as formless nor unclear but as suggesting breadth and variety of thought. Therefore language such as “story,” “experiences,” “thoughts,” “feelings,” “daily,” “brought you to” was used in the statement. When the issue statement was piloted with women faculty at the researcher’s university, it was found that it was difficult to add breadth while maintaining clarity for people unused to this type of activity. So the specific directions “what words come to mind” and “place one word or thought per card” were inserted. This may have inevitably limited generation somewhat by moving too concretely from imagery to practicality. The women were then asked to place their thoughts on index cards in silent brainstorming, a form of nominal group technique. The purpose of this was to get an initial generation of ideas about the

issue from the individuals without collaboration. Each woman could contribute her own thoughts without alteration or censure by others. The cards were placed in the middle of the table. Once all the women had finished they took the cards and identified categories of meaning, and thus began to capture their own lived realities in a form of inductive coding. This coding took the form of the women taking the index cards and placing them into similarly themed groups. There was discussion and rearrangement of the cards by the women until everyone could express some degree of comfort with the categories generated. Each category was then given a title that the women thought encompassed the ideas subsumed within that title. These categories of meaning, termed “Affinities” (Northcutt, 2001) were then developed into an interview protocol for each group by the researcher. The affinities that emerged from each focus group are presented in Chapter IV. The women administrator interview protocol is presented in Appendix A. The women faculty interview protocol is presented in Appendix B.

Interviews

Six interviews were conducted with women who identified themselves as administrators, although two also referred to themselves as faculty during their interviews. Five interviews were conducted with women faculty. Before the interview began each woman signed a consent-to-participate form. The interviews were all conducted in the women’s offices on the main campus of the university. Each interview was audio taped and transcribed by the researcher. After each interview and during the coding, the researcher kept a journal detailing perceptions, thoughts and feelings to provide an audit trail of the research process.

This journal is presented in narrative form in Chapter V in the discussion of personal and epistemological reflexivity. Following transcription each interview was coded.

Axial Coding

Data from the interviews were initially analyzed using axial coding. Axial coding is the taking apart of the textual data for closer examination. Each interview was axially coded, line by line, by hand, using the affinities identified by the respective focus group. During this coding several new affinities emerged and prior interviews were re-examined with the newly emerged affinities. Once all the interviews in each group, administrators and faculty, were coded the emergent themes were described with relevant quotes. This revealed that some of the new affinities were sub-categories of the original affinities generated by the focus groups. With the rich descriptions of the women interviewees, some of the affinities were renamed by the researcher to reflect more accurately the flavor of the affinity.

Theoretical Coding

After the axial coding was completed each interview was re-coded, line by line, by hand, using a theoretical coding method. The theoretical coding was used to establish any patterns of relationships and influence between the affinities. This was achieved by the researcher identifying each instance where the women linked two affinities while they were describing an issue. The instance was recorded along with the direction of the affinity. That is, between two affinities “A” and “B” it was coded whether the woman was saying that “A” caused “B” or that “B”

caused “A.” The frequency of instances for each pair of affinities and their causal directions were tallied in a spreadsheet format.

In Interactive Qualitative Analysis, the Pareto principle is used to organize the extensive data gathered. According to Northcutt and McCoy (2002), the Pareto principle states “a minority of the variables in a system will account for the majority of the total variation in outcomes.” (Northcutt & McCoy, 2002, Systems Relationships, Pareto Principle, Screen 1)). Therefore, when applied to a system, a minority of affinity relationship pairs will account for a majority of the variation. The following method was used to simplify the system resultant from the data while maintaining the integrity of the variation.

The pairs of affinities were sorted in descending order of frequency. A cumulative frequency, cumulative percent (relation), and cumulative percent (frequency) were calculated to establish the power for each affinity pair relationship. By establishing the power, that is the difference between the cumulative frequency percent and the cumulative relational percent, a cut off point was determined to establish those paired affinities to be used. This cut off point was determined as the peak of the power curve that is “where each successive relationship accounts for proportionally less and less of the system variation” (Northcutt & McCoy, 2002, Systems Relationships, Pareto Principle, Screen 7). The pareto charts for this study, showing the cut off points used, are in Appendix C for the women administrators and in Appendix E for the women faculty.

Interrelationship Digraph

The affinity pair relationships above the cut off point were transferred into an Inter-Relationship Digraph (IRD). The IRD is a matrix that displays the results of the theoretical coding in order to tabulate the relationships between the affinities. An example is shown below:

Table 1: Sample Inter-Relationship Digraph

	1	2	3	4	OUT	IN	Δ
1		↑	↑		2	0	2
2	←			←	0	2	-2
3	←				0	1	-1
4		↑			1	0	1

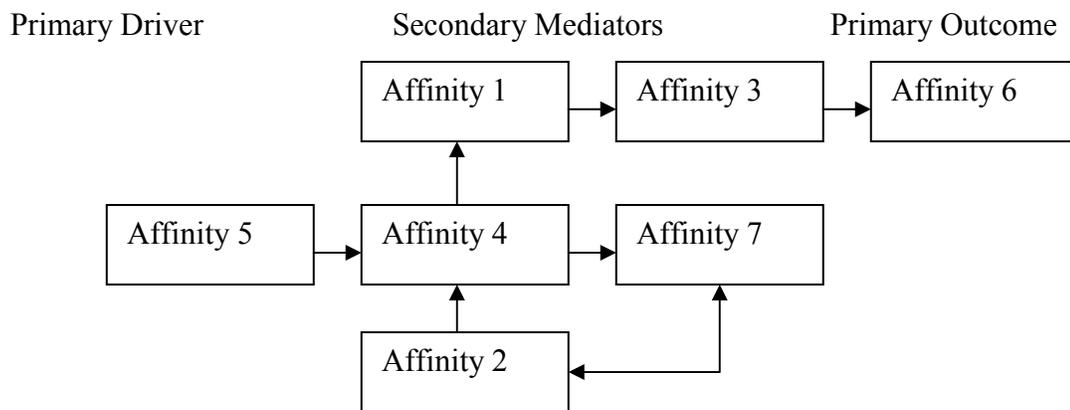
The paired relationships are entered as to the arrows going into and out of each affinity. The Out arrows are a measure of the extent to which each affinity is a relative cause of the system, and the In arrows are a measure of the extent that each affinity is a relative effect of the system (Northcutt, 2001). The Out and In arrows are summed and the difference between the Out and the In calculated. This difference is expressed as positive and negative numbers. When sorted in descending order the affinities can be assigned into levels. Those with large positive numbers are the primary drivers of the system. Those with smaller positive numbers are secondary drivers of the system. Those with small negative numbers are secondary outcomes of the system, and those with large negative numbers are primary outcomes of the system.

Primary drivers are those affinities that have a large influence on other affinities. Primary outcomes are those affinities that are largely influenced by other affinities. Between the primary drivers and the primary outcomes are the secondary mediating drivers and outcomes that are both influenced by and exert influence upon the primary drivers and primary outcomes respectively. These relationships are represented in a final form through the use of a System Influence Diagram.

System Influence Diagram

A System Influence Diagram (SID) is a modified form of path diagram that represents the relationships between the affinities that emerged from the theoretical coding and that were tabulated using an Inter-Relationship Digraph. The traditional path diagram format is modified as the SID allows recursive, that is feedback, loops to be shown. The system influence diagram depicts how the primary drivers are related to the primary outcomes through the secondary drivers and secondary outcomes. The following figure is an example of a SID:

Figure 1: Sample System Influence Diagram



The following rules were applied to construct the SID for each group in this study:

- The affinities were arranged in a circular format with the primary drivers on the far left hand side of the circle and the primary outcomes on the far right hand side of the circle.
- Arrows are drawn from affinity to affinity to show the Out/In relationships tabulated in the IRD.
- Those lines that connect an affinity with one to its left indicate a recursive relationship/feedback loop.

This resulted in an extremely complex SID for each group. Therefore, for clarity those arrows that were redundant, that is the relationship between two affinities was represented through the linkage of one or more other affinities, were removed. To further “unclutter” the diagram, the SID was drawn in a linear progression that allowed driver and outcome relationships and feedback loops to be clearly identified. The SID’s for this study are presented in Chapter IV. In Chapter V the SID for the women administrators group is described and interpreted in both a theoretical and applied manner. Similarly the SID for the women’s faculty group is described and interpreted in a theoretical and applied manner in Chapter V. Then the two SID’s are compared and contrasted.

Summary

This study used a qualitative research design, Interactive Qualitative Analysis, that uses both focus groups and interviews to generate data. Focus groups were used in this study to generate interview protocols which were given

to a purposeful, homogenous, sample of women employed by a large four-year research institution. The population selected was women faculty and administrators who had attended a leadership development program. Women of color did participate in the study and their voices are present but the majority of experiences presented are those of White women. Six interviews were conducted with women who identified themselves as administrators, although two also referred to themselves as faculty during their interviews. Five interviews were conducted with women faculty. Each interview was axially coded, line by line, by hand, using the affinities identified by the respective focus group. The interviews were theoretically coded and the relationships between the affinities placed in a path diagram called a system influence diagram. In the next chapter the data from the focus groups and interviews are presented in the words of the women participants.

Chapter IV: Findings

The purpose of this study was threefold. The first purpose was to describe the experiences of women administrators and women faculty as they respond to resistant discourses of gender inequity in their university. The second purpose was to describe the practices they use for career advancement and/or for preparation for the assumption of emergent leadership roles. In this chapter the women's voices will be presented as they responded to the first two purposes of the study. Their voices are short quotes used to illustrate each theme, termed an affinity, in this study, reflecting the commonality and diversity of experiences of the women interviewed. The third purpose of the study is presented in Chapter V where more extensive quotes will be used to illustrate the relationships existing between inequity factors and career advancement practices as identified by women faculty, and inequity factors and career advancement practices identified by women administrators.

Demographics

As described in the methodology of the study, two focus groups were held: one composed of women faculty and one composed of women administrators. Between six and eight women were expected at each focus group, but only four turned up at each session. This was due to the busy schedules of these women and some unexpected last minute events that caused them to cancel. Following the focus groups, eleven women were interviewed. Thus, this study is reflective of the experiences of a total of nineteen women. The women

represented a diversity of departments and colleges in the university. They were mostly White women, and their demographics are presented below:

Table 2: Demographics of Women Administrators

Women Administrators	Years as Faculty	Total years as Administrator	Years as admin at this university	Ethnicity
Focus group	4	21	21	White
Focus group	4	30	25	White
Focus group	1	17	12	White
Focus group	0	17	4	White
Interview	17	9	9	White
Interview	0	16	3	of Color
Interview	0	17	14	White
Interview	0	22	22	White
Interview	13	15	7	White
Interview	14	2	2	of Color

Four of the women administrators described themselves as participating in the Faculty Women’s Organization in some capacity. The positions they held in the university were associate deans, deans, associate vice-presidents, and vice-presidents from a variety of central institutional offices.

Table 3: Demographics of Women Faculty

Women Faculty	Total years as Faculty	Years as Faculty at this university	Ethnicity
Focus group	15	15	White
Focus group	33	20	White
Focus group	27	27	White
Focus group	28	28	White
Interview	18	13	of Color
Interview	24	8	White
Interview	11	5	White
Interview	27	22	of Color
Interview	29	12	White

Seven of the women faculty reported being involved with the Faculty Women's organization in some capacity. Their positions within the university were full professors, senior lecturers and lecturers. They represented the academic areas of education, social sciences, natural sciences, law, engineering, computer sciences, humanities, and the fine arts.

Both focus groups were held in rooms that reflected the historical tradition of the university. The faculty focus group was held in a comfortable room in one of the university libraries and the administrator group was held in a wood paneled conference room in the administration building at the center of the university. The context in which each group was held is described in more detail in Chapter V.

Introductions were unnecessary in either focus group. These women knew each other, to varying degrees, through their involvement in a variety of organizations and committees. Following social exchanges, the women were asked to close their eyes and reflect on the following narrative statement:

Please think about the story of your life in higher education and especially here at this university. Reflect on your experiences, thoughts and feelings as a woman faculty member. Picture yourself going about your daily work, and the events and the experiences that have brought you to where you are today. What words come to mind when I ask the question "What does it mean to be a woman faculty member here at _____ University?" Please open your eyes and put those words on the index cards in front of you. Put one word or thought per card. The question is what words come to your mind when you consider what it means to be a woman faculty member at _____ University.

The same narrative statement was posed to the focus group of women administrators, except that the words "woman faculty member" were replaced with "woman administrator."

There was discussion and a great deal of sorting of the cards until categories emerged that all agreed upon and the categories were named. The categories, called affinities in Interactive Qualitative Analysis, are described in their respective groups. For ease of reading, the following symbols will be used:

 will be attached to the quotes from the women administrators

 will be attached to the quotes from the women faculty.

Women Administrators

The focus group of women administrators generated the following affinities:

Table 3: Focus Group Affinities – Women Administrators

Affinity	Descriptors
Qualities Needed	Sense of humor; flexible; resilient; competent; good people skills; persistent; patient; strong leader
Trouble Spots	Frustrating; exciting; rewarding
Job Requirement	Busy, busy, busy; hard work
Balancing Act	A search for balance in professional and personal life; lots of different challenges; challenging
Environmental Issues	Creative in working the system; political environment
Personal/Professional Development	Mentor; being a mentor; having a mentor; great people (not just women) to work with and for; develop friendships; connecting
Pride	National, state, and regional visibility; credibility; pride in the institution as I'm an alum

The data from the focus group and interviews of the women administrators were axial coded, as described in the previous chapter, into eleven affinities. Each

of these affinities is detailed below through a compilation of the women's words and their descriptions of their lived experiences.

1. Qualities Needed

This affinity concerns the personal qualities the participants identified as part of the meaning of being a woman administrator at a large research university. They described behaviors such as flexibility, resilience, creativity, and sense of humor. In the interviews these words were greeted with acceptance, without surprise and with few comments. The terms "nimbleness" and "stamina" were also suggested by a couple of women as other attributes needed.

The need to be responsive to situations was described by the women using the words flexibility and adaptability. Flexibility was distinguished as the top attribute by all but one of the women when asked. Adaptability was the term offered by one woman and she explained it as follows:

■ Where you have to kind of adapt your strengths to whatever the circumstances may be. Even with the same person sometimes you have to act differently and proceed differently.

Although flexibility was considered very important, it was sense of humor that resonated with the women. One noted, "sense of humor is much bigger than I ever thought it would be" and humor was described as being directed both at themselves "as you mature, laugh at yourself" and at other people "I tend to use humor...or make a joke about 'haven't I heard that somewhere before?'" to handle situations involving conflict.

Several women described Creativity as important for not only “coming up with solutions to problems” but also “you have to be creative, and you have to see what’s not being done, where the holes are.” Another quality, strength of character, was referred to with words such as resilience, stamina, and persistence. These qualities permeate the other affinities as can be seen by the descriptions of their experiences, especially in the affinities that are titled Balancing Act and Gender.

There was diversity in the affective behaviors needed, with one woman emphasizing passion and engagement, where another commented “I would add the importance of functioning rationally versus emotionally.” However, there was mutual agreement that all the qualities stated were extremely important for women administrators to possess and one woman summed it up with “All of them are spot on. I can agree with each and every one. They all come in, in different situations and different ways.”

2. Feelings

Although originally titled “Trouble Spots” by the focus group, the researcher renamed this affinity “Feelings” because it encompassed positive as well as negative aspects of their administrative positions. Rewarding, frustrating, and exciting were the words used to describe how the women felt about their daily work. The excitement came from the daily intellectual challenges that were presented to them described by one as “it’s one of the most intellectually exciting times I’ve had in my life since I was in graduate school” and by another when describing the “insatiable” nature of her job:

- You never feel like you can ever get your arms around it, and I don't say that in a bad way. To be able to immerse yourself in it, and you'll never get there, it's just too big and too powerful. But you are always driven to try, and to stay in that game. And it's a wonderful, exhilarating feeling.

Most of the women said that the rewards of their job far outweighed the frustrations. Rewarding aspects were their interactions with their colleagues and students.

- I really enjoy working with graduate students with their research, you know new projects and new ideas.
- I think a rewarding piece is watching the students grow, mature and develop and then still maintain a friendship with them, uhm in watching them in their career and their personal life.

The overwhelming flavor of this affinity was the joy the women gained from being at work and performing their jobs:

- I enjoy what I'm doing, this is the best job in the world for me!
- I derive a lot of personal satisfaction from being at work. The rewards never stop.
- At the end of the day when I'm driving home I'm thinking, that's a good day. That was a tough day but think of all the things I got to do.
- Work for me has always been of the heart.
- So that is what I find the most rewarding, that you can effect change and when you leave the office you can look back and say ah, I was the one that made this happen. That I really enjoy.

However, the women administrators were open about the frustrations that they saw as an inevitable part of their jobs. As with the rewards, many of the frustrations involved people:

- The frustrating part for me is when we get hammered or criticized by someone who just doesn't understand
- I think frustrating, people who aren't open to change. You keep saying, and saying, and saying that something is going to happen.

Although the structure of the university was also noted as being frustrating:

- You have little control over your schedule. It's the same tension for a faculty member doing teaching and research.
- Of course there are moments when I'm frustrated in that I want to accomplish something and it can't be done.
- I hit the wall everyday. You know, you're not going to get everything you want. It's not going to work your way. It's not gonna happen as fast as you want.
- Uhm, the other thing that I sometimes find frustrating, and this is just because of the dynamics of higher education and of this university, is the kind of democratic mechanisms that are in place.

As can be seen from these quotes this affinity describes the day to day ups and downs of the women's lives reflecting both the commonalities and the individual differences of their respective positions.

3. Job Requirements

This affinity describes the magnitude of demands the women administrators perceived were placed on them every day. Several noted that they wore or juggled many “hats,” with all agreeing that the focus group’s descriptors of “busy, busy, busy” and “hard work” were representative of their daily experiences. The women said:

- A busy and a full life
- Keeps me driven professionally and personally.
- Hard work is just a given.
- I was one that could stay up here until nine or ten at night and then be back up here at eight-thirty in the morning, and then work weekends and love it!

However, not all the women were so positive about the long hours involved:

- All consuming. I’m used to administration, used to that level of work and that kind of intensity, but at a university this size being in higher administration is an all consuming job. It’s even difficult to get away on vacation!
- Then times where you know you can go by a whole week where you are sleeping four hours or five hours a day, in the morning you know on go the ice packs, getting out of bed where your body is just, is just, physically just, er just can’t take it at some point.

Demands were described as being placed externally and internally:

- I still work with students and I’m still doing research.

- So there was a day when there was only me, and that was the day I felt I was the most free.
- You can plan out what you are going to do tomorrow and may end up by not doing one thing, because you walk into the office and something will happen that takes over your entire day.
- I have to write papers and write the next projects and everything so half a day (the time she “gives” herself for her research) isn’t enough as it is.
- I think its academia and the expectations, because I hear all the time from my colleagues that they put in 60-80 hours a week.
- Well it is always very, very busy, you just don’t find enough hours in the day and just start dipping into weekends and long evenings. So you start cutting into evenings, early mornings, weekends.

Technology is not always helpful through denying the women the opportunity to be free from work demands:

- I mean even when I go on vacation, because you have the cell phone, you have the internet, I take my computer with me every place I go so I’m not really away.
-but then you go away for three weeks, and have a marvelous three weeks and then come back to hop on the treadmill again because the e-mail has been piling up, if you didn’t take the lap top with you.

Half of the women administrators interviewed have faculty responsibilities, continuing their teaching and/or their research roles along with their

administrative duties placing even more demands on them described by one woman as:

- part of what makes it particularly difficult for me is that I teach also. So it's the combination of being with your students and tending to your classes and all of that really makes it more difficult for the administrative side.

However, the same woman describes how she believes that maintaining her faculty identity is important to her administrative role:

- I just feel It's very difficult, Alison, to have a real sense of the university if you're, you know, only an administrator, if you're not really out there in the trenches with people. Going to lunch with your friends and hearing them complain about this and that. They won't say it to you in the same way if you're just an administrator. But that matters to me a great deal.

The immense time pressures of their jobs provide the women with difficult choices as to how they allot the hours in their day as described in the next affinity.

4. Balancing Act

The phrase "a search for balance in professional and personal life" elicited embarrassed groans from the women. This affinity is about their acknowledgement that getting time to do everything is impossible, and so the choices they make "inevitably" favor the professional over the personal. "Struggle" was the word of choice.

The women who did not have children were careful to draw comparisons between their own situations and the lives of women they knew who did have children:

- I don't have children so I don't have a hundred other commitments.....we have some administrators here with many children, many commitments, and I don't have that part to distract me from my work.
- I'm single and I love to work!
- I have a wonderful husband and no children where I have that guilt that I know a lot of women suffer from.
- I don't have a family, I chose not to do that because this was always my priority.
- I don't have any children and I have a spouse that's an academic also and that understands exactly what the time constraints and pressures of my job are. Both of those things have just been critical for me to be where I am in my career.

Those women who did have children noted:

- We build in, my husband and I build in trips out of town. We build in time with the kids...Uhm, when something is wrong with one of my children... everything else falls away. That takes priority. I swing where I have to swing.
- He did a lot of the taking care of the house, taking care of our daughter, probably did more of that than I did though we tried to do it together. He probably put more time in because he had more time.

However, all the women administrators recognized the need for balance for themselves and for others:

- It's a problem, yes. I think you need time away from here and away from work in order to make better decisions.
- But even without children I struggle with the balance piece, because I'm always behind and not with my family as much as I'd like to be.
- There are so many things to do I'm constantly feeling the pull of commitments and the tug and pull of needing time away from my family.

One woman described how a personal tragedy in her life, the death of a friend, had shown her the value of balance:

- And I learned from that experience that you don't know how long you are going to be here. And (she paused and then laughed) the one thing we can say about him, there are many things, he worked hard but he played hard...but I know personal life has become more important as I have experienced some of those personal tragedies...because I don't want to live this job twenty-four hours a day, and so I really struggle to balance that.

Lack of time was perceived to be a problem affecting personal relationships both at work and away from work:

- I probably don't spend as much time working and maintaining those friendships as I used to 'cause there's less time.

- It's very, very difficult for me to take friendships to the next level with a lot of people because I'm so busy at work...I wish I could spend more time and have deeper, richer relationships with people here and elsewhere.
- We build in, my husband and I, build in trips out of town. We build in time with the kids. If anything I do wish I could fit more of, into, is alone time.
- Because I have my family as well, because I give them so little of my time, I'm not willing to give up my evenings or my weekends for anything related to my job for social reasons.

Therefore, there were some feelings of regret and guilt expressed:

- Do I have regrets that I haven't spent more time with my family over the last couple of years since I've been here, yes. But I had regrets when I was at (another university) that way too.
- I feel guilty, when I'm alone, that I'm not with the kids or with my family or with my friends or doing something.

Balancing all facets of their busy lives was perceived as a struggle and an important theme for these women.

5. Environmental Issues

The women administrators talked a great deal about "working the system" which is the description of this affinity. They identified issues of people, structure, and politics within the university and the community it serves.

For these women, people were the key to their work environment and their network of connections both enhanced and hindered their progress. There was a

strong recognition that to be successful in your work you need to develop relationships outside of your immediate area:

- I find out who's in charge of this and who do I need to talk to for that. I have my friends around the campus that I call up and say what's going on with X, so that's all in service of my trying to understand this beast called the university.
- This is a place where you've got to be seen. You know, it's going to events, it's going to the social gatherings, sometimes we just call it face time.
- It's knowing who does what, who knows what, who's in charge of what. How can you, if you run into a snag, how can you get around it and get to the person who can untangle something for you.
- Get advice from people, I don't hesitate to ask questions. Know who to go to.
- To get to these positions, and to stay there, and to be respected you really have to know how to work your way around.

The structure of the university and its multiple constituencies were also identified as important to the everyday lives of the women:

- I came here from a small liberal arts college and my first thought was that I was going to be overwhelmed with the bureaucracy and the politics and the protocol.
- Often structure is set up in a way that's very counterproductive but unless you push it, it's going to stay there forever.

- There are so many barriers to doing what you need to do. Policies, procedures, that it's quite overwhelming at times because you've got the state rules, Board rules, campus rules.

Sometimes “the system” is fraught with problems:

- There's a lot of people who say we've always done it this way and it's ridiculous, and it's not productive. It means then that we have to circumvent that and find ways to navigate that.
- It's such a big place with so many kingdoms, or turfdoms, or however you want to phrase it. I think one of the things I've been able to do is find my allies. But I also know where the landmines are.
- Always knowing what the minefields are.
- Well first of all you have to kind of make a name for yourself within the system. And how you work the system will depend on the persons and units that you are (gestures) “working.” With some you can do it in a more personable way, with others you have to be very professional and very serious, and with others you just have to be, you know, aggressive and pushy (laughter). There's no question about that!

All could describe a good old boy system, but differed in their viewpoints as to whether it was still prominent at this university:

- It rears its ugly head once in a while! Yes, and I bat it down!
- I think the frustrating piece for me would be some of the good old boy connections. I don't feel it as much as I used to, but with this one particular administrator.

- You know in some ways you could say that of any institution in this part of the country.
- Every place has its legacy groups of people who have had power and sometimes they are still currently in power and sometimes they're losing power because...it's too hard for the organization to run a good old boy network any longer.
- Uhm, (pause), well yes and no. Yes because I'm sure there are a lot of things that one doesn't really pick up and that there are hidden codes of behavior and conversations and all of that, that we are not privy to. The reason I hesitate to say, you know flat out, yes, is that we are in a situation at the university right now where you have excellent leadership that is very open minded where you can't imagine that you would say well of course the old boys system is still there. But I don't know because I'm not a part of it. You see what I mean?

Power was only discussed indirectly to other environmental issues, and so is included as a sub-category. References to their own power were not readily nor clearly stated by the women administrators, and the word "influence" was used until I asked them to clarify their use of the word as one for power. In every case any perceived power was linked to their position:

- I'm chair of most of the committees which gives you a different advantage on the issues...I mean I'm not going to be coy, there is a certain amount of influence that comes with being (names her position).

- Some days I have power! Uhm, sure I do, yeh, I make decisions, I chair the (names group).
- Keeping good relationships, maintaining fostering that, working hard at it because that's a source of influence.
- If you can influence without having to ask then a lot can get done and people can lend support, and that's the savvy of playing the politics. Softly getting things done without people knowing you've exerted influence.
- You can actually be an agent of change in the university. Where you can see that, you know with something that may seem very small when you're typing it up in your computer or where you are sitting in a meeting making that type of decision, but that, when you then see it being implemented and start to see people react to it and for it to start changing people's lives.

The complexity of the higher education environment is reflected in these descriptions of the intersections of people and structure and working the system.

6. Support

This affinity was renamed "Support," by the researcher, from the original focus group title of personal/professional development, as the women identified many different ways in which they received assistance to live their lives the way they wanted to. This affinity is composed of four sub-categories of "Mentoring," "Networks," "Family," and "Institutional" support.

Mentoring

Both having mentors and being a mentor were identified by the focus group participants as being of great importance to their careers as administrators.

In the interviews the women administrators defined what the mentoring process meant to them:

- Someone who would challenge me in the sense of (pause) constant evaluation, and it would not necessarily always be negative feedback, there's always the praise, you did this very well.
- I feel like I've had a few mentors in my life who have, er, done things for me. Helping building my confidence, and reassuring me that what I was doing was good, and, uhm, er, expressed their admiration for certain skills and things that I had.

One part of the process that was consistently described was that their mentors pushed them to take opportunities and trusted them to succeed:

- ...and took a chance on me in giving me things that they thought I could handle even though I hadn't done them before.
- Someone believed in me and put me out there in that position.
- You feel you can do a lot when people have confidence in you and give you the opportunity.
- She probably gave me more opportunities than I was really ready for.

Mentors also played an important role in their careers by helping them to become visible:

- Uhm, I was helped a lot along the way. Introduced to people. Brought to dinner parties.
- So that when I came to (names place) there were actually people who called me up and said I've heard you're wonderful and I want to meet you!

(Laughs). Uhm, that's what I meant by mentoring and so I try to do the same by connecting people with others that can help them.

- My mentor, my boss, was very good about saying, you need to call so and so and ask them to lunch. A lot of lunch meetings.

Along with being visible, their mentors also helped them understand the university:

- ...and had a mentor who exposed me to the entire university. She also had a keen political sense and I think she really helped me form that.
- Sometimes I will go to my mentors for advice and I will say, look I'm in this situation, there's a woman also, she's a very senior professor to whom I do, you know I will call her and say I really need some advice here, and I'll go and sit down with her and tell her this is where I am and I need you to help me.

The women talked about who the people were who had helped them throughout their careers:

- I've had many mentors. I've had people who have helped me along the way. Rarely women by the way (laughing), mostly men.
- I have an array of mentors and they're all in kind of different areas of my life and they affect me in different ways.
- Most of my mentors were men. I had very few women mentors.
- I think women have less of a tendency to mentor others, that's what I've observed. I mean they have less of a tendency than men do to do that, I've seen less of it.

- My two big mentors have been men. Two wonderful men who have just done so much for me and been such an inspiration and source of moral strength. Curiously both of them are real feminist.

They described an opportunistic method of finding these mentoring relationships:

- They just happened.
- He noticed me when I was just a grad student.
- She called me up one day and wanted to talk to me about a job. She had actually mixed me up with someone who is tall and slender like I am, and whether that was a ruse to talk to me or just an honest mistake I could never find out.

Sometimes mentoring was not overtly expressed as such in those terms:

- So I have mentors from twenty years ago who would never know that they're my mentor. I have two mentors in this office who don't know that they're my mentor, but they are. But it just doesn't come out and it's not expressed.
- I don't think we have ever talked about it openly, you know about you being my mentor.

One woman felt she had friends but not mentors:

- I don't feel like I've ever had a mentor (long pause), but I have had friends both faculty and administrative friends who, we support one another. But I don't think we do the kinds of things that men do, you know where they go and play golf together and go out drinking together, whatever they do, you know.

and the same woman gave her view on why she believes women do not become mentors as readily as men do:

- Part of the reason is there's not that many women in higher administrative jobs, and when there are they are working so hard just to keep up, just to do their job. Mentoring other people is time consuming.

However, all the women expressed a commitment to mentor those below them, and found it rewarding:

- I feel an obligation to mentor as many people as I can.
- ...her comment was, you did so much for me, you made a difference in my life.
- ...and I hope I've been able to be the support person for other people along the way.

Networks

The women administrators viewed networking as critical to their jobs and their careers. They talked at length about how they formed and utilized networks during their day to day lives:

- I've strategically identified people that I wanted to know better. Uhm, I think some have probably happened naturally. Probably many have been because we have been put in situations together and had to work together.
- I think it's all in building relationships. It's taking advantage of opportunities that you might be on a committee, or you might be in a class...

- I have a small group of administrative women that we try and go to lunch together on a regular basis.
- There are some key people I try to have lunch with on a regular basis.
- Some of them approached me, I approached some of them. Other women, where we know we're dealing with the some of the same kinds of difficulties and issues.
- But it's really taking advantage of those formal existing networks but also forming your own which are more along the friendship lines I think.

The women described how they use networks as both a support system and a knowledge system:

- I have a lot of women friends, I've always had a lot of women friends, they nurture me.
- Some of the other women administrators, we get together just to be like a kind of support group for each other.
- We talk about things, we strategize and plot, er, because there are times when that's the way you have to do it.
- I have my friends around the campus that I call up and say, what's going on with X, you know?
- There was a situation two years ago when I was in a jam that I really wasn't sure how to get out of. I remember it because it was so rare a time, but people had gone and I didn't have the connections. We were in transition and there were new people coming in and my normal networks were disrupted!

- Well certainly talking to people who've been here a long time and know how to work the system. Getting advice from people, I don't hesitate to ask questions or to call.

Several of the women differentiated between networks formed by men and those formed by women:

- If a network is used to acquire information and to help you understand a situation we all belong to networks, and there are good old girl networks and there are good old boy networks.
- I have well one thing I must say that with other women administrators here on campus, even though well I certainly never had a direct conversation with them as a group, but I think there is a kind of implicit support network there. I mean, for example, when I was appointed I got so many congratulatory cards, hand written cards, from other women administrators, some of them I didn't even know. And I thought that really spoke volumes about how women felt about another woman joining the ranks.
- One thing I do not know how to address, and I've not learned how to do this, is the networking issue in terms of being in the right networks. Because the right networks are still frequently the good old boy system. When you have top male administrators playing golf together, going on vacations together and those kind of things, I mean how do women then insert themselves into that type of climate?

She answers with:

- Maybe that's why women have to out do men because they're not in those network situations, so you have to stand out. You have to stand out, more so.

More comments about networks and their effects are included in the affinity named Gender.

Family Support

Also, in this affinity describing the supports the women identified as part of their lives, there were several comments about their families:

- I get a lot of support from my family and from my spouse which I think is key.
- I have a spouse that's an academic also and that understands exactly what the time constraints and pressures of my job are.
- He has taken up all of the slack with the children and the house, and, uhm, I could not be doing this without (names her husband), absolutely not be doing this without (her husband)
- My husband and I have had a kind of role reversal just by virtue of the nature of the jobs we had.
- As I said the job is all consuming so you need a lot of support, regardless whether you're a man or a woman, I think you need a lot of family support to enable you to put in the hours it takes.

Family support was described as being critical for the women to try and balance their lives as was reflected in the previously described affinity, Balancing Act.

Institutional Support

Other support described came from the institution and other university people:

- (names her assistant) is phenomenally organized, has an unerring radar about what's important and what isn't, and knows how to manipulate my calendar and get me all the places I need to go.
- I'm really pleased with the resources I have to make my job better.
- Yes, there's been help in the sense of administrative support, and funds, and resources to do what I do those have always been there. There have been times when they've been less abundant or when things were new and evolving where people didn't really see the value of something until the template was filled in and the model was in place. But over time as that happened then the resources were there without issue really. Uhm, so, yes I've had great support.
- Comparing (the university) with other universities where I've worked the resources at this institution tend to be, tend to be fewer. And I think it's partially a result of the size of the institution as well as the funding situation that everyone has been reading about in the papers. So I feel like here we have to do more with less, probably than what I had been used to in the past.

This affinity described the multiple ways and people who provide “support” to the women administrators. All of the women identified a variety of support systems and their dependence on them for their daily lives.

7. Pride

Pride in the institution and personal credibility and visibility from being associated with the university were part of what it means to be a woman administrator for the women in the study. Some related it to pride in being part of the wider community of research universities in general, and one noted that “its easy to be proud of, it’s a place at the same time you can be frustrated by it.” The pride came from the wealth of faculty talent and the accomplishments of the students.

The women also said that they got credibility and visibility from the university’s reputation both in the state and nationally:

- We were part of this institution with this type of stature that has been highly successful...you immediately have a credibility badge attached to you as a result of that.
- I think it separates you out...when I’m at a conference I know that people look to us for examples; how do you do that there?
- So yes there is that enormous sense of pride and everybody recognizes what wonderful leadership we have right now.

This was not an affinity that emerged strongly in the interviews. The women rarely alluded to this issue in other parts of the interview except in direct answers to the question derived from the focus group affinity.

8. Strategies

This affinity is composed of descriptions of the strategies the women used in their day to day lives. They emerged from the affinities already described, and

also were in response to a question asked about the advice they would give junior faculty (women and then men) who wanted to advance their career within this university.

The women give a picture of resistance to, and resigned acceptance of, the system. It is how they use and balance their time, how they advance, and how they interact with people. There were different descriptions of their persistence and resilience:

- So, I didn't let it drop. I didn't feel frustrated. I just quietly talked about it until I thought the time was right and found a new set of people to talk to about it.
- And I decided I was going to take control of the situation, so I invited him to lunch one day. And because I began to show him that I valued his opinion then he began to seek advice from me and no longer go to the vice president. So that was one strategy where I deliberately set out to change the way someone interacted with me.
- You get stubborn enough to where you think you can, and that's part of where you know you can get something done is, when all the doors close you can find one that's open and get it done.
- I had decided as the conversation was going along that I could either fight everything or decide what it was I wanted the most and just fight that and that's what I chose.
- But you have to push the margins to get things done here. So if you have those relationships and have the freedom of movement then you can really

get things done. And I had the wonderful experience of creating a body of work that didn't exist before, only because I could keep pushing the margins. And you know you get a toe in the door to do something, and then you get another foothold, and then you get another foothold and so one thing leads to another.

- Bouncing back from difficult situations, from unfair situations, from unfair decisions, from unfair encounters, from, uhm, not being understood (laugh) from all these things you just have to step over it and keep on.

They indicated that getting help and finding supports were critical for survival:

- There is no reason one can't have career, marriage, and family, but the trick is to get as much help as you can possibly afford (laughing) because that's what makes it doable.
- Don't think you can do it all.
- Ask for help all the time. My first few years, and I still do it, I will call people up and say, do you know anything about so and so.? Or I'm thinking about this, can you give me advice?
- Knowing who are my allies out there and beyond (names her specialty area).
- She mentioned that she was going to Chair a particular committee that I wanted to be on. I came back to the office and I said I want to be on that committee, because I want to be on that committee, and because I want to work with her. So I guess it was seeing people in action that I wanted to know better.

- Seeking out input from people. Sometimes if you just make someone feel good by letting them talk about themselves they can become an ally.
- We go to lunch.
- I would say that probably one of the most important things is to identify a select group of people in whom you can confide and trust.

Also important was for the women administrators to understand the climate of higher education:

- So get to know the community that you are a part of, number one.
- So I had a view of the university that was from a campus perspective.
- I was frequently the only (names her broad academic area) or the only woman on these committees. So I got to understand or look at the university in a larger context.
- Know the political players on a particular issue.
- That you have good sensitivity to, that you know the university the institution well. You know what is appropriate and what's not appropriate. People can count on your judgment.
- Well certainly talking with people who've been here a long time and know how to work the system. Getting advice from people, I don't hesitate to ask questions or to call. When you're a new administrator, particularly when you are new to higher administration, very cautious about asking questions and showing your ignorance.
- Know who to go to, to ask questions.

When they met resistance the women described alternative ways of accomplishing tasks:

- I'm very good at saying, oh, well, can't be done that way, why don't I try this way (laughing). I go round another way (laughing).
- We try to solve problems and find creative solutions to them.
- I focus on what I can get done. If I see a roadblock I figure out how to get around it to still get done what I want to get done.
- So I quietly put it in my back pocket. I waited until a new head...came in, and I kept talking about the idea and eventually the new head of ...came to me and said what ever happened to that initiative? And I said we are ready to start anytime you are!
- Another characteristic of a new administrator is, not only not wanting to show their vulnerabilities or their lack of knowledge, but also the attitude that a rule's a rule. And there are (long pause) interpretations to the rules, there are ways of getting the rules changed particularly if you are now in an administrative position within the university. Rather than say, well that's the way it is, well here's something that needs to be changed.
- But then when I need that person to do something or provide some information or whatever I use different techniques with different people.

Some of the women described behaviors they had to adopt and where they felt they lost some of their voice:

- I have to be quiet even though I have, even if I have lots that I want to say. I don't want to shut down conversation so I've learned to bite my tongue,

but I don't always do it very well as I'm an energetic kind of person (laughter) but I have to be careful speaking out.

- I learned that there are things that should never be said publicly, because you are going to be living with these people for a long time and you have to be more politic and gracious even in disagreements.
- I removed myself as the advisor of the group because I felt my voice was no longer being heard.
- You know at this level if people react based on being upset or emotional about a decision or an issue they won't handle themselves in the best way and make the best decisions. And they will do something to regret. It is always better to be rational.

However, sometimes this turned into a challenge of the system:

- So after a while, you don't shut up, you can't shut up! What it does to me is to make me talk more. You know if you're not going to listen to me, or I'm going to be sure that I am, you're trying to shut me up and I'm going to be sure that it doesn't. So that's what I'm talking about in terms of resilience, and I tend to use humor you know to try to (long pause) I guess to deal with my frustration over those situations.

They had many suggestions for balancing their lives:

- And so I actually enjoy occasionally going out of town. And if there's an empty night on my calendar I ask that it not be filled so I can just go back to the hotel room and draw a bath, and get a good book, and have room service and just be alone.

- Try to have a serene place at home that's quiet and comfortable.
- I go to the gym several times a week.
- I find time just to be by myself because I'm with people so much.
- One of the things I've started doing is taking the majority of my vacation over the Christmas holidays. That is the only time that I've been able to identify during the year that most people are distracted for at least a week (laughter) with their own personal activities so that I feel like I can take a real vacation.
- Evenings get out the treadmill, sit outside and have a glass of wine. Sunday read the newspaper in total relaxed mood with a cup of coffee, sit out especially with this gorgeous weather!

The women administrators also described how they had learned from the mistakes they had made along the way:

- I made the mistake my first year of actually losing my temper in front of a department chair who came up to me, fortunately, about three days later and said he would resign if I ever did that again. And I thanked him for that, I needed that.
- It's not to say that we don't make bad decisions. If you make a bad decision change it.
- And know when it's appropriate to blow up and get upset and when it's not. You rarely see a president, or a provost, or a vice-president who doesn't know that. They have to know it or else they wouldn't have

survived, you make too many mistakes. And that's something that I've come to know over time and through my own mistakes really.

Strategies that involved knowing and navigating the university culture and system were the core of this affinity. The women both adapted their behaviors and in some instances took direct control.

9. Gender

As with the previous affinity these are experiences that crossed most of the other affinities. These descriptions give the flavor of the complexities of being a woman in higher education. The women expressed their perceptions of sexism in the institution and prior institutions, some approach/avoidance behaviors, some denial, and confusion about how to respond as a woman to life in a male-normed situation.

The women noted that they had been, and sometimes continued to be, the only woman in the room:

- And I frequently was at meetings where I was the only woman. You get invited for the first time for that. But you don't get help over the long term if there isn't anything behind that.
- A few years ago I was just one of a few women at the executive officers table and that felt strange. Now there are many more women.
- But the typical thing would be being on a committee and isolation is what reminded me of this. Being on a university committee say and being the only female.

The women administrators described how they have had to modify their behaviors as a woman in a male environment:

- I learned my first year here that as a (names position) and as a female (names position) I did not have the luxury to yell at people, to lose my temper, to uhm be revengeful (pause).
- That there are things that men can get away with that I would never presume to do.
- I think some women get terribly involved with the lives of their students for instance in ways that some of the men don't. Uhm, and I don't think we give credit adequately.
- But I'm also very careful as a woman not to (pause) become hysterical or, uhm, or emotional.

Many of the women felt that it was important not to focus on inequity:

- It's the same way when people say well haven't you been discriminated against? Sure, I'm sure there are things that didn't come to me because I was a woman. I am sure there are things that aren't happening because I'm a woman. But I don't focus on that. I focus on what I can get done.
- And not to, not to, perceive that because you're a woman its going to be different for you and you're not going to have the opportunity. Er, or that you are going to have lower salaries. I mean I'm sure all that stuff exists.
- And you know all those things that women get accused of doing that I think are unfair but. Uhm, you used a word a little while ago that I said was very important. It's having a sense of humor and not looking at every

obstacle you face as being something that happened to you because you were a woman.

- Uhm, you can play with the big dogs like anybody else. And yes you're gonna, yes, those things are out there and, yes, you are going to feel in your heart sometime, wow, if I were not a woman, would this have happened to me? Consider it but don't dwell on it. Don't push it in ways that then are only going to create more psychological perceptions.
- So I just, I think it's real important for women not to constantly come to the table with this thought that because I'm a woman it's probably not going to happen for me.
- I think it's important to, as women, not to, I think of myself as a leader. I don't think of myself as a female leader or you know someone with male characteristics. I think it's a combination of both.

They suggested that to do so reproduced the negative stereotyping of women:

- But if you fight it and take it seriously then you are shooting yourself in the foot pretty quickly because you are now going to be perceived as you know the old stereotypical upset woman who's trying to, you know, fight her way to the top.
- I think I'd say, don't play that card. You know, don't use that 'cos that's sorta old stuff. If you're conscious of it then you are going to make other people conscious of it, and they are going to wonder, I mean, anyone who had a (pause) sensitivity to that, I would be a little suspect of to be honest.

- It's a difficult thing because you don't want to be in this kind of a position and view everything through a feminist viewpoint because if you do you will find it impossible to work in this environment. Because you are looking for something behind every comment, decision.

Only two women administrators mentioned the women's movement, with one articulating disappointment:

- I don't view myself as a feminist maybe this is not the nature of what you're intent is because I feel like feminists have done us a disservice. I'm talking about the leaders of the women's movement. I feel like they've done us a disservice because I feel like what they've tried to do is to (pause) rather than (pause) help make what women contribute to be important they tried to make us into men. That's my own personal view. That instead of saying, look, women have these characteristics and women can do this better. Women do these things very well, uhm, they have a lot to bring to the workforce, this is what we do really well. Rather it seems to me like they've tried to say, uhm, tried to make us into men.

There was a perception that this institution was gender neutral in its practices:

- But it's not unlike what I'm saying now, its management based on relationships which is a system of who you know and how you know to get things done. So whether you are one gender or the other you still have to operate in that environment.

- But from the administrative side I really think the university is an environment where you can be successful if you do good work. And if you conduct yourself appropriately, regardless of gender.
- They got there because they deserved it. And I think as long as women keep pushing and, and, and, just based on their own merit and their skills and competency they know they can be as competitive as anybody else over here.
- Where you don't need any privileged positions or treatment or reverting to affirmative action kind of things. It's things that we deserve because we're equal and we don't need to be treated better or worse because we happen to be women. Where you don't need any privileged positions or treatment or reverting to affirmative action kind of things. It's things that we deserve because we're equal and we don't need to be treated better or worse because we happen to be women.
- We have many women deans. It's an imbalance still but I don't think it's a barrier for someone who works well and is competent and works hard.

Accordingly, they did not see a need to give different advice to junior women administrators as compared to junior men:

- Would that advice be any different if it was a male administrator? Nope, same thing.
- I would probably still give the advice of finding your confidantes and your sounding boards, but I don't always know that they think that they need them. That's a generalization about men. But I don't know that they are

always the ones, I'm thinking about, I don't see (long pause) well, I'd probably still give that advice.

■ I don't know that, uhm, that they always take that advice because a lot of it is about forming relationships. And admitting that you need advice. Sometimes I think, you know, men are hesitant to say, some women are too, but to admit, well, you know, I need some feedback or some advice on that. However I do know many men do do that. No, I would probably give the same advice. I might would prioritize it a little differently.

■ No, my advice wouldn't be any different, just that I think the mentoring issue would be probably be easier for them than, I may be wrong, I don't know.

These women perceived that they, and all women, have to work harder than men to succeed:

■ ...and really (long pause), how do I say this? I do think that uhm, women, you know the old saying is that women have to work harder to get half as far, I do think there's some truth in that. I don't think it is as true as it used to be and perhaps women don't have to outdo men twofold; maybe it's just one and a half. I do think there is that part of it.

■ (pause) well I hesitate to say it because I don't want to say it, but what I would say is you have to be prepared to work harder than a man would. Because those are the realities, both as a faculty member and as an administrator. You know the old maxim of the man can be of silver but the woman has to be of gold. You know it is so true, so true. Because you see

it consistently with, and there again I don't mean to say that it is something that is deliberately done, but if you want to get there you have to be prepared to work harder than a man would. And I wish that weren't the case, and that's the reason I hesitate, but you know honestly this is just so true. You have to put in more time, put in more hours.

- Yes I think it is very different for men, without question. I don't see, with my male colleagues that I love and respect, I don't see them going through a lot of the pressures that we go through. Because, well, in my particular case, I'll give you one example, like I said even without having the constraints of children, life goes on at the home as well. The laundry has to get done, and I do it. The bills have to get paid, the mail has to get read, the food has to get to the refrigerator, the kitchen needs to be sorted out. And like I said I have a wonderful husband and all of that but still, that is an issue that I mean I don't hear my male colleagues saying, oh my gosh I need to get home, I haven't done the laundry! I never hear them, maybe they do, and it's wonderful if they do, but I think it definitely is different for men and women.

They viewed "past" inequity as a structural problem:

- I firmly believe that we've learned over the last twenty years what some of the structural issues have been that were inhibiting our hiring women into the academy. And so we put in place affirmative action. We put in place advertisement of jobs so it wasn't just an old boys' network that I called you and you told me who your grad student was. That we put together

search committees that included women and students. We, we, we have put in place those things that help get women into the system. I think we are facing a time of structural barriers and the advancement of women through the academic ranks

- The fact that so many women seemed to be stopped after they get tenure, and become frustrated. It's not just a collection of individuals. There are structural problems. I'm a firm believer that it's not that women opt out or minorities opt out; there are usually much deeper structural concerns and we need to start addressing those so that women will advance further.
- But often structure is set up in a way that's very counterproductive but unless you push it it's going to stay there forever. These old rules are going to stay in the books forever. And these old rules were created at a time sometime where they were good rules. Uhm, they weren't intended to be obstacles.
- Uhm, so I think that's important for women not to take this thing so seriously that everything that happens in the course of the day, er, don't equate it to it happened to me because I am a woman. It happened for a lot of reasons.

However, when asked directly about the presence of a good old boy system at their current institution they said:

- I suspect some of those are that there are also a lot of unwritten in group activities that the men have controlled for years.

- Every place has its, its legacy groups of people who have had power and sometimes they are still currently in power. And sometimes they're losing power because these organizations become too, you know, it's too hard for the organization to run a good old boy network any longer. But occasionally it rears its head.
- I was recently in a meeting where I was first of all the youngest at the table by about ten years so that tells you the group. And we are making a decision to advise the president on something. I was clearly, the people around the table most of whom had known each other for a minimum of twenty-five years, and who had held positions of authority at the university and now were in the retirement stage, I was facing a good ole boy network right there. And by the way they talked about the issues under discussion....So I was very conscious of several things in the room, the attitudes, the values that were being expressed, the judgments about people. The way in which the conversation, the coded language that was used. I sat there and it made me feel very uncomfortable, I really felt like an outsider for the first time in a long time at this university, and I've been around a long time now you know (laughing)...I found myself losing voice.
- I think the frustrating piece for me would be some of the good old boy connections particularly with some of the organizations... in particular ... a long standing spirit organization. Knowing that (an event was going to happen) and no one listening to you.

- I felt my voice was no longer being heard. And I could not do a good job because he wasn't listening.
- And we'd be in meetings and this (man) and I would just go toe to toe. We never saw eye to eye. And neither one of us would listen to what the other was saying. And I decided I was going to take control of the situation, so I invited him to lunch one day. I had an issue or a problem that I needed help on. And I asked for his feedback, asked for his advice. And I, pause, it wasn't just in that one lunch, but I was able to turn, change his opinion of me. And because I began to show him that I valued his opinion then he began to seek advice from me and no longer go to the vice president.
- I would say less so now maybe than certainly before with presidents who came from out of state.....And a lot of it has to do with how the president conducts himself and does his business. At that level certainly there are things that are private but the way things work now I would say less so than probably 20 years ago for sure.
- In other words taking (long pause) bouncing back from difficult situations, from unfair situations, from unfair decisions, from unfair encounters, from, uhm, not being understood (laugh) from all these things you just have to step over it and keep on.
- Being on a university committee say and being the only female, and uhm, (long pause) trying to participate in the discussion when it was clear that your contributions were not valued. (long pause)And I can't tell you how many times I've had this experience where I would recommend something

or say something, and they'd all look at me like, are you completely out of your mind, and then just totally ignore what you said and just keep talking like you hadn't even spoken. And then a minute or two later someone would say what you just said. And they would all react like it was the most brilliant thing that they'd ever heard! (raised voice) Now you can't help but feel like (long pause) you know it's a gender issue.

■ I've even had situations where I've had people slam the door in my face to try and keep me out of the meeting! I have not had those kinds of blatant (pause) situations (pause) here. I've had some that I've recognized that I've thought perhaps more subtle.

■ Uhm, (pause), well yes and no. Yes because I'm sure there are a lot of things that one doesn't really pick up and that there are hidden codes of behavior and conversations and all of that, that we are not privy to.

■ Where overtly and openly you'd say of course not, and all the men administrators here on campus, my colleagues, none of them that I can say has, had in any way shape or form made me feel like I'm not a part of the network, or made some sexist remark or that kind of thing. But I'm sure its there, you know, because old habits die hard and they may not even know it, that they're acting in, that they're acting in a way that is consistent with the old boys' network.

The women believed that their university was getting better:

■ I wish they promoted more women but it's gotten better.

- I really think many of those, barriers are disappearing. Now, not that they weren't there, the pipeline wasn't all there
- I had to go to someone I knew wouldn't, there was something about having to do that because he was waiting for me to fail. He was just somebody who was critical of me, and not understanding, but he was gracious and he helped me out of it.
- I have to say that most of my negative experiences as a female administrator, as a female academic have occurred elsewhere.
- The reason I hesitate to say, you know flat out, yes, is that we are in a situation at the university right now where you have excellent leadership that is very open minded where you can't imagine that you would say well of course the old boys' system is still there.
- But, er, but, er I'm sure it's there but I just don't see it. In fact I see all the opposite coming from the administration right now.
- But in addition to that I do think (the university) (pause) is a better environment for women than some places. A: As evidenced by the larger number of women in positions here? Administrator: That and there seems to be a concerned effort at least in some of the colleges, for example like engineering, where they are really trying to increase the number of women. So there seem to be some concerned efforts to get more women.

Two of the administrators identified a good old girl network:

- I like to think that we will have good old girl networks too before long (laughing). You know, in groups. Uhm I think, there is a good ole girl network in the state of Texas, have you ever heard of Leadership Texas?
- A: Do you think, uhm, from what you said, do you think there would be a benefit from a good old girls' network? Admin.: I think it's already there. A: Really, in the same way? Admin: In the same way. Perhaps again, it's not very obvious, not overtly but I think there very much is the network where you're us and them among women. Where it's like, oh well you're not one of us. Or perhaps in some cases, and I personally have felt this, where you're not one of us, yet. You're getting there and we approve of that, but uhm, I think it is very much there.
- I don't mean this to be totally derogatory, just as it is with the boys, it has its positive, very positive aspects for them as well as negative aspects. But no, in the sense of the old smoke filled rooms kind of thing, I don't mean it in that way. I mean it both a positive as well.
- But having said that, like I say I always feel there's kind of this implicit support with other women. Just getting to know more women faculty where, you know, where you become good friends and colleagues in a special way. That helps you both professionally and personally. I mean for example, when I was appointed I got so many congratulatory cards, hand written cards, from other women administrators, some of them I didn't

even know. And I thought that really spoke volumes about how women felt about another woman joining the ranks.

There were some perceptions that women themselves are the problem in career advancement:

- I also think there's a politics about what we mean by collegial behavior. And some women, frankly, hurt their own chances because they haven't been socialized in what it's like to be collegial at that level. And maybe we can help, you know (laughs).
- No, but I remember when I started out my career I was more worried about being too young than being female.
- (personal qualities) I think they are specific to being a female wherever you might be. I mean I couple that with a sense of humor, you cannot be (pause) you cannot overreact to every little indiscretion that you see as a woman that is aimed at you. Whether it be comments that are made, and I'm not talking about sexual abuse or anything like that, but comments made that could be viewed as (pause) sexist. Or expectations that you feel might be different because you're a woman. Or treatment that you may be on the receiving end because you think you are a woman.
- I've always attributed it to my personality!
- Now when you're young, and I've had this happen to me where when I was younger I would take it personal, you know, it was a personal thing rather than it was because I was female; it was because of something about me personally.

They thought that time and support would correct the problem of inequity in career advancement:

- Even when we look at the head of HP or Compact which has now merged with them, it was shocking (much emphasis) that this woman was at the helm of this big company. What is so shocking about that? It is almost harder for people to grasp you know the leadership of a woman in a big, you know, in a big fortune five hundred company or something. In the academic world, er, women have (pause) there's a longer history I think and a longer tradition of women progressing.
- Regardless of whether you're a man or a woman I think you need a lot of family support to enable you to put in the hours it takes.
- And if you don't have that kind of spouse or don't have that kind of relationship, which I think more men do than women, have that kind of resource, then that is a major factor that is going to slow you down. Put you behind.
- Women tend to be older when we finish our education due to family responsibilities so by the time we, there is a (pause) there is a path that you go through to get to some of these higher positions and it doesn't come. If you look at some of the men who are in these top positions, well, they're in their late fifties, well if women are running ten years behind men in getting, women are retired by the time they get to these positions, long before they get to these positions. And so when, let's take a university president, a male might be, have gone through the system on the path and

be ready by the age of fifty to be a university president and a lot of women wouldn't be at that point. Because I know a lot of women who aren't getting their PhD's until they're 40, 45, and so then they've got to start, your starting your career at a time when men, their careers are well established. I think that's a major problem.

■ So you think gradually, you know by pool, an increased pool, yes, but I also think that women have to figure out how to catch up with this path or else they'll only go so far.

■ Well the first thing is to not limit their perspective which is what I think we've tended to do in the past. We haven't, we think, the way its been said to me is "about your career you think small, you don't think big enough". So don't just think about the next step, think about the four or five steps above that. So don't be so limiting about your career

■ That in time those behaviors will change and I think they gradually are. I see some reason to be optimistic and I think there has been some positive change. But you know all societal change is very difficult and the old golden rule of you need a generation to see change really take place, I don't think we're quite there yet. But we are getting there, and I think there is a lot of open mindedness about how this is the reality, and this is a problem, and this needs to be addressed.

As can be seen from the comments in this affinity there is much confusion and ambivalence over the place gender takes in the university. These women

administrators are unsure of how to respond to gender inequity and its effect on their career advancement.

10. Leadership

During the interviews the women made many references to leadership skills, leadership programs, and comments that indicated their own “styles” of leadership. They described some behaviors they felt were important for leaders to demonstrate:

- I think there’s a positiveness too, being able to figure things out, work things out, and get things done, not sort of a defeatism.
- I think the people who are successful for the most part those who (pause) the people that are respected and who I think do have figured this out and do the best work, manage their emotions. And know when its appropriate to blow up and get upset and when its not.
- The things that, I think the creativity uhm I think the persistence.
- ...has allowed me not to just occupy this box in the organizational chart but to build and create all kinds of new opportunities, and begin to take (her area) in different directions that traditionally it wouldn’t go into.
- You have your personality and people know how you are and more or less what to expect from you, and er, your regular behavior and that kind of thing.

However, they thought that these behaviors were not specific to a higher education setting:

- ...are those qualities specific to people in higher ed? Oh I think those are qualities that make good leaders, in people who make things happen.
- I think I would have been successful in a business world or in another environment. I'm not sure that the qualities that it takes to be an academic administrator today, in particular, are any different from what it takes to make it in other domains.
- ...they would be successful in other environments because of who they are and how they approach things.

Many comments were indicative of an inclusive style of leadership:

- But I asked for a lot of advice, and I sorted through and I learned how to make decisions as a consequence of that.
- But, I don't think I would have done well in a university where deals were cut at lunch over at the faculty senate, or under the table at drinks at (unknown) house. That's not the way I do business. I don't do business when I'm not allowed to make my arguments publicly and to present my needs.
- And so you can connect all the dots in many ways.
- ...you just make sure that we are all one, this is (names university) we're one group.
- I'm a warm kinda friendly guy, so I meet a lot of people and I follow up on those contacts.
- I like leading. Uhm, er, I like developing talents and skills and drawing from people in ways that I think I can do pretty well.

-a lot of it is about forming relationships. And admitting that you need advice.
- Because you have to maintain the relationships with people and you risk losing personal relationships I guess is what I'm saying. If you snap, if you act in haste, if you send a harsh word then you've got repair work to do and you never can repair those things. You can never go back to where things were.

One did note a limitation to that style:

- Sometimes you wish to make a decision and have something implemented and you can't do it because you have to go through a committee.

The need for a broad perspective was often described:

- And that gaining, and the ability to look at an issue or problem or a unit from wider perspectives always serves you well. Its almost anticipatory socialization (laughs).
- That you have good sensitivity to, that you know the university the institution well. You know what is appropriate and what's not appropriate. People can count on your judgment. Because if you can do all those things you have freedom.
- I think as you advance you (pause) you juggle so many hats you can't know everything about everything. So you've got to be able to ask the best questions to get the information in a fairly short time.

- I think its important to, as women, not to, I think of myself as a leader. I don't think of myself as a female leader or you know someone with male characteristics. I think it's a combination of both.

A few women spontaneously noted the use of their intuitive side:

- So I was very conscious of several things in the room, the attitudes, the values that were being expressed, the judgments about people. The way in which the conversation, the coded language that was used.
- In the day to day thing I think its just instinctive and you know that in some cases a telephone call will do, in others you really have to do it in person. And in others you have to take the provost with you to make the point! I think it really is totally instinctive and just knowing what works with one won't always work with the other.
- My natural instinct is to include people and to try to understand things from various perspectives. And to try to get as much information as I can about what is going on. And make good decisions.
- Where you just sorta have, all your antennae are out and you're looking at how things are said and what the rhythm of the campus is. Sorta the calendar of what happens, what we value by our traditions. Traditions are a sign of what the institution values.

As for their views on Leadership Texas, the networking opportunity was cited as the most significant benefit:

- I think Leadership Texas was wonderful. Uhm, did it give me skills I didn't have before, no. But did it put me in touch with a collection of

people who continue to be important for my understanding of my job in the state of Texas, you betcha!

- Being in the company of accomplished women that as much as anything. But certainly seeing the State in a different way. I'm sure most women would say the personal connections they made was the most valuable part.
- Well I have mixed opinions about Leadership Texas. It's a very good way for women to network, and I have met some interesting women in my class. But the content of the sessions has been very superficial and very disappointing and some of it is because I am a professor, and I try to listen to some of the talks, the speakers that they bring, and I can think of five of my colleagues that can do such a splendid job instead of some of the people they have. In many ways it's a waste of time, going back to the time thing!
- When you think of a leadership program what do you think we are going to get, public speaking, decision making, planning, strategizing, networking, I mean tools that will allow you to be more effective in your job not these bland talks and lots of parties and lots of dinners. I understand that's part of it of course you know part of it too is fashion show. In many ways I don't think the program is very good.

Although they were not asked about their leadership style, the women administrators consistently described leadership behaviors as they told their stories. They described creativity, inclusion, connectivity, and a broad perspective as qualities they brought to their administrative positions.

11. Career Advancement

In commenting on their career paths the women had many views on the opportunistic way they had attained their current position. Most noted the lack of planning:

- Well I've never been very good about saying I'm going to do this by this point and then I'm going to do this and then I'm going to do that. In fact I'm usually disastrous at that.
- So I was doing things in my twenties that I wasn't prepared to do. I was running a national consulting group and we traveled all over the country doing workshops when I wasn't sure what I was doing myself! But you kinda learned because she expected you to do it.
- I've never had a plan and if I did I'm not sure I would have known what that plan was (laughter). It just sorta happened! And I think there is a lot of luck and timing and stuff, for me certainly I was very lucky to find a position to, you know you look back, and you see well if I hadn't done this or done that this wouldn't have happened.
- I think women do this differently from men. Men seem to have their careers mapped out, they know where they're going next, where they want to be at certain stages in their career. I think some women do that, a lot of women don't, I know I haven't. I never would have predicted being in this, this was not a job that I had planned for years ago. I never planned to be in upper administration for a university. Never planned for it, never

expected it. And only with encouragement from other people did I even consider it. I wouldn't even have considered it.

Along with the unplanned career was the taking opportunities as they presented:

- But I do think it's a sense of taking opportunities when they come.
- They just happened. It happened.
- ...earned opportunities that I did not think of myself as, see myself doing.
- ...this opportunity came up so I took it. That's right, exactly.
- Opportunities open up and it's hard to predict what those opportunities would be. I just think if you're focused in your work and you consistently have a good track record of what your work is then opportunities will just come to you rather than you have to go out looking for them.

The women defined career advancement in the following ways:

- And having a clear view of when it's time to move on. Are you tired of doing what you're doing? Are you getting cranky, that's a good sign for me that it's time to move on. Are you feeling like there is more you can offer. Are the frustrations outweighing the rewards. And then it's time to look around and see what your options are. And to talk to people and to go after what you want.
- Well it's not about the title or the big office or anything like that. It's about what I wanna do and what I think I can accomplish and how I think I can add value to this place. And if I can have the freedom to do those types of things that's how I kinda look at this too. And I'm in a plum place to do that.

- I think it's more than a title and it's more than money although that's the public, what the public sees. And that is important and I'm not going to deny that.
- I think career advancement for me is (pause) to constantly be challenged. To constantly be learning about new things or new aspects of the university.
- Uhm, I think it's assuming a position where you are making (pause) decisions that the consequence of their error is greater and greater.
- But for me it's more than just that title. And the title and the money are very important (laughing). But I think part of it too is a feeling of self-fulfillment.
- So that's a strange definition of career advancement! You have to get pushed in the direction you need to go!

One woman administrator summed up her perception of the slow advancement of women into positions of authority:

- Women tend to be older when we finish our education due to family responsibilities so by the time we, there is a (pause), there is a path that you go through to get to some of these higher positions and it doesn't come. If you look at some of the men who are in these top positions well they're in their late fifties; well, if women are running ten years behind men in getting, women are retired by the time they get to these positions, long before they get to these positions. Because I know a lot of women who aren't getting their PhD's until they're 40, 45, and so then they've got

to start, you're starting your career at a time when men, their careers are well established. I think that's a major problem.

Summary of Women Administrators' Findings

The focus group of women administrators identified seven affinities which they considered reflected their lives in the university, Qualities Needed, Feelings, Job Requirements, Balancing Act, Environmental Issues, Support, and Pride. Four more affinities emerged from the interviews, Strategies, Gender, Leadership, and Career Advancement, for a total of eleven affinities. Following theoretical coding, the uncluttered system influence diagram for the women administrators was constructed and is presented in Chapter V.

Women Faculty

The focus group of women faculty generated the following affinities:

Table 4: Focus Group Affinities – Women Faculty

Affinity	Descriptors
Mentoring	Top “academic” female; mentor for sexual harassment; mentoring; being a mentor; wanting a mentor; sometimes lonely
Consciousness-Raising	Women’s studies journey; unique; one of a kind; consciousness-raising activities
Rewards	Satisfied; content; rewarding; professional recognition; welcoming of new women faculty; triumph, many left; have made it
Variety	Varied; changing; exciting; anticipation
Overwhelming	Sometimes frustrating (barriers); frightening (gender neutral); work hard; frustrating; overwhelmed; busy; crazy busy

The data from the focus group and interviews of the women faculty were axial coded, as described in the previous chapter, into nine affinities. The affinity Variety identified by the focus group did not emerge as a separate affinity in the interview coding. The women agreed with the varied nature of their work but talked about it as part of the work that was rewarding and satisfying. Therefore, these quotes were included in the affinity named Rewards and not kept as a separate category. Each of these affinities is detailed below through a compilation of the women's words and their descriptions of their lived experiences.

1. Mentoring

This affinity describes how the women faculty viewed the mentoring process in their past and present careers. They identified having many different mentors and described how they used them in a variety of different areas:

- ✚ Well, I did have a mentor in my research area, not here, but at another university, which I found very valuable.
- ✚ Uhm, the person who got me the job in the (names current school) is still here, so I have five or six what I would consider really good mentors that are mentors in specialty areas. Like one in publishing, one in networking, one in something else so I've been very fortunate.
- ✚ And they need to find probably various people to mentor them that can help them in a variety of ways. Maybe the person that can help them negotiate writing proposals to get funding, it might be the person that can

mentor them in terms of doing the research and writing articles, maybe the group that's helping them develop their teaching skills.

✚ He encouraged me to take this job. He was someone who truly believes, to the, without making a thing about it, that a woman can do anything she wants to. I had a father who believed that also...

✚ ...and then there was a woman, one of the very senior women at (names another university). Anyway she is just a great intellectual and very prolific and she helped me and we worked together and she helped me with my writing.

✚ Well mentoring to me means becoming a (pause) counselor, advisor to women students who are looking for jobs, who are meeting discrimination.

The women faculty found their mentors in both planned and unplanned ways:

✚ A: Can I go back to your mentors, a mixture of men and women?

Faculty: yes, about 50/50. A: Ok, did they find you or did you find them?

Faculty: (pause), again probably about 50/50. Part of them I asked to help me because I was just getting started. The other part either heard me speak some place and we just kinda became friends and it happened.

✚ I remember my high school counselor as being someone who sought me out. I was a successful student and she took a particular interest in me and mentored me through my college application process, how to get financial assistance and that kind of thing.

✚ (describing her graduate school experience) She said, why don't you work on this research project with this faculty member.

✚ So you can say that my mentoring came from, my examples in life came from, my grandmother, my parents, and my friend. And I'm married to someone who believes that too; I wouldn't have married him otherwise you know.

✚ ...well my main, I suppose, mentor in my academic career is a man! A wonderful man who taught my subject and who I got to know through our children's school.

For the women faculty, mentoring was primarily focused on the tenure and promotion process, and was, therefore, seen as a critical service they provided for junior faculty:

✚ Of course you have to make sure they are doing the right things to make it to tenure, all of those things. I have quite done it just as a matter of fact.

✚ One was that she helped me understand the system and how to get done.

✚ So within the department and within my research area that's where I can be most effective. Because I can tell them to make sure they publish in the right places and you know, I know the time scales involved. I know the quality that's involved

✚ She keeps a very close day by day "let's look at what you're doing." To me that's mentoring. When you keep somebody in flow and you're mentoring them, their skill level and their knowledge level are progressing at the same point so you don't get one out of balance if your skill level is way higher than the knowledge or vice versa, and you lose that

momentum. I think a friendship is grown more out of mentoring in my definition than they are out of networking.

- ✚ We have a mentoring process here....So now we've got that process, but, of course, when I was coming up, it just happened more informally which may be ok for mentoring.
- ✚ There are issues when the department is supporting a faculty member and the new faculty member is doing everything that the department wants them to do and then they come to discover that the department's standards may be different from the college's standards. So they make it through the department and they don't make it through the college because they don't have enough understanding of how that system works.
- ✚ Unfortunately I did not have a mentor here in (names place). I came here at an associate professor level.
- ✚ But I probably will work on it (names a new research grant) in conjunction with a more junior person because it's more important to them.
- ✚ So he always encouraged me. He asked me to work on a book with him when I taught at a school whose status was down here, and he's at the top of the pyramid. And, er, that kind of put me on the map.

The mentoring process was not seen as an easy task for the mentors:

- ✚ I have come to appreciate what it takes to be a mentor and I wish that we had more resources available to really be able to serve in that role. It's one thing to say, yes, I'll help you and guide you, but it's quite something

different to have the time to be able to fully work with someone to help them develop their teaching skills or to help them with writing.

- ✚ And trying to be as honest as possible because a lot of times you might be in a mentoring relationship but people have a very difficult time handling both the good news and the bad news.

However, the women generally expressed a strong commitment to mentor others:

- ✚ I've particularly have felt that as a minority, member of a minority group, recognizing that there are not that many of us in the university community, that we do play a critical role in terms of working with and mentoring not only other women minority faculty but men who are themselves members of underrepresented groups.
- ✚ I think that's also the importance of your earlier question about mentoring, there has to be individuals that are coming up that are being groomed to take on some of those positions.
- ✚ But I had some wonderful mentors in my professional decisions both men and women. So as I became a faculty member I saw that as important and I have tried to make myself available to faculty in general.
- ✚ One of my favorite roles these days is mentoring new faculty.
- ✚ You can take a certain amount of pride in knowing that you've worked with someone and they've been successful in their own career.
- ✚ I tried to mentor the women faculty if they come to me. I mean some don't need it, but she, this is one case where she did.

This affinity was, therefore, where the senior faculty members described how important mentoring was for them when they were starting their careers in academia and their commitment to provide the same service for those coming up behind them.

Networking emerged as a sub-category of this affinity. Women could identify how networking was useful to men in their careers as faculty members. These two women, who came into departments that were male dominated, felt marginalized:

✚ And what has hurt I think, what has hurt is, you know, and I think mainly because I'm a woman, is I'm less networked into the department. And as a result I tend to get marginalized, you know, so that has hurt.

✚ When I first came here, I have to tell you, almost nobody ever spoke to me.... but the women were fewer in number although there were senior women but they for various reasons just did their own work and there wasn't like a girls' club. There was a boys' club but there wasn't a girls' club.

One woman also noted the difficulty of finding support outside the university because her research involves a minority group:

✚ And that in certain fields like the one I work in (describes her research) I can't turn to a network of individuals who are teaching and conducting research in that area; so it's more difficult to have access and the kind of supports you need to be successful in a university setting.

They defined networking as one way to access information they needed for their daily work:

- ✚ Networking on the other hand is... as a spider would weave their web ... of going out and gaining information from this group.
- ✚ Networking I think is very important and to me it's a system of relationships that include people that share a common interest or concerns and commit to try and further mutually beneficial goals.
- ✚ ...well that was because we networked at a couple of things and she knew who I was and she knew enough about me to know this would be good for that. I might tell somebody else, you know, they would be good for this, go see so and so, that's networking. It's connecting people as opposed to training people; there's the difference to me (from mentoring).
- ✚ One set of networks is a network I consider a leadership network. There is a group of us that share some common concerns about faculty governance, for example, so we commonly find ourselves working on the same committees or taking on the same issues and meeting to try and come up with solutions.
- ✚ My spontaneous response would be it doesn't mean a lot, if what you mean by that is relying on other women. If it means when I got my first teaching appointment at this school which had one other woman, she called me and said let's have lunch, and she gave me a whole low down on the school... it means that.

Some of the women faculty also used networking as a social support:

- ✚ So over the years I've had lots of different networks. I have a professional network; there are individuals across the country that share common academic interests in the field of (names her field), and so that group of individuals stays in touch to respond to issues, to develop proposals, to write, so that's a network. I have several different networks here at the university. One set of networks is a network I consider a leadership network. There is a group of us that share some common concerns about faculty governance, for example, so we commonly find ourselves working on the same committees or taking on the same issues and meeting to try and come up with solutions. It's a small group of individuals and we've now worked together for years and actually even done some good.
- ✚ That group will get together for a happy hour where we have an opportunity in a very in-formal way to talk about what is going on, to get to know each other better, as in reality we are a very small community.
- ✚ When I came I was immediately welcomed and embraced, in the network by the political women. I was active in Ann Richard's first campaign for governor. I got to know those women. I saw it was being run by women and I was welcomed with open arms.

One woman implied that it was more important for administrators than faculty to network when she said "here the deans are so public they've got to be out and about all the time so that's really not my thing." When asked about the value of formal organizations on campus for women the interviewees commented:

✚ (sigh & pause) You know I was already tenured when I came here and so those kinds of workshops that they do didn't pertain to me in particular.

✚ A: Have you been involved in the faculty women organization? Faculty: Not very much.

✚ When I came somebody called and asked me to join the faculty women's organization and that's where I met (names woman) who became a real, a friend, and someone who could, not support me directly at all in my school but who could, at least, provide a sense that what I was doing for women was very much appreciated.

The Leadership Texas program was noted by one woman as being useful in extending her access to different networks:

✚ It was helpful from the standpoint that it was a very rewarding professional development activity. It introduced me to a lot of people and introduced me to networks I normally wouldn't be part of. It was not as directly helpful in terms of my own professional career.

So, although networking was important to the women, there were fewer descriptions of networking as compared to mentoring.

2. Consciousness-Raising

With this affinity the focus group emphasized their feelings of being "unique" and "one of a kind" and the women interviewed had much detail to give on this theme. The word "unique" resonated with the women in a variety of ways from the individual "first of all as a human being I have held to that philosophy all of my life that I'm unique and one of a kind, my fingerprints prove it," to their

place in the family “and also unique, something else about unique, is that of course no one else in my entire family has a career in the academic environment and so, like my aunt was visiting and she said to me, oh I’d just love to go to work with you and see what you do. You know because they don’t really have an idea of what it is I do.” Within the context of the university the women had this to say:

✚ Now putting that phrase into the context of faculty, uhm, pause, yes, I would tend to agree that we are unique and one of a kind. In the fact that the (assumes a German accent) professor at the university is, we have a mental image of, a male.

✚ Well, er, I joined here in ’89 and at that time I was the only woman in the entire department. So clearly I was very unique at that time. I was for the first eight years or so I was the, by only woman I mean, the only tenure-track/tenured woman. Now we have five of us and I can certainly say that I feel less unique now than I did in the first eight years.

✚ Well, one of the first things it means is that, (pause) women are a minority in higher education, especially in an institution like this.....but I do think unique is a good word for it because it’s sometimes not that easy to survive in an environment like higher education

✚ Well, I think it probably depends on the context, uhm, in which the woman faculty member is operating. If I look at myself as a member of a department, I’m certainly not unique because we have quite a few women faculty members. If I look at myself in terms of the leadership role that I’ve tried to play at the university level, I think part of the uniqueness is

that you are constantly facing issues that are unique to women faculty and trying to level the playing field.

✚ Well, er, (pause) to relate it to my personal experience which is what one does when one defines what something means, (when) I came to (this school), there were out of a faculty of 65, 5 women.

✚ I think that man will never understand that he was the catalyst that caused me to take the job. I just, it was the sexist nature of that remark, you know, and the notion that there's only one kind of relationship, partnership, set me off. So am I unique, you know, that's the story of how I came here.

Two women, one of color and one White, were very direct in their descriptions of how they challenged the system:

✚ So consciousness raising not only in the sense of women and ethnic groups, people of color, but also in terms of more collegiality which you might call more of a feminist or women-centered approach in general to the academic environment. That, yes, it's a competitive environment but by being more collegial we can be more competitive...we actually had a committee you know that tried to look at those issues. And I think that was a very common theme. That's there kind of a, that, you know that, people view, uhm, you know the position of faculty member as one in which everyone is treated equally. And you know a lot of people think that you shouldn't make any special accommodations or take into consideration issues that might be unique to women because that, in some ways, is

condescending, but there's some real realities associated with it that a lot of times people are not aware of.

- ✚ I was determined to try and change this place. I was determined. But I was just about to give up when our new dean was appointed.

Another, a woman of color, had this perspective:

- ✚ I don't see anything particularly relevant to being a woman. I think being a woman, I don't think is anything extra. If anything, it just makes it a little more of a struggle than it would be simply because, you know, it's less of the norm being a woman.

- ✚ These are really smart women; these are really capable women; they can do it on their own. They don't need extra crutches. We don't have a program here geared towards the assumption that the women need crutches.

The women agreed they were unique, but there was a diversity of perspectives as to the value of being unique and the interpretation of that term.

3. Rewards

The women faculty in the focus group used words such as “rewarding,” “satisfying,” and “content,” however, the women interviewed were much less enthusiastic about this theme:

- ✚ It certainly hasn't been all roses, but there are enough rewards that one can carry on.
- ✚ I think it's rewarding to be a faculty member, I don't know, uhm, that I necessarily think about it in that way.

They did identify their interactions with students as rewarding:

- ✚ Oh, yes, I think it's rewarding. It is; I was just in a workshop today and there were a couple of former students who, you know, said things to me, you know, that I felt were reinforcing. And so teaching has been fairly reinforcing.
- ✚ My rewards come more in the students that come back and that you see have changed lives and perspectives; so, yeah, I would say it's a very rewarding type thing. Personally, emotionally, certainly not financially. I could be working in the real world making much more money.
- ✚ I like the academic career very much. I love the teaching and research.
- ✚ The reward, the biggest reward, is, er, what you can do with your students. How you can open the eyes of the women students in particular here, who sorta weren't aware that they weren't going to go right to a big business entity, and be taken on equal footing, and rise to the top and so on. And the men, you know the few men you get to reach and to think about this issue. That's the great reward.

Some noted the freedom and variety of their work as being rewarding:

- ✚ It's a wonderful career, it's challenging, it's exciting, it's stimulating.
- ✚ I have never done the same thing for very long!
- ✚ It's very exciting particularly as I'm in a field where there's very few professionals across the country and there are very few people who conduct research on (names topic).

- ✚ Hopefully, and it's for other people to judge, but hopefully the things that I've done have been helpful to someone, and I think that's very exciting.

One especially noted:

- ✚ The other reward is the solidarity and the comradeship with other women fighting the battle, women faculty issues, not necessarily within my own institution but all across campus...I really had a thrill when I put on my Vita...Professor of Women's Studies. That meant something to me enormously, really emotionally important to me.

Therefore, rewards were noted as coming from their relationships with their students and from their peer relationships.

4. Overwhelming

The overwhelming amount of work a woman faculty member has to do was expressed in a variety of ways. Some comments were direct:

- ✚ You know one thing about being a faculty member is that the work is never done. Anyway so it is overwhelming because there's never a period, you never put a period on things, there's always things to be done.
- ✚ ...and the work continues. You've always got a series of manuscripts waiting to be done, a stack of papers to be graded, one tenure review sitting there being done and two more on the way, you know I do outside reviews for....
- ✚ There's just, so it is overwhelming, you can't work hard enough in this environment.
- ✚ I live overwhelmed!

✚ So I do find myself stretched, because I'm stretched in that regard at the university. I'm stretched in that regard in my professional community because there are so very few people who conduct research on minorities in the field of education, particularly. I'm stretched in the lay community because I'm called upon by lots of different groups that need that kind of expertise. And you really do find yourself in a position of saying, I can't really do it, but, if I don't do it, who will? It's a real Catch-22. So periodically I find myself totally overwhelmed and I have to say to people that's the state that I'm in so cut me some slack!

They also expressed the feeling of being overwhelmed through words such as frustration:

✚ I think that's what they are referring to, the frustration, that has happened yes. And I think that's inevitable again when you belong to a minority group. That is to be expected that there will be more barriers to overcome and there could be frustrations associated with trying to overcome those barriers, yeah.

✚ The frustration, there's an equal amount of frustration in that the areas that I work with are also areas that people in general don't understand very well. There is not a lot of support that's readily available. So you're constantly working to try and get the resources to do what you need to do.

✚ In this environment you can never do enough. It's like no matter how many articles you have, well, somebody's got more and, you know, all of those kind of things.

A few responded to the focus group's suggestion of fear:

- ✚ I have had experiences that were (pause), I don't know that I'd say frightening. I certainly have had disappointing experiences. I have had challenges and I've had challenges that sometimes I'm not sure I'm going to be able to overcome.
- ✚ You know if they're responsible for the care of their children and they're also responsible for doing a research program and they are tied to a particular location that becomes really frightening particularly if you don't feel that you have the resources or the support to overcome those.
- ✚ I would say they are afraid to put themselves out there because they're sure they are going to get knocked down. It's fear. Often not conscious, sometimes conscious.
- ✚ I feel like faculty are scrutinized much more than people in many other disciplines. But we are always subject to feedback and criticism at many levels.

The women's resigned sense of humor which pervaded the interviews was clearly demonstrated in this remark that describes a woman faculty member's work life, "You can put your sixty hours in anytime you want!"

5. Gender

Running through the affinities were the multiple comments that women faculty made about the reproduction of gender inequity, and so this was a strong theme that emerged from the interviews. Some attributed the reproduction to both people factors and structural factors:

- ✚ I think it cycles, and I think it's person dependent. You know I have worked with some groups where representativeness is a central value, and the people who are running the organization or the committee or whatever go to great lengths to represent women, to represent minority voices; you know they have that orientation, and then the very next group might not have that at all! I really do think it fluctuates, and I do think we have reached a point where, you know, system wide or unit wide there is an appreciation for all of those issues and a concerted effort to address them. I think people are more sensitive to them but I think that it is the individual who ultimately provides that balance, and that it really cycles.
- ✚ Well I think that structure is important because what the structure does, policies and rules, set a standard for us to aim for, but then there is the whole other side of it which is the implementation of the standard. And all you have to do is to talk across even departments in your own college to know that everybody's operating with the same standard and rule but not everybody is facilitating its implementation. And then some people do it but clearly communicate that it's a burden, and so they may lighten your service load but they clearly communicate that you're not being very collegial or supportive. And then you begin to feel like you're going to get punished down the road for what you've done.
- ✚ I think I was oppressed by the system and whatever I achieved was in spite of the system. I don't think the structures of our society are built, are structured to, are women friendly; let's put it that way in computer

language. They are not women friendly. I think women who succeed do it in spite of...

- ✚ It depends on who's chairing the doctoral admissions committee.
- ✚ That there really is still a good old boys network that women faculty have to penetrate.

The reality of the structure/people interrelationship in gender inequity reproduction was summed up by this comment:

- ✚ All you have to do is talk across even departments in your own college to know that everybody's operating with the same standard and rule, but not everybody is facilitating its implementation.

However, a few of the women faculty were reluctant to give direct examples of gender inequity:

- ✚ It happens but I haven't seen any personally.
- ✚ No, before I came here I heard that women weren't staying if they thought they wouldn't get tenure...but I came here with tenure.
- ✚ Do I think the good old bubba system has changed in the (number) of years I've been here? No! Has it bothered me? No!

Whereas others gave several:

- ✚ Two young middle-aged male members of this faculty succeeded in getting a denial of tenure for this young woman with a Ph.D in (names academic field) with a prize winning thesis, not from here, by announcing ...by announcing to the faculty in the meeting that her statistical method was childish, any child could do it!

✚ ...she told me she wanted to write about lesbian issues...I said wait until you have tenure, don't do it! ...and of course they got her. They got her from the moment she walked in the building actually; it was a very ugly story.

The women were more willing to voice an awareness of gender bias in the work assigned to women faculty:

✚ But I think we're unique in the fact that the world just now, the world of academia, is just beginning to wake up now and realize that we as women have something to offer that the men don't have that and part of that it is not necessarily academically bound to the curriculum.

✚ Trying to get recognition for the fact that women faculty are much more likely to be put into advising and nurturing roles for students. Ninety percent, ninety percent, easy, of what I deal with they would not deal with, with a man. And it is more the nurturing, that transitional period....

✚ There's a lot of that that is more support and advising and responding so, but it is, I think, the double bind of being a woman faculty member and being a member of an underrepresented group is not perhaps appreciated as much as it should be because the issues that both of those groups present are complex issues and so, particularly for the minority component of it, there aren't enough people to go around to address the kinds of issues that those particular groups are interested in. And you really do find yourself in a position of saying I can't really do it, but, if I don't do it, who will? It's a real Catch-22.

Some of the women described themselves as being part of the problem:

- ✚ So my own personal experience could have been gender discrimination; I don't know. Or was it just me, the personalities didn't match, you know?
- ✚ I think the reason I have less resources than I think I should, part of it is because I'm a woman, and it could just be that I'm obnoxious, you know!
- ✚ I think it takes me too long to do things, I think oh so and so would have had this done by now. And what's wrong with me, why, you know.
- ✚ I always think of myself as a person of average intelligence trying to do a job a person of higher intelligence should be doing. And so there's some self-deprecation, and I think women just learn how to do that. But I always think that if I were smarter I could do this more efficiently.
- ✚ And also, you know, like being tentative about my opinions on things. I saw that a lot of times people were much more assertive about their opinions.
- ✚ So the woman is at the center of this breakdown, I think, because we are the ones that bear these children. If you don't want children, don't have them; there are plenty of things to work around that.
- ✚ So those are some of the unique aspects of this job, and I think that as women perhaps we haven't been prepared to take some of this criticism. Some people think we've been prepared to take too much criticism; you could look at it that way too!

They expressed feelings of marginalization because of their gender:

✚ You don't have, we didn't have, the critical mass certainly in the first eight years that I was here. If you have too few women or even minorities, they really feel marginalized and find it hard to become part of the group. But once you go above a critical mass (and I think in our department now with five women in a faculty of fourteen we now have a critical mass), it's no longer an issue that you are a woman.

✚ This was an institution that made it clear I didn't belong.

✚ They don't understand what I do at all.

Many of the women faculty used the word "feminist" or talked about "feminism" as they described their lives in the university. However, when asked to clarify what they meant there was a diversity of definitions and descriptions. One faculty member gave these following comments with passion during her interview:

✚ Now I'm not saying go in for, er, the big gangbuster, er, women's rights-type thing. I'm not a women's libber, you know. I'm a straight arrow. I believe in the guy opening the door for me. I er, er, er, I think that the women, unfortunately, we have taken ourselves off the pedestal God put us on by trying to have everything equal.

✚ A women's libber to me is a woman who doesn't need men basically. She'd rather go into the bar and drink with the good ole boys. It's the definition of the rough, tough, gruff woman who doesn't really enjoy the feminine things of life. Who wants to be equal to or better and would be

quite happy playing in the middle of the offensive line for some pro team. Or, you know, I'm as good as this man, and I can do anything he can do but better.

✚ The woman's libber is the type, would probably be the type, that in the late fifties/early sixties would have been burning their bras and that type of thing just to make the point. And they ultimately grew on up, if they didn't change out of it, to be a woman's libber. To me a woman is the one who is looking for not equal compensation, but they are almost like any nationality that comes in here and demands something because they are black or brown or orange, demanding something because they're a woman. And I don't think that's right.

✚ Now the woman's libber, in my opinion, is the one that would say, go in and fight for it, and go in and be I'm better and I'm this, and they take the same issue, they just fight differently. I deserve this because I'm a woman, not because I'm doing the same job, because I'm a woman, and it's the philosophy behind it to me that begins to be the issue. And I think that it's hurt women's advancement in a lot of circles because there is still enough of the bubba system out there that they can stop it, and it begins to be looked down on, with the, oh they're a successful woman; therefore, they are very domineering, not necessarily.

✚ So I think you're going to find just as many men spending hours caring for their kids as the girls, women do. It's just that it's the women's issue right

now. You're not going to have any men libbers; it's the women's libbers that say we work harder; we do this, we do that.

Other women held more homogenous views:

✚ A: So then how would you define a feminist? Faculty: (laughter) well, I think there is a lot of overlap between feminist movements and the movements I'm involved with, in terms of underrepresented groups, notions of civil rights and equalities and social justice. Feminist is not a label that I attach to myself very often, but I try not to attach a lot of labels to myself!

✚ Feminism for me is, uhm, (pause) respect, er (pause) for women as, women and their accomplishments as (long pause) untrammled by the attitude that er (pause) well she's only a woman. It's a rebellion against what I see as a second-class status in business, in academia, life! And the stereotyping of women in the role of helpmate to a man (pause), the cabining of women in lower paying jobs, and if the job was a higher paying job, it gets to be paid less and less as there's an influx of women. It's equal opportunity for women in all sectors of public life; it's respect for women in private life; it's fighting violence against women at home and on the street; it's respect; and it's... I'm staying away from the word equality because I think it's such a difficult word and I don't like the notion that the solution of this second-class status is that women be equal to men. I'd like to change the concept!

A few women described trying to foster a collegiality in their interactions:

- ✚ So consciousness raising not only in the sense of women and ethnic groups, people of color, but also in terms of more collegiality which you might call more of a feminist or women-centered approach in general to the academic environment. That yes, it's a competitive environment, but by being more collegial we can be more competitive.
- ✚ Of course it had to do with feminist scholars and scholars who are looking at things from a cultural lens. So a part of this has to do with a broader movement where you can get respect for that in a university kind of setting, for doing that work (talking about collaborative research on women's issues).
- ✚ I'd rather do things by trying to be a collegial person, modeling the kind of behavior I'd like to see other people use.

The affinity of gender encompasses the acknowledgement of gender bias of the structures and people within the university system and culture. It describes the diversity of the women's perceptions of the causes and outcomes of the gender inequity they observe.

6. Strategies

Throughout the interviews women faculty described the strategies they used to advance their career and obtain resources and support. Their focus was on how to gain promotion and tenure in the academy:

- ✚ Er, well publishing, that is very important. Getting graduate students. Getting grants. And in publishing, making sure they send it to the right conferences and be sure they submit papers to journals well in time.
- ✚ ... and not to get into too many committees! Because during the tenure-track period you have to stay focused on research. Of course at the same time make sure that your teaching is of good quality.
- ✚ Not to spend all their time on teaching because, you know, finally they will be evaluated mainly on their research. That would be my number one advice; do outstanding research. And, of course, be sure that you do good teaching too. Just to do outstanding research and publish them in the right places.
- ✚ You should be a good teacher and so you have to invest enough time in your classes so that students will perceive you as organized. Not only having the information and the knowledge but organized and dedicated to teaching. Because I've seen people come in and start off with bad teaching evaluations and then you have to recoup that.
- ✚ So I would also say you have to do a good job doing research, and the refereed articles are important. So in terms of research I would tell them is be much more specialized than I was. I do have a specialization and focus but some people have carved that out much more specifically than I have. Become known as really one of the very top people in your area. Focus in on an area of research. Get to know the top researchers and the federal funding streams in that area.

Teaching and research were the focus, and they felt they got little support:

✚ A: Do you think the Women's faculty organization has helped you personally, and then helped generally? Faculty: (interrupting) not helped me, I don't think, fortunately I was not in the situation of needing help because, as I said, I came here with tenure. The main way in which the FWO helps women faculty is to keep the higher administration aware of issues that are of importance to women. Basically salary equity, moving women up the ranks, uhm, and, of course, things like child-care. And I think it's that constant keeping in touch with the higher administration that allows us to keep them on their toes.

✚ ...for example (the university's) faculty women's club. They talk a good game but it's not presented ultimately with enough enthusiasm and pizzazz, and you always get the notice at the last minute. It's not well attended pro rata for the number of faculty members we have. It doesn't do enough hands on things that can really help me as a woman advance; therefore, you don't really go. But I think that an organization like that, if we could get something really positive going, could really be of great help to women faculty. Are we thrown out there to the wolves, sink or swim? Yeah.

The women faculty believed that nothing was ever "given" to them, and so, the strategies are ones of survival:

✚ You just have to struggle.

✚ And I think you have to be tough in a certain way to survive.

- ✚ So I think it's part of a survival instinct and (pause) being able to withstand the environment.
- ✚ And, uhm, that society has a tendency to place glass ceilings for certain groups that you really have to recognize your rights and not be constrained by your ethnicity or your gender and that is easier said than done. You have to fight for equality of treatment and social justice and all of that.

The women suggested hard work and resilience to criticism as some of those survival strategies:

- ✚ But you have to see yourself on equal footing with men in the environment. Or you at least have to pretend like you have an equal footing with them.
- ✚ So those are some of the unique aspects of this job, and I think that as women perhaps we haven't been prepared to take some of this criticism. Some people think we've been prepared to take too much criticism; you could look at it that way too!
- ✚ When I taught at (another university), I have to say that if you were willing to work hard people were willing to work with you.

Two women faculty described how they were active in fostering diversity as a strategy for improving their work environment:

- ✚ Well I've chaired several search committees and we've hired lots of different kinds of people, diverse you know.
- ✚ And I do think the more women, the more people of color, the more diversity in general, the faculty starts thinking more broadly; the box

opens up. And so one spurs the other. Each brings a different perspective to the faculty which opens up the thinking that allows us to bring more people in. So I think it's been cyclical.

7. Balance

Balance was not an issue that emerged from the focus group but it was spontaneously mentioned by all the women faculty during their interviews. Children were uniformly mentioned as complicating a career in academia:

- ✚ That has not been a problem for me because I don't have children. I think the balancing of personal life is only when you have children; I think that can be an issue.
- ✚ You know, like I always focused on my career. Like I said, I don't have children.
- ✚ Ah, big struggle! Now I'm not a mother, not married, but my kids here have dominated my life. I would work an average of twenty hours a day.
- ✚ It never occurred to me that I would stop working when my children were born (describing how she found she had to leave work).

However, other family members were also included:

- ✚ You know, like, I always focused on my career. Like I said, I don't have children. But now I have two parents living with me for the last four years. So sometimes I just have to stop, you know. They don't drive; they have medical problems so now I can understand how people with children have handled it better because sometimes you just have to say (pause), I've got to do this; this is more important.

- ✚ It's not always easy on the relationship! We have to schedule into our lives a way to separate that out because then your whole relationship can become very professional.
- ✚ I think that a woman needs to prioritize what's important in her life. Is it just her job and being successful and being more important to the man? Is it her job to be fulfilled as part of her life? Is her family important? What are the things that are important?
- ✚ And then obviously for women the kind of issues that we talked about earlier, the nurturing role they are put into with students, the service functions they play, the fact that they are often times the caretaker in terms of home, children... those responsibilities how they play out. Somebody has to help the person try to reach a balance that will help them meet the goal that they wanna meet: promotion and tenure here.

The women did not mention wanting to achieve a balance between their own work and leisure interests except one who acknowledged:

- ✚ You know it's so funny we just had a, what did we call them, a faculty symposium on balance. I did not attend the faculty symposium. I knew it was pointless for me to go to something on balance because it won't happen!

8. Power

During the interviews the women made several references to power and their place within the power structure of the university. Some of the references were to "politics" present in the system:

- ✚ Of course people leave, there is always politics.
- ✚ Don't get involved in the political fray.
- ✚ (describing herself)...someone who is pretty tactless, er, not a careful political player at all, and who speaks out often when she shouldn't.

Most of the women faculty suggested that people with power can change inequity, both individually and in a group:

- ✚ So that chairing a body like the faculty council provides you a vehicle to have very direct contact with the central administration to be able to share views of the faculty and to be able to bring problems forward. It also provides you a forum in which to air those problems, so those are I think important sources of power, and so I do think that power is critical and I do think that it takes people with power to get things done. But there are multiple ways that people have power.
- ✚ And I think you have to [get] people to listen and I do think that the communication starts at the top and trickles down. So you've got to have people that value participation and that understand the uniquenesses and the needs and concerns of various groups, and that I think there is power in junior people coming together and figuring out a way to communicate what's being supportive and what's not being supportive in terms of...
- ✚ So I think it's very hard for an individual but I do think there is power in numbers. And particularly for junior people, which is why I think senior people have to be more assertive and aggressive.

- ✚ Oh you can only do it top down with administration in the school. You have to change the faculty if you're gonna change the place.

Two women perceived that people more than structure are the key to change:

- ✚ If you're talking to people and discover how they got where they were, you know, did they work within the structure, against the structure, you know. It's, I'm saying, it's a very, very complex question really, which has certainly more, in my view, to do with the psychology of the individual and the structures they find themselves in.
- ✚ You know it really varies by the person, and not only the person's professional training and experience but also their personality and their own astuteness in terms of trying to figure out the system.

The women faculty expressed feelings of powerlessness and strategies to gain power:

- ✚ But the one [woman] who left a few years later made it clear to me that women had no power in this institution. I mean the rest of the institution was devoid of women at that time when I first came. You know in power.
- ✚ But I have tried to act in ways that people come to conclude that I'm a contributing, productive individual who can be trusted and has the will of the organization at heart as opposed to personal will. And I think there is power that comes from that.
- ✚ No, I don't think I work the system, I think I was oppressed by the system, and whatever I achieved was in spite of the system.

✚ I feel men are more tuned in to a competitive environment and sorta, maybe one-upping each other...women have to be tough...men have to be men!

✚ Too many times I think women allow themselves to be the wallflower and watch it happen...So, has the bubba system bothered me? No, but that's only because I have barged down some doors.

One woman described the power she gained from assuming leadership roles:

✚ I don't think I seek leadership roles. I'm often times in the position of providing leadership and I think it's probably because I have a very strong commitment to my profession and to my job. And I think when you have that kind of attitude and you demonstrate that, then people interpret that probably as leadership...I have never applied for a leadership position; I've always been drafted (laughter).

However, not without some personal cost:

✚ So much of the leadership that you have to exert is voluntary and on your own time, and there are a lot of negatives when you have a system that is set up that way. I can choose to provide all kinds of leadership and faculty governance or in my department and not get promoted.

✚ And I have always tried to operate from a standpoint of honesty, fairness, and straightforwardness. Obviously I don't know if this is the case and the judgment has to be made by someone else, but I have tried not to be self-serving and self-promoting. I try not wave a banner and say, look how wonderful I am.

She attended Leadership Texas but found that:

- ✚ It was not as directly helpful in terms of my own professional career, and also I think that a lot of times the people that participate in those activities are already leaders and so it's more the people and places you are introduced to more than leadership development. But, yeh, I'm glad I had an opportunity to participate; I did find it very helpful.

9. Career Advancement

In commenting on their career paths the women faculty were clear that for them, career advancement was not moving into an administrative position:

- ✚ You know I am (pause) very much in academia. I enjoy research, I like doing high quality work. So, uhm, (talking very fast) I would say that, I think perhaps what you are getting at, is that, ok, now you are a full professor so maybe your next step is to become a dean or really something like that? No, not really.
- ✚ There are many of us I think here in academia for whom research and teaching is just the final end, and I think that's definitely in my case. I have no interest in being a dean or being an administrator.
- ✚ I feel in a lot of ways the dean is a complaint department. And then there's part about leadership and taking the school to new heights. I like the full professor role and I'm happy doing that. I'd rather not be worried about the day-to-day operations and things like that.
- ✚ A lot of people would prefer to make their mark in the academic community and make excellent contributions there. There are not as many

people willing to take on leadership roles that are more, uhm, organizational, you know, program and organizational development, etc.

However, they suggested that this was a common assumption made:

- ✚ A: And you talked to me a little bit before the tape went on about a choice you'd made not to go into administration? Faculty: Well years and years ago I thought maybe that was the progression.
- ✚ Oh you know I feel that I'm as well known as I'm going to be and so I kinda feel free to do what it is I want to do.
- ✚ Well for me it really would mean, well, there is a senior lecturer position that I would be eligible for this year, that my mentors are really pushing me to get all the paperwork done. I don't know that I'll do it or not. I probably will but that would be it. You could also move into administration, and start at the bottom rung of administration and work your way up. That's ok if you're in your twenties.

They were not as clear as to what career advancement for senior women faculty was, and their answers were very diverse when asked to define it with regard to themselves. One suggested excellence in research:

- ✚ Doing very high quality research in ground breaking fundamental foundational contributions to my field.

Another said:

- ✚ I really see my contribution to be in the academic arena and there's still a lot of leadership managerial roles I play in that arena, but I enjoy that much more than I do the administration of an organizational unit.

The other three women felt they were as far as they would go:

- ✚ It means rising to the top of whatever hierarchy you find yourself in. The top of the hierarchy in my profession would be teaching at a school that's at the top of the greasy pole, the one where I didn't get tenure. Here it would mean having a fancy professorship that I will never get, in part because I haven't published enough.
- ✚ In my particular case my career options are limited...some consulting.
- ✚ I feel that I'm as well known as I'm going to be and so I feel free to do what it is I want to do. I'm not going to get promoted again.

Their advice for junior faculty was in their perception gender neutral:

- ✚ First thing, the first advice I would give would be first of all determine what you want to do. I want to be a faculty member and I want to be dean of students. Ok then, there's a certain avenue you go up through. Make sure you've got the basic qualifications. For example, if you're going into a major position like that, you'd better have some administration in your education somewhere. Because it don't matter if you're a PhD; you're not going to get to be a vice-president.
- ✚ Make your plan and then work your plan.
- ✚ ...a university community career advancement initially meant getting promoted and tenured and so developing the skills to be able to do that.
- ✚ Do outstanding research.
- ✚ I always say my first responsibility is teaching in the class. It's being in the classroom or dissertation work, you know, teaching functions. That's

my first responsibility. So you should get that under control, because I've seen people come in and start off with bad teaching evaluations and then you have to recoup that.

✚ I would advise them to learn the various cultures they have to negotiate...garnering the supports that you need, and developing an ability to take feedback and not being defensive about it.

Except for one faculty member who advised women to:

✚ Start writing the day you get here. When you have a draft, take it around and show it to many, many, people. All of the older men will want to be your daddy. Listen to them very seriously, make like you are taking their advice. In other words act, play a charade. Try and write on a subject they think is serious.

The perils of advancing in the university were summed up by this comment:

✚ I think there's a lot of fear on the part of junior faculty that they have to walk a fine line and not anger people. Angering people means angering your colleagues, it means angering your chair, it means angering your dean. So there's a lot of pitfalls along the way. I mean I've had a lot of conversations with junior faculty that they have an opinion and there are things that are really concerning them, and they want things to be different, but they don't want to put it on the table because they're afraid that their chair might interpret it, for example, as a criticism of their administrative style, and it will come back to haunt them at the point that

a decision is made. So I think there is something to be said that you feel a lot more freedom when you have tenure, promoted and tenured! And there's even more freedom when you become a full professor because you still have to negotiate from associate to full and you've got some of those same concerns, although you take some comfort in knowing that it's not going to be as easy for you to lose your job.

Summary of Women Faculty Findings

The focus group of women faculty identified five affinities, Mentoring, Consciousness-raising, Rewards, Variety, and Overwhelming which they considered described their lives in the university. Two affinities, Rewards and Variety, were merged together and five more affinities emerged from the interviews, Gender, Strategies, Balance, Power, and Career Advancement for a total of nine affinities. Following theoretical coding the uncluttered system influence diagram for the women faculty was constructed and is presented in Chapter V.

Summary of All Findings

This chapter has presented the women's voices as they responded to the first two purposes of the study which were to describe the experiences of women administrators and women faculty as they respond to resistant discourses of gender inequity in their university. As described in the methodology of the study, two focus groups were held one composed of women faculty and one composed of women administrators. Following the focus groups eleven women were interviewed. Thus, this study is reflective of the experiences of a total of nineteen

women. The women represented a diversity of departments and colleges in the university. Fifteen of the women were white and four were women of color. The same narrative statement was posed to the focus group of women administrators, except that the words “woman faculty member” were replaced with “woman administrator.”

The focus group of women administrators identified seven affinities which they considered reflected their lives in the university. Qualities Needed described the behaviors needed to succeed. Feelings reflected the enjoyment the women gained from their senior positions in the administration despite the frustrations they encountered. The affinity Job Requirements detailed the pressures and demands placed on them, making it a Balancing Act to attend to the personal and the professional areas of their lives. Environmental Issues of university politics required the women to work the system, maintaining relationships and navigating complex structures. In the affinity Support they identified a variety of support systems critical to their survival within the university, and in Pride they described the personal visibility and credibility they gained from being associated with a prestigious institution.

Following the six interviews four more affinities emerged, namely Strategies, Gender, Leadership, and Career Advancement. The women administrators described a variety of strategies they used to be successful in the system, and in Gender they presented the complexities of being a woman in a male-normed educational and organizational setting. They described leadership behaviors they used and reflected on their opportunistic career advancement.

From the women faculty focus group and interviews nine affinities emerged. Mentoring described the ways in which women used mentors and networks to advance their careers. The second affinity of Consciousness-Raising described how the women felt unique and one of a kind in the university. Rewards was an affinity that the focus group identified in a positive manner, but the women interviewed were less positive except for the satisfaction they received from watching their students grow and mature. All the women faculty agreed that their work was Overwhelming, the fourth affinity, and made harder because they were women in the affinity Gender. Strategies to achieve promotion and tenure were prescribed and presented as critical to a woman's success. Balancing the personal with the professional was again identified as problematic. The women faculty felt powerless themselves but believed that people with power could change inequity in the university. Career advancement was a term that held much ambivalence for the women.

In this chapter the affinities identified by the women (administrators and faculty) were described using their own words. In the next chapter the relationships between the affinities are explored in order to examine any similarities and differences existing between inequity factors and career advancement practices as identified by women faculty, and inequity factors and career advancement practices identified by women administrators, the third purpose of the study.

Chapter V: Discussion

Introduction

In Chapter IV the voices of the women in this study were presented as they responded to the affinities which emerged from the focus groups. Affinities are those categories of meaning that reflect the women's lived experiences. They are the themes that the women identified in the focus groups when asked what it meant to be a woman administrator/faculty member at their university. Through theoretical coding, as described in Chapter III, the relationships between these affinities were determined and ordered by their degree of influence over each other. The primary drivers are those affinities that have a large influence on other affinities. Primary outcomes are those affinities that are largely influenced by other affinities. Between the primary drivers and the primary outcomes are the secondary drivers and secondary outcomes that are both influenced by and exert influence upon the primary drivers and primary outcomes respectively. These relationships are represented in a final form through the use of system influence diagrams which are presented on page 169 and page 191.

In this chapter the system influence diagram (SID) for each group of women (administrators or faculty) will be interpreted and then the two diagrams will be compared. The voices of the women remain integral to this process and so select quotes from the interviews are again incorporated. To illustrate the interpretations of the relationships between the affinities, longer quotes are presented than were used in Chapter IV. Following the interpretations of the

system influence diagrams, the role of the researcher within the research process is examined and finally conclusions are drawn about the information presented.

Women Administrators System Influence Diagram

The system influence diagram for the women administrators will be interpreted in three different ways. First its structure, how it is constructed with linear and circular pathways, will be described. Then the model will be interpreted from the theoretical perspective as to how the data support, contradict, or add to the current literature. Finally the model will be applied to the context of career advancement for a woman administrator in an institution of higher education to explore its goodness of fit.

Structural Interpretation

The diagram below is a representation of the relationships between the following eleven (11) affinities identified by the women administrators:

1. Qualities Needed
2. Feelings
3. Job Requirement
4. Balancing Act
5. Environmental Issues
6. Support
7. Pride
8. Strategies
9. Gender

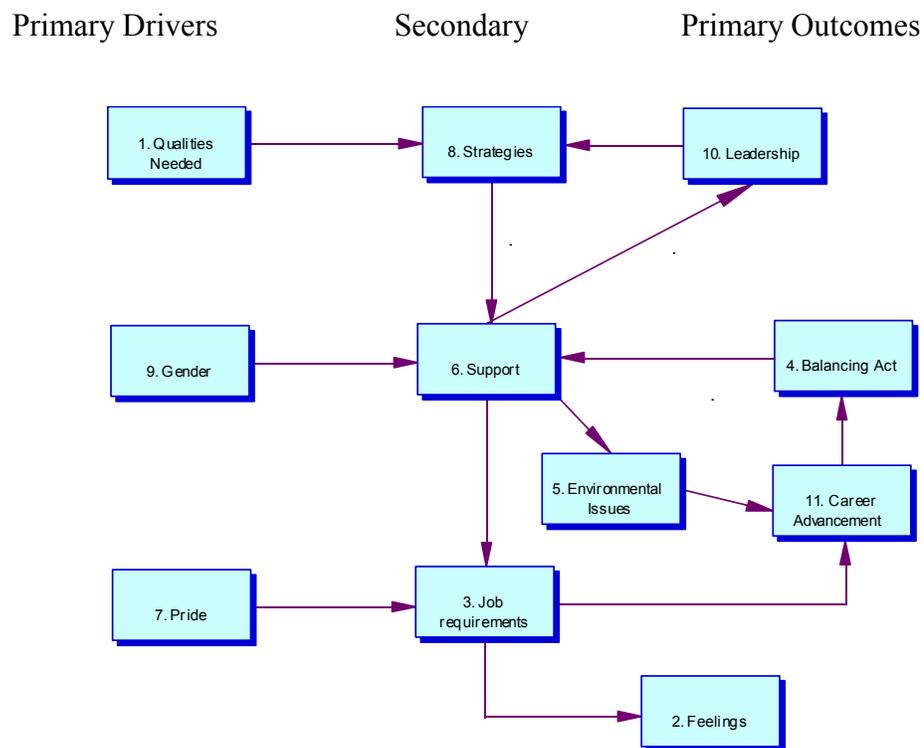
10. Leadership

11. Career Advancement

These affinities were described in detail in Chapter IV.

The primary drivers, on the left of the diagram, each lead to secondary drivers and secondary outcomes and on to separate primary outcomes:

Figure 2: Women Administrators System Influence Diagram



The primary drivers which emerged from the data are the affinities of Qualities Needed (#1), Gender (#9), and Pride (#7). The secondary drivers and outcomes are the affinities of Strategies (#8), Support (#6), Environmental Issues

(#5), and Job Requirement (#3). These affinities lead to the outcomes of Feelings (#2), Balancing Act (#4), Leadership (#10), and Career Advancement (#11).

Each of the primary drivers leads to a separate outcome. More specifically Qualities Needed leads to Strategies which is part of a feedback loop with Support and Leadership. The behaviors and characteristics that the women perceive are needed to be an administrator, such as resilience, persistence, adaptability, and a sense of humor influence the strategies used to manage their work lives, as they organize support and engage in leadership activities.

The primary driver of Gender (#9) leads to Support (#6) and through a feedback loop ultimately to Career Advancement (#11) and Balancing Act (#4). Being a woman is salient to being an administrator in this university and necessitates specific approaches and actions for advancing in the organization. The women suggest that their promotion is also linked to balancing time between their work lives and their other life roles.

The primary affinity named Pride (#7) is both the women's pride in the university and the visibility and credibility provided by the reputation of the institution. The prestige of the university influences the demands of the administrative positions the women hold (the affinity of Job Requirement #3) and so leads to Feelings (#2) of frustration, excitement, joy, and satisfaction. Pride (#7) is also linked to Career Advancement (#11) through the affinity Job Requirement (#3). The women's busy lives and long hours at work affect their advancement up the ladder both as prerequisites to promotion and, for the

administrators who have been faculty members, the desire to retain some part(s) of their academic careers.

From this System Influence Diagram, it is apparent that these women identify three unconnected primary drivers (Qualities Needed; Gender; Pride) leading to two unconnected outcomes (Leadership; Feelings) and two connected outcomes (Balancing Act; Career Advancement). The women did not identify a relationship between who they are as individuals, that is Qualities Needed (#1) and the sexism they encounter except through the affinity of Support (#6). Pride in the university (#7) was not connected to the other two drivers except through a secondary complex feedback loop involving four other affinities. The outcomes of Leadership (#10) and Feelings (#2) were unconnected to each other and to the connected outcomes of Career Advancement (#11) and Balancing Act (#4). These women did not describe a relationship between their leadership behaviors and success in their careers, nor between success in their careers and their feelings of frustration and satisfaction. Their feelings were connected to their day-to-day work of interactions with colleagues and students.

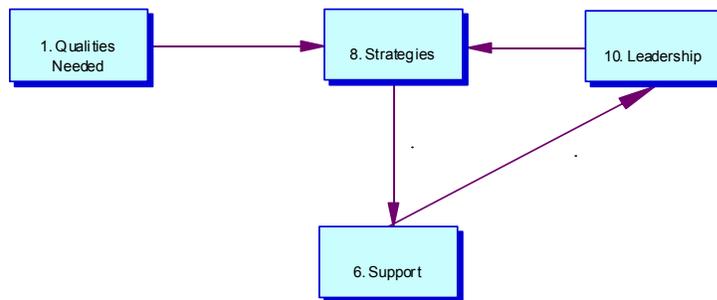
Between the primary drivers and the outcomes are some complex feedback loops of issues that mediate the outcomes. These feedback loops which the researcher named a) Taking Control; b) Lunch Time; c) All Consuming.

a) Taking Control

The first feedback loop (see Figure 3) was named Taking Control as it is the relationships between Strategies (#8), Support (#6), and Leadership (#10). The women describe an interconnection between knowing and navigating the

university culture and system, the support systems they use, and the leadership behaviors they engage in, influencing their choice of strategies.

Figure 3: Women Administrators Feedback Loop 1



In some instances it can be taking control and in others it can be feelings of lacking control as described in these two separate examples given by the same woman. In the first example, she is describing committee work where she is the only woman in the room and her voice is ignored, and then her same words are spoken later by a man and are subsequently accepted by the group:

So after a while you don't shut up, you can't shut up. What it does is to make me talk more. You know if you're not going to listen to me...you're trying to shut me up and I'm going to be sure it doesn't (happen). So that's what I'm talking about in terms of resilience and I tend to use humor you know to try to (long pause), I guess to deal with my frustration over those situations. A: So your strategy would be to continue talking?

Administrator: Or make a joke about the fact that "haven't I heard that somewhere before!" and to be sure that during the rest of the meeting and in future meetings that I speak up and don't allow them to shut me down.

In the second example, she is responding to the tension between rewards and frustrations and the tension between time for research and time for administrative work:

A lot of administrative work I do is frustrating. I am able to keep my hand in doing my own research which is rare at this, as well as do my administrative work. So my research is the rewarding and (pause) satisfying aspects of my job. But the administrative portion is, can be, quite frustrating and can be on its own time schedule so that you can have little control over your schedule. Little control over, you can plan today what you are going to do tomorrow...and may end up by not doing one thing (you planned).

In these two examples, one involving people and one involving structure, the interplay between the system and strategies is shown to be influenced by gender. Implicit in these examples is the collegial approach of the woman in the face of sexism and in accommodating the demands of handling administrative responsibilities.

Another woman described how her support system, her instinct, her strategies, and her inclusive style weave together in her work life:

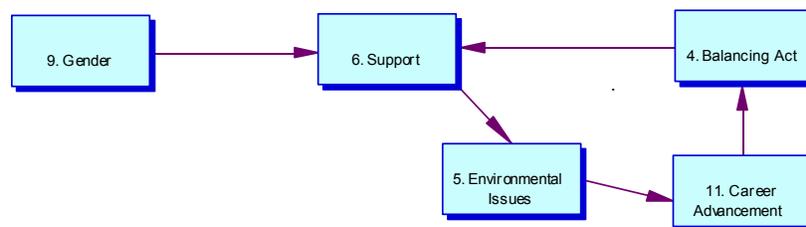
When we were talking about mentors and networking and all that, sometimes I will go to my mentors for advice and I will say, look I'm in this situation. There's a woman also, she's a very senior professor to whom, you know I will call her and say I really need some advice here, and I'll go and sit down with her and tell her this is where I am and I need you to help me. Because she has huge experience and the best sixth sense that I have ever come across. But you know that is in very exceptional circumstances. In the day to day I think its just instinctive and, you know, that in some cases a telephone call will do; in others you really have to do it in person; in others you have to take the provost with you to make the point! I think it really is totally instinctive and just knowing what works with one won't always work with the other.

This description illustrates how she uses different approaches to match the individuals she interacts with daily. She chooses to use a woman mentor when necessary because of what she calls her instinctive nature, which matches her own

style. She takes control in navigating the system through her choice of strategies, her support mechanisms, and her leadership behaviors, to get tasks achieved.

b) Lunch Time

Figure 4: Women Administrators Feedback Loop 2



The second feedback loop involves Support (#6), Environmental Issues (#5), Career Advancement (#11), and Balancing Act (#4). The presence, and absence, of support systems changes the women’s abilities to work the system, perceived as critical for a successful career. However, with success comes the increasing struggle to balance their lives and their need to seek out and receive added support, as one said, “for me the biggest thing is time.”

For example, one woman described the intersection of support, balance, being a woman, and working the system, all to advance in her career:

I think as you advance you (pause) you juggle so many hats you can’t know everything about everything. So you’ve got to be able to ask the best questions to get the information in a fairly short time....So I think a lot of it is keeping my eyes open and identifying people that I want to know. Er, having the courage to invite them to lunch...My mentor, my boss, was very good about saying, you need to call so and so and ask them to lunch. A lot of lunch meetings.

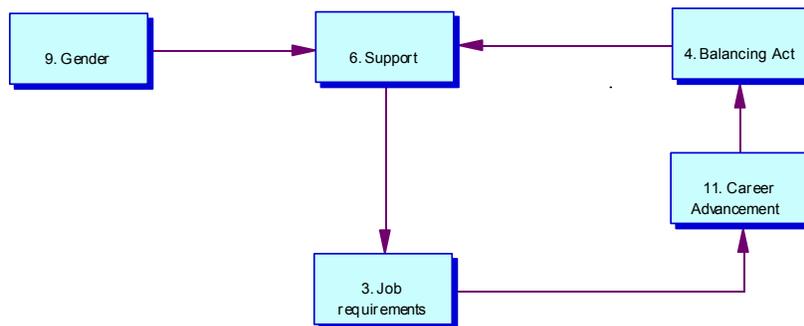
For another administrator, it was important to retain her links with her faculty colleagues as both a support system for herself and a way of keeping in touch with faculty issues that influence her administrative position:

Going to lunch with your friends and hearing them complain about this and that. They won't say it to you in the same way if you're just an administrator.

Across the interviews, lunch seemed to be the optimal time for mentoring and networking because of the time balance between work and personal life.

c) All Consuming

Figure 5: Women Administrators Feedback Loop 3



The third feedback loop is an outer loop of the affinities of Support (#6), Job Requirement (#3), Career Advancement (#11), Balancing Act (#4) and back to Support (#6). In this loop, the support systems used influence the time demands of the job, where very hard work is perceived as necessary for career advancement. For example:

Because of the nature of a place like this and the stature of this university the things that I'm exposed to, uhm, er, (pause), keeps me, er, (pause),

keeps me driven professionally. Keeps me driven professionally and personally...but even without children it is, I struggle with the balance piece because I'm always behind and er, not with my family as much as I'd like to be.

For these women administrators, a career in academia is perceived as so demanding that it needs the assistance of others for any individual to devote the work time required. However, some of the women felt lack of time was a broader problem for women professionals:

I think it's for women in every profession, I mean if you are in top executive positions it doesn't matter if you're in industry, or in social services, or in higher education. I think we all suffer from the same time constraints and pressures and this finding it so difficult to balance personal and professional issues. I think it's an issue that cuts across all careers in that it's something that women can relate to on a universal basis.

and even broader for anyone in professional life today:

I think it's an early twenty-first-century (laughter) active professional life problem. Whether you are a man or a woman in a profession. Everyone I talk to seems to have no time to get everything done.

When asked about her rise to a senior position another explained:

I think it gets harder just because of the nature of your administrative work and the demands of that just overwhelm your entire week. So just getting, when I take a half a day its hard to even change my mind to my research focus because of all these other things I know I have waiting for me in my administrative office. Some of which are on deadlines and have to be done by a certain time, or are critical to being done today maybe. So its even hard to disengage that and focus on research.

Thus, the more senior the position the more complex the balance between the women's work life and their other lives, and their need to seek out and receive more support from people and structure in order to survive.

The Lunch Time feedback loop is embedded in the All Consuming feedback loop. Lunch Time represents what the women have to do to survive in the gender biased system of the university because they have other, as important, facets of their lives within which they need to, and want to, participate. When the demands of working for a prestigious university are added to that loop, support systems and balancing of time become even more critical for their career aspirations. As one woman explained:

And for me, I have high standards of achievement and excellence and I want to be in a place that strives for that, and that's the kind of place where I thrive. I don't want to do shoddy work, or mediocre work, or be in a second rate institution. There's no enjoyment or pleasure or pride in that for me to make it a lifetime's work.

For the women administrators to be able to pursue successful careers and to have a personal/family life, support is the critical hub they identified that connects their lives.

The Commonality of Support

Common to all three feedback loops is the affinity of Support (#6). In the words of a married woman with grown children:

I get a lot of support from my family and from my spouse which I think is key. As I said, the job is all consuming so you need a lot of support, regardless of whether you are a man or a woman; I think you need a lot of family support to enable you to put in the hours it takes and to do the traveling that it takes. Being distracted all the time, even difficult to get away on vacation. You have to have understanding and support from your family.

A woman with younger children noted:

In fact I'm a firm believer ever since my first, somebody told me when I was having my first baby... that there is no reason one can't have career,

marriage, and family, but the trick is to get as much help as you can possibly afford (laughing) because that's what makes it doable. Don't think you can do it all.

It is inevitable that some aspect of these women's lives receive less attention than their work and family, and several noted that they had little personal time for themselves. This was not just a phenomenon of the married women with children, but all the women interviewed expressed similar regrets to this woman:

I have to say, Alison, I don't have any children and I have a spouse that's an academic also and that understands exactly what the time constraints and pressures of my job are. Both of those things have just been critical for me to be where I am in my career. But you know it's never finding the time to reward yourself personally where you say OK today I'm just going to sit outside and read a book. I don't read books any more, just because I don't have time.

It appears that the ways in which women gain and give support through mentoring, networking, family, and institutional help are pivotal for their abilities to sustain and progress both in their day-to-day lives, and within the institution.

Theoretical Interpretation

The systems influence diagram suggests that for these women, in this institution, three primary issues influence their career advancement. These are: qualities needed, gender, and pride. The perceptions of the women interviewed support the research which asserts that the social construction of gender and its structural basis in institutions of higher education continues to provide barriers to success (Blackmore, 1999; Rushing, 2002; Shakeshaft, 1987; Valian, 2000). In other words, these women in administrative positions at the institution in the study, describe similar experiences as those reported in the literature.

Primary Driver of Qualities Needed

The women administrators were cohesive both in the personal qualities and behaviors identified, and by the high importance placed on the use of them in their work. An implicit assumption made on their, and the researcher's part, was that women can not succeed without these behaviors. This is especially true of behaviors such as flexibility, resilience, persistence, and sense of humor. Throughout the interviews the women gave repeated examples of how they used these qualities in their daily leadership roles. From their positions as associate deans, deans, associate vice-presidents and vice-presidents, they felt that specific personal characteristics were important, and they selected some and, therefore, omitted others in the process.

The literature on leadership has historically essentialized leadership styles into those used by men and those used by women, with a valuing of the "traditional" male characteristics (Becker, 1997). The women in this study were purposefully not asked directly about their leadership style to try and prevent any categorization and to permit descriptions to emerge. In the extensive literature on leadership, male leaders are described as tough, decisive, authoritative, and outspoken, with women leaders portrayed as flexible, caring, and collaborative (Becker, 1997). Nidiffer's (2001) newly proposed integrative model of blended characteristics suggests that a less restrictive perspective would value a more comprehensive array of leadership competencies that are effective for a particular individual in a specific institution.

As Nidiffer (2001) herself suggests, gender-based theories of leadership are persuasive, but is there any evidence they are being practiced in institutions of higher education? Studies have suggested that they are being utilized by only some women in presidency roles and during their climb into those roles (four meta-analyses as described in Nidiffer(2001). In her study of ten women presidents, Nidiffer (2001) found that most used an integrated mixture of leadership characteristics from those traditionally identified as being used by men or women.

The women administrators in this study chose an integrated mixture of characteristics they felt were essential to survive and advance in their institution. They selected qualities of resilience and strength and persistence. These mirror the toughness and decisiveness valued by Western culture in a male leader, but they also suggest some added elements. The terms resilience and persistence indicate that hardships and barriers are placed in their way that they have to be willing to overcome. There was only one reference in these interviews to an authoritarian approach to leadership:

And so that sometimes I find frustrating where I wish we could do something more perhaps it's my (identifies her ethnicity) blood, the authoritarian vein within me! But there are times where I wish we could just say this is going to be the new policy without having to go through a lot of the consulting mechanisms that we do. So that sometimes I find frustrating, but I have been at the other end as well, you know, where I have been on committees where I don't think it's a good idea that the administration might want to do something and I will speak my mind...

However, this was a comment on the time consuming nature of a collaborative style more than a valuing of an authoritarian style. Reference to the quality of being outspoken was interwoven throughout the interviews in many of the

experiences described, linked to being a woman in a senior position more than to the office held. Women were outspoken to assert their right to be at the table and to have their voices heard. Several women indicated that it was advisable to select the topic to be outspoken about so as not to be seen as being too assertive.

With regard to the literature on women's styles of leadership being described as flexible, relational, and collaborative, these behaviors emerged strongly in the women administrators' descriptions of how they approached their work experiences and in their career advancement strategies. To be successful in the higher education system the women described having to match their style to whomever they were interacting with:

With some you can do it in a more personable way, with others you have to be very professional and very serious, and with others you just have to be, you know, aggressive and pushy (laughter). There's no question about that!

This included attending to the maintenance of collegial relationships, in this example as an administrator working with faculty:

When I'm on committees on the campus I have a different role that I play and I think the hardest part of faculty life is negotiating (pause and sigh) how do I say this, negotiating a position where you can speak your piece, particularly if you feel passionately about issues while recognizing that these are colleagues you have to live together in very close quarters so that you can't irreparably break relationships.

Several of the administrators described some freedom in their roles to be creative and adaptable to the culture and the mission of the institution:

So if you have those relationships and have the freedom of movement then you can really get things done. And I had the wonderful experience of creating a body of work that didn't exist before, only because I could keep pushing the margins. And you know you get a toe in the door to do something, and then you get another foothold, and then you get another

foothold and so one thing leads to another. And yes you have to be creative, and you have to see what's not being done, where the holes are.

These women administrators describe integrated and emergent behaviors (Lipman-Blumen, 1992; Nidiffer, 2001) in their daily decision making and leadership roles within the institution. They perceive the need to combine strength with adaptability. However, it is unknown how much of the adoption of these behaviors are due to their effectiveness in a gender neutral sense, and how much the women have had to utilize these behaviors because they are effective for them as women against the barriers placed by a gender biased system.

Primary Driver of Gender

The influence of gender on career advancement was the issue most often identified by these women. They described their experiences within a gender biased higher education system but believed that their own university was better than others they had experienced, and that it was improving under its current leadership.

Research has suggested that women react in different ways when faced with gender bias in the academy, including denial, lower feelings of entitlement, self-blame, and feelings of a loss of control over their lives (Carli, 1998). The women in this study expressed varying degrees of all these reactions. When describing their past, more junior positions, their experiences were tinged with expressions of isolation. They acknowledged that sexism existed and exists but most of them stated they consciously did not draw attention to themselves as women. This was more apparent in the women who had never been faculty members. They perceived that if they questioned sexist structures and practices or

acted as though they were “feminists” and “fighting” their way to the top then it was counterproductive for their careers.

You get stubborn enough to where you think you can, and that’s part of where you know you can get something done is, when all the doors close you can find one that’s open and get it done. And that’s the challenge and the savvy of playing the politics. Softly getting things done without people knowing you’ve exerted influence. So there’s very little that I can think of that I haven’t gotten done, or solved, or fixed, or worked out. But you have to push the margins to get things done here.

Generally, the women administrators interviewed adhered to the conventional policy perspective on gender inequity as described in the literature (Bensimon & Marshall, 1997). Structure is seen as gender neutral, and, therefore, change will occur in time as the number of women in the pipeline increases.

Researcher: What is going to change that? Administrator: Well we hope time! That in time those behaviors will change and I think they gradually are. I see some reason to be optimistic and I think there has been some positive change. But you know all societal change is very difficult and the old golden rule of you need a generation to see change really take place, I don’t think we’re quite there yet. But we are getting there, and I think there is a lot of open mindedness about how this is the reality, and this is a problem, and this needs to be addressed.

With the structure identified as being equitable for men and women, the individual woman must, therefore, be the problem if she is not successful:

They got there because they deserved it, and I think as long as women keep pushing and, and, and just based on their own merit and their skills and competency they know they can be as competitive as anybody else over here.

The woman quoted above supports Carli’s (1998) findings in her study of women faculty where gender bias goes unacknowledged and individual characteristics become the focus. The women administrator’s responses to the demands of the

university were to work hard as well as to continue to take responsibility for family life, the well documented double-shift (Bielby & Bielby, 1988; South & Spitze, 1994). Those with husbands and children perceive they were working harder than men because of family time issues and because of sexism:

Because you see it consistently with, and there again I don't mean to say that it is something that is deliberately done, but if you want to get there you have to be prepared to work harder than a man would. And I wish that weren't the case, and that's the reason I hesitate, but you know honestly this is just so true. You have to put in more time, put in more hours. Prepare your tenure papers and your promotion papers, they have to be totally air tight that no matter who reads them or who evaluates them, nobody can come back at you and ...well that is something that I believe just very firmly.

Although this time a gender bias is acknowledged, it is described as not being "deliberate." Women will blame other women as individuals for their lack of success, but will not blame the men in power as individual perpetrators of gender discriminatory practices.

The women administrators interviewed described, in various ways, the importance of having networks to support them both in their daily work and in their career advancement. The current business and education literature describes mentoring and networking for women in a positive supportive manner. The older literature describes a lack of mentoring due to the "Queen Bee Syndrome." The women administrators in this study described the positive aspects of both formal and informal networks, as in this example:

most of the women colleagues that I like a lot or enjoy their company or go out to lunch or sit at a dinner table, make a point of sitting with them because I know I'll have a good time, uhm, it's mostly because they are women that I like and enjoy their company. So its not kind of thinking, well I guess we are all political in a way where you say ok I have to make

a point of go talking to X at a cocktail party or a reception or whatever. Because we all have to do that, we know that. But in terms of my real networks if I need somebody to call who it will be my friends slash colleagues.

The women interviewed also expressed a commitment to mentoring those women below them; however, the extent to which they actually do that is unknown. One woman suggested that the willingness is there but that the time constraints due to the work load, and having to work harder than men, are a barrier to the mentoring process. This is an alternative explanation to the described relationship constraints of the Queen Bee phenomenon. However, a different woman was emphatic that so-called old-girl networks are in existence in the university, and that they are very similar to the good old boy networks:

In the same way. Perhaps again, it's not very obvious, not overtly but I think there very much is the network where you are us and them among women. Where it's like, oh well you're not one of us, or perhaps in some cases, and I personally have felt this, where you're not one of us, YET. You're getting there and we approve of that, but uhm, I think it is very much there. That is part of also the reason why its so important to me to remain a faculty member because I don't want to be part of that network and say, oh you faculty! Because that is, oh they're the academics. So I think it is definitely there (laughing). A: So in a positive way as well as a negative way? Administrator: Oh yes, I don't mean this to be totally derogatory, just as it is with the boys, it has its positive, very positive aspects for them as well as negative aspects. But no, in the sense of the old smoke filled rooms kind of thing, I don't mean it in that way. I mean it both a positive as well.

Some of the women expressed ambivalent feelings and confusion towards sexism, its causes and its role in the university. Their responses reflect the complexities of gender, class, and race and also mirror the current discourses on the women's movement and its past and present role in society.

As Ferguson, Katrak, and Miner (2000) report “antifeminism takes a variety of overt and subtle forms” (p. 61) and has historically arisen after significant gains in women’s rights and during periods of political conservatism. Some of the women had comments that supported the presence of this backlash as reported in the literature:

- I think I’d say don’t play that card. You know, don’t use that ‘cause that’s sorta old stuff. If you’re conscious of it then you are going to make other people conscious of it and they are going to wonder, I mean, anyone who had a (pause) sensitivity to that, I would be a little suspect of to be honest.
- Don’t look at something and say they are not going to take me seriously ‘cause I’m a woman and I know they’ve got six men who are going to be interested in this. Uhm, I don’t know why but I’ve never really looked at it that way. And based on the people with whom I work around here, er there are a lot of really talented women in places that have leapfrogged over a number of men who’ve held positions here. So I just, I think it’s real important for women not to constantly come to the table with this thought that because I’m a woman it’s probably not going to happen for me.

However, the diversity of opinions and beliefs expressed by the women administrators in this study suggests that simplistic, dichotomous statements about gender and sexism can only essentialize. Feminisms and antifeminism ideologies are interwoven into the structures and individuals in the university in a manner not addressed by the current literature.

Primary Driver of Pride

The focus group of women administrators identified the theme of Pride as influencing their career advancement. The women interviewed suggested that working for a prestigious university both positively and negatively affected their

work. This is not an aspect of career advancement that has been clearly addressed in the literature. It has been well reported that there are more women achieving senior positions in community colleges and smaller liberal arts institutions than in top tier research institutions (Headlee & Elfin, 1996; Jones & Komives, 2001; Scholnick, 1998). However, the interaction between the individual and the institution has not been explored from the perspective of being both an asset and a barrier to career advancement.

The women administrators in this study suggested that being associated with a successful research institution benefited them in the wider higher education community. Their own accomplishments would be more favorably assessed because of where they were achieved, that is, in a high profile university. However, some ambivalence was expressed. Some of the women thought that the work demands placed on them by the institution exacted an extremely high price from them in time and balance. More research is indicated on the rewards for women in senior positions at prestigious institutions of higher education.

Secondary Mediators and Feedback Loops

There has been little research on the impact of the intersections of person, structure, sexism, support, and multiple life demands on women in senior administrative roles. The intersection itself is rarely acknowledged with the parts being studied but the whole being too complex for quantitative studies to address. The women administrators in this study eloquently describe these intersections, as one noted:

For example, they need to have a meeting this week and everyone else is available on the time, my research day, and if I'm not available then we

can't have the meeting until the next week. I mean this is a common occurrence. And I have on occasion said OK let's go ahead; I've moved my research day to another time but that just ends up by it not happening. And I not only have to manage my own grant and my own project, I have to write papers and write the next projects and everything so half a day is hardly enough, isn't enough as it is.

In this example, the woman is trying to balance her administrative work with her research work, and as she stated at another point in the interview, she has chosen not to work Friday evenings and Sundays in order to have some family/personal time. With her dual responsibilities her schedule is less flexible than other administrators, which structure and people do not allow for, and so her research is devalued by others in relation to administrative meetings.

In another example, the importance of focusing on work, with the implied exclusion of the personal, is suggested as the way to success:

In the administration, if you want to continue in the administrative track it's hard to focus so firmly because you know you want to stay there, clearly you want to advance and move on and move up. Opportunities open up and it's hard to predict what those opportunities would be. I just think if you're focused in your work and you consistently have a good track record of what your work is then opportunities will just come to you rather than you have to go out looking for them. One other advice I would give women is make yourself visible and known on campus. One thing I know helped me enormously, and part of the reason why I'm here I guess, is that when I was a junior faculty member I was very quickly appointed to some very visible university-wide committees.

Interpreting the above, opportunism and visibility are important to success. A person has to stand out and demonstrate abilities at a university-wide and not just at a department or college level. Women must be visible to those in power in order to be selected, and have to demonstrate their proficiency at a high level.

Thus, these women administrators describe similar experiences to those reported in the literature, but they suggest more complexity and the intersection of multiple issues that have not been explored in previous research studies. They describe emergent and connective leadership values and behaviors, and feel rewarded by working for a prestigious university. However they have to work long hard hours, at work and at home, and have little time for mentoring junior administrators. The presence of gender discrimination is acknowledged at times, but these women administrators voice a resistance to the need to challenge it, as it is improving, and women should not use past inequities to gain special treatment. For them, any remaining sexism is either a structural problem or a problem of individual women, and so will be resolved in time.

Applied Interpretation

The systems influence diagram has been described from a theoretical perspective, and now the applicability of the model presented will be explored both prospectively and retrospectively. Prospectively, the path a new junior woman administrator should follow in order to advance to a senior position in this institution will be examined. Retrospectively, having achieved a senior administrative position, the experiences that made up the journey will be described.

For a new woman administrator at this institution there are certain qualities you must demonstrate in order to succeed. If you develop flexibility in your strategies and receive support from your family, peers and mentors, you can develop leadership skills. Your leadership ability may not affect your career

advancement. However, the stature of the university may affect you in positive and negative ways. Your career advancement will come if your supports assist you both in negotiating the political/sexist environment and in allowing you to put work before your personal life. Work will place multiple demands which increase with your advance up the administrative ranks. The environment will place many barriers that you quietly have to move around without drawing attention to yourself, or the fact that you are a woman in what has historically been a man's world.

When you reach a senior position, the balancing continues and you need to continue to gather supports and overcome barriers in a circular fashion. Feelings and leadership behaviors are outcomes of the process but are not linked to the career advancement loop. You will have feelings of excitement, joy, and frustration and will find your senior position rewarding because of the intellectual challenges you engage in. Your emergent, integrated leadership behaviors and strategies will help you identify your supports to navigate the higher education system. However, you will experience some ambivalence about how you reached your senior position because of the disconnections between being a woman, the qualities needed for the job, and the demands of the prestigious institution for which you work. The ambivalence continues because of the disconnection between your leadership behaviors, your feelings, and your further career advancement.

Working the model retrospectively, a senior woman administrator may look back at her circuitous and often opportunistic career path that has brought

her to this level, but not to the top. She feels rewarded and challenged but also frustrated from the demands placed on her by her need to work long hours with few days away from the institution. She has credibility and visibility in the local and higher education communities from her position at a highly ranked research university. She would never have envisioned herself here, in this type of work, had you asked her career plans two decades ago. However, people had believed in her and encouraged her to use her talents, and at times even pushed her into situations that have showcased those talents.

As an administrator she has developed her own leadership style with strategies shaped by her interactions with different types of people and the situations she encounters. She has used her mentors and networks of women colleagues to her advantage to obtain information about the system and who to talk to in order to get things done. She has tried to keep her networking to lunch time meetings for the sake of her personal life, but she knows she has to work harder and longer to get to the same place as her male colleagues. That's the way it is, and her family and staff support her.

Throughout her career however she has been made aware that she is a woman trying to advance in a male normed career. Mostly she tries to downplay that she is a woman; after all, she's succeeded where many have given up or declined to participate. Looking back she sees where the sexism has been both blatant and subtle, but things are better now, aren't they? It was worth the fight, wasn't it? It's only a matter of time before more women join her. After all gender is passé, isn't it?

Women Faculty System Influence Diagram

Structural Interpretation

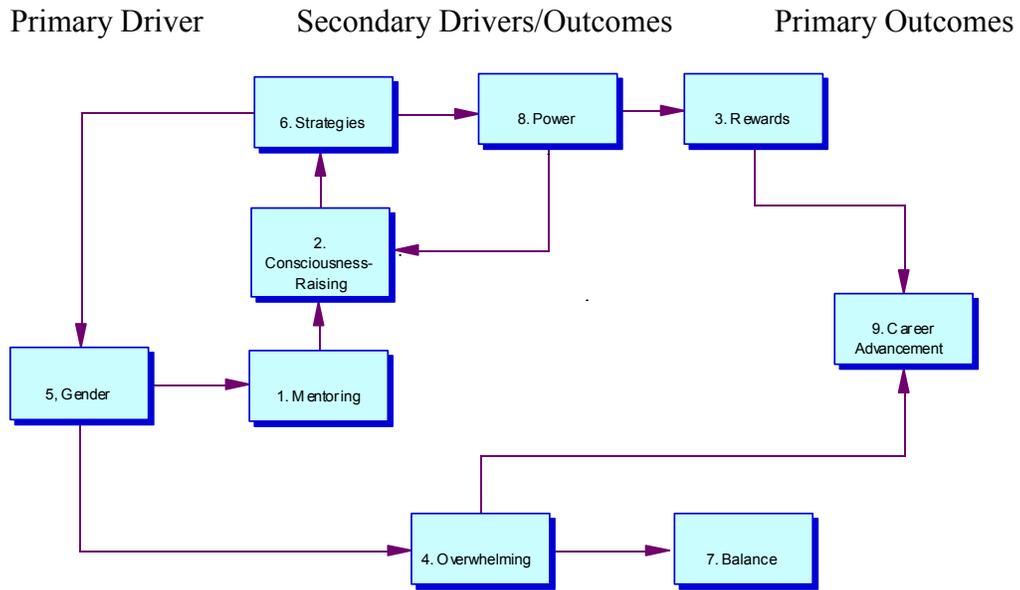
The diagram below (Figure 6) is a representation of the relationships between the following nine (9) affinities identified by the women faculty:

1. Mentoring
2. Consciousness Raising
3. Rewards
4. Overwhelming
5. Gender
6. Strategies
7. Balance
8. Power
9. Career Advancement

These affinities were described in detail in Chapter IV.

The primary driver, on the left of the diagram, leads to secondary drivers and secondary outcomes and on to separate primary outcomes, see figure on next page:

Figure 6: Women Faculty System Influence Diagram



The primary driver which emerged is the affinity Gender (#5). The secondary drivers and outcomes are the affinities of Mentoring (#1), Consciousness Raising (#2), Strategies (#6), Power (#8), Rewards (3#), and Overwhelming (#4). These affinities lead to the outcomes of Career Advancement (#9), and Balance (#7).

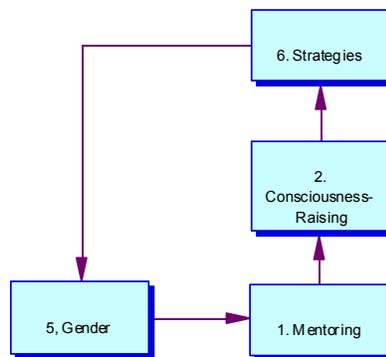
For the women faculty the affinity of Gender (#5) leads to two distinct outcomes. It leads to Balance (#7) through the secondary outcome of Overwhelming (#4). Gender also leads to the outcome of Career Advancement (#9) through Overwhelming (#4) again, and also by a separate, more complex relationship of affinities in a feedback loop described below. The affinity Power (#8) then links to Rewards (#3) and finally to Career Advancement (#9).

The women described a relationship between gender bias in the university and their ability to balance their personal lives with their work. A modulating issue is the overwhelming amount of work that they find themselves having to do, which they perceive is because they are women in an inequitable situation. The affinity of Overwhelming(#4) is also a modulating issue between Gender (#5) and Career Advancement (#9). Again the women faculty perceive that the overwhelming nature of the demands placed on them has a relationship with their efforts to advance in their professional lives.

There are two feedback loops between the affinity of Gender (#5) and its relationship with the outcome of Career Advancement (#9). I call these feedback loops a) Do the “Right” Things and b) Change this Place.

a) Do the “Right” Things.

Figure 7: Women Faculty Feedback Loop 1



In the women faculty's System Influence Diagram an initial feedback loop involves the primary driver, Gender (#5), which links Mentoring (#1) to Consciousness Raising (#2) to Strategies (#6) and back to Gender.

The women perceive, in part because they are women, that they needed mentoring and networks to advise them what to do and how to do the right things to help them remain in the institution:

So my experience may be somewhat different from other people because I've interacted with a lot more women in my academic career as either mentors or peers, than perhaps women in some of the hard sciences. But I do think unique is a good word for it because it's sometimes not that easy to survive in an environment like higher education.

In turn, they feel obligated to pass on the rules to the junior faculty:

And one of the things that has been most important in terms of trying to be facilitative of other faculty in general is having someone who really does understand how this system works, and being able to tell you what is going to be important, particularly for young faculty looking to be promoted and tenured.

Specific, gender related, codes must be followed:

When I was starting out my woman mentor said to me, if you want to do things in the women's area that's fine but better do other stuff as well, she told me. She said you won't get tenure if you only focus on women's things.

Although change has occurred, some of these codes are still perceived as being relevant to a woman faculty's success today:

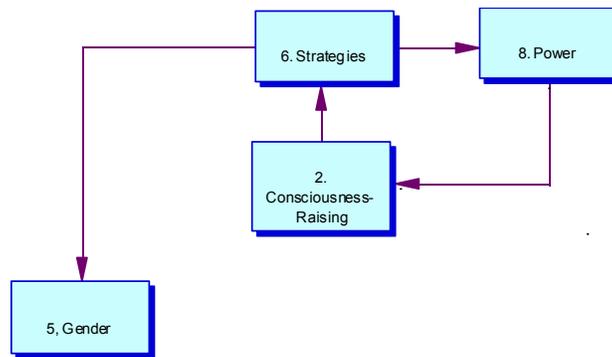
I think that we work in a system that the men, because most of the men are still your chairman of departments and your deans, etc., etc. with a few exceptions, School of Nursing, Natural Sciences. I think women who are strong academically and who are good teachers are threatening to the men. I know for a fact because I have been called to lunch with a couple of very high people and warned of a situation of professional jealousy. One of the

guys who I had to answer to had professional jealousy. And, yes, that creates problems, and yes I fear for my job.

For this woman, doing the “right” thing is sometimes not enough to survive in the university.

b) Change This Place.

Figure 8: Women Faculty Feedback Loop 2



Having moved from Do the “Right” Things, a second feedback loop is encountered involving Strategies (#6) to Power (#8) to Consciousness Raising (#2) and back to Strategies. The strategies that give power influence the acceptance/resistance of the system and lead back to strategies chosen to be either passive or active in interactions with the system. Some of the women faculty believe that people in power can change the gender-biased system and, having gained tenure, they can begin actively to challenge the system:

I’m still here because I really, for the same reason I accepted the job, I was determined to try and change this place. I was determined, but I was just about to give up when our new dean was appointed...he said... ‘I think we

should be friends. I think you've been marginalized and I want to change that' and that's why I came back.

Or they can choose to accept what they have:

I think mainly because I'm a woman I'm less networked into the department, and as a result I tend to get marginalized, you know. So that has hurt. I don't get much of the resources I think I deserve. Researcher: Do you have any ways around that? Faculty: Well the thing is I have enough...you know, nothing in life is perfect, so I can live with what I have.

Whether resisting or accepting the system, a feeling of control or lack of control, and the ability to have voice or lack of a voice influence the rewards the woman perceives she gets from her work. Those women challenging the system with consciousness-raising strategies felt their rewards came from the students' lives they had influenced and from the networks in which they were involved. One woman described the choices she believes women have to make:

I think that a woman needs to prioritize what's important in her life. Is it just her job and being successful and being more important to the man? Is it her job to be fulfilled as part of her life? Is her family important? What are the things that are important?

The women faculty describe a system of gender-biased career advancement which is prescribed for them and with which they don't agree. If they are able to use supports and strategies, they may gain promotion and tenure and be able to cope with the overwhelming demands placed on them. To continue in their career, they perceive the need for power, control, and rewards for them to be optimistic about their future in the university.

Theoretical Interpretation

For the women faculty in this study the systems influence diagram represents how gender is the primary influence on the outcomes of career advancement and the balance between professional and personal life.

Primary Driver of Gender

Identifying gender as the primary influence on their career advancement, the women faculty in this study echo the body of literature that describes a gendered division of labor (Acker, 1990; Nidiffer & Bashaw, 2001). Despite the avowed three-legged system, in the university setting the decisive factor in promotion, tenure, resource allocation, and salary decisions is the faculty member's production of sufficient and quality research (Park, 2000) as defined by the members of the promotion and tenure committee. Within the category of research there is also a hierarchical structure of publications above paper presentations at conferences. Within publications, the type of article is ranked with those about educational topics being placed much lower than the creation of theory (Park, 2000). Thus, as these women describe publishing the right sort of research in the right places is critical for career advancement. Their experiences also clearly illustrate how sexism can supercede gender-neutral policies where the quality of the woman's scholarship can be devalued, even if the quantity is deemed sufficient, and vice versa.

There is some literature linking gender and both faculty productivity and research marginalization (Gubitosi-White, 1998; Park, 2000; Rich, 2000). Women and people of color tend to have higher teaching loads and service commitments,

leaving less time for research activities. Their research is more likely to be in non-traditional areas where there is less support both professionally and financially.

The women in this study gave examples of these reported problems:

- ✚ And what has hurt I think, what has hurt is, you know, and I think mainly because I'm a woman, is I'm less networked into the department. And as a result I tend to get marginalized, you know. So that has hurt. I don't get as much of the resources I think I deserve... The men also loosen up to you when they see enough women around, it's more congenial. But you see as I just mentioned I am at a different rank from the other women so in terms of getting resources I really do network with the full professors. And all of the other full professors are men, the same men who were here twelve years ago when I came in so that hasn't changed much. Not that they are unpleasant. It's just that uhm (pause), I do get left out when resources are distributed. I have just taken it as a fact of this job and I can live with it as I said. I mean I do have a nice office and good students. I do have a lot of positive things too. I think the reason I have less resources than I think I should part of it is because I'm a woman, and it could just be that I'm obnoxious you know!
- ✚ Trying to get recognition for the fact that women faculty are much more likely to be put into advising and nurturing roles for students. That there really is still a good ole boys network that women faculty have to penetrate. And that in certain fields like the one I work in... I can't turn to a network of individuals who are teaching and conducting research in that area, so its more difficult to have access and the kind of supports you need to be successful in a university setting.

However, some felt that changes and acceptance were occurring:

Well I don't really like the term post-modernism but there has been a very strong change in thinking in how people view research in general that I think has helped. Of course it had to do with feminist scholars and scholars who are looking at things from a cultural lens. So a part of this has to do with a broader movement where you can get respect for that in a university kind of setting, for doing that work. And I do think the more women, the more people of color, the more diversity in general the faculty starts thinking more broadly, the box opens up. And so, one spurs the other. Each brings a different perspective to the faculty which opens up

the thinking that allows us to bring more people in. So I think it's been cyclical.

Although not everywhere in the university:

Two young middle-aged male members of this faculty succeeded in getting a denial of tenure for this young woman with a PhD in ... with a prize winning thesis, not from here, by announcing, she'd written a long article on ... statistical method, announcing to the faculty in the meeting that her statistical method was childish, any child could do it. And they are very aggressive, very domineering men, and they said it with such assurance that people who didn't want her for other reasons used it and that was it.

The gendered division of labor is very slow to change as a woman in a female dominated school explains:

I think the dean has been very successful in doing a lot of things. You can't compare us to the college of business where the salaries are much bigger and they get huge donations and things like that. We are a very successful school so it depends what standard you are comparing us to.

Therefore, the women faculty interviewed gave vivid examples of how being the "wrong" gender is very salient in their everyday lives as they try to advance their careers within the currently accepted system. Even when following the rules and within the gender-neutral policies and procedures governing promotion, sexism (and racism) is still able to occur to protect the hegemony.

Secondary Mediators and Feedback Loops

The intersections of the complex issues facing women faculty in a research university have not been explored in previous research. It has been assumed that with more women being accepted into the academy as assistant professors, and being tenured and promoted in gradually increasing numbers, that time will result in equity of opportunity at the full professor level. The women

faculty in this study have provided many examples and reasons why this is a flawed assumption. There continues to be subtle individual, organizational, institutional, and cultural sex discrimination as described by Benokraitis (1998). The women described how they lacked resources and gave examples of how research on women-related topics were devalued, even in women dominated fields. Their experiences supported the literature on organizational discrimination where gatekeeping continues (Stout, Staiger, & Jennings, 2002) but is lessening during the tenure and promotion process. However, it is also significantly still present in preventing women both becoming full professors and excluding them from the prestigious endowed chairs. This exclusion is outside of the structural safeguards as it continues in the peer judgments of what is “quality” scholarship and what are “worthy, hard” subjects to teach.

At the institutional level three of the faculty members noted the persistent salary gaps between women and men at all levels, and between schools where female dominated fields are paid considerably less. However, this was not an identified affinity, probably because it is so long standing and so resistant to change that as an issue it becomes understated. It is also further complicated by varying market factors. Four of the five faculty described how racism and cultural tokenism continues in the academy supporting the findings of other studies (Benokraitis, 1998). As one woman of color so eloquently stated:

There are certainly things if you're talking about women, if you are talking about faculty members who are minorities themselves, this notion that you can very easily be overwhelmed by a service function I think is really critical. Because if you are the only African-American male or female in your department I can guarantee you what assignments you are going to get. And then the university, if it needs representation, if the

college and the university they need representation, then you're called upon to serve in those roles. And you will be making excellent contributions on behalf of others but really potentially hurting yourself. And so if you look at the ratios of how many men faculty do we have to women faculty to minority faculty, the distribution of work is not equal, so I do think there are factors like that.

Despite the insidiousness of subtle discrimination, some of the women have taken on the power structure and changed it to effect further changes to assist women and people of color:

We've also changed the structure of our budget council. I don't know if you know budget councils were only full professors, the ones that made all the decisions. And the dean or somebody suggested we think about revising that. And so we went to an executive committee which has people at the full, associate and assistant level so that was a huge change since I've been here. And so we restructured because, of course, there were no women on the budget council because the only woman who was full was the dean and she couldn't be on it. So it was always all men. They were all white men! So then the faculty diversified and we changed the structure to have people from all ranks. Now you can't vote on a person's P&T unless you are the rank above that but we all do the merit so that was a big difference...So I feel we've really worked hard on those issues, and also just in general to make this a more collegial environment. So now, remember I told you when I first came people worked on their own. Now we work together on projects. So consciousness raising not only in the sense of women and ethnic groups, people of color, but also in terms of more collegiality which you might call more of a feminist or women-centered approach in general to the academic environment. That yes it's a competitive environment but by being more collegial we can be more competitive.

More research is indicated on strategies that are effective against subtle sex discrimination.

Thus, the women faculty in this study describe experiences that center on their inferior status as women in the university. Their research may be devalued in many subtle discriminatory ways. For example they may be given high teaching

and service work loads that leave little time for research activities. Or their research and writing itself may be judged by their male colleagues as not “making the grade,” with a standard that may be different for women. The double standard is applied subjectively in promotion and tenure meetings unless the deans are aware and guard against it happening.

Applied Interpretation

Having described the systems influence diagram from a theoretical perspective the applicability of the model presented will be explored both prospectively and retrospectively, from the researcher’s perspective. Prospectively, the path a new junior woman faculty should follow in order to advance to a senior position in this institution will be examined. Retrospectively, having achieved a senior faculty position, the experiences on the journey there will be reflected upon.

Prospectively, as a junior woman faculty entering the university it is important to establish both mentoring relationships and avoid becoming overwhelmed by the criticism and amount of work needed to gain promotion and tenure. Maintaining a focus on work rather than personal life and a focus within an area of research can lead to career advancement. After surmounting the hurdle of attaining associate professor with tenure, the woman faculty member is faced with circular paths which, if they can move through those issues, can lead to some rewards and further career advancement.

For a woman faculty member, learning the rules and strategies of how to advance in the academic setting is imperative. This is most easily achieved

through a mentor who can give advice throughout the promotion and tenure process. In this university research is the activity that ultimately decides who is valuable to the institution and who isn't. However, the hierarchy of value within research has its own male-normed criteria and can also be used to discriminate against women without reprisal. Following the submission of an air-tight promotion and tenure packet, including research activity in an "acceptable" area and of exceptional quality, the woman faculty member advances, having paid a price in personal and family time.

Part of the pre and post tenure process for women involves consciousness raising and strategies to broaden the institution to value more than just its traditional male curricular hierarchy and to recognize, through policies and procedures, that the public and the personal are not separate. To do this the woman faculty member gains support and assistance from her networks, and in some cases from the university's Women Studies Program and the Faculty Women's Organization. It is the tenured faculty member's responsibility to do this on behalf of herself and the junior faculty she mentors. A junior faculty member can not risk angering her superiors, who are crucial in the promotion and tenure process, and so cannot exercise a voice if she wants to remain in the institution.

For a senior woman faculty member the overwhelming nature of responsibilities, for her own professional and personal life and for the women who will follow her, leads to frustration and lack of balance. If she decides the rewards are great enough, she will continue to gain some power through visibility

on and off campus, and advance her career through the local community and the research community. She will join the elite few who have gained status in the university, but she feels that she is now as far as she can go. The journey has been long and hard, and she thinks it's been worth it, hasn't it?

Retrospectively, the senior faculty member may look back at her journey and see both the positive and negative events that have brought her to where she is today. At times she feels she has some power in the institution, but her rewards have come from the students she has influenced along the way and the network of colleagues, especially women, that she has developed. Her career has been overwhelmingly busy and she has given up a lot of personal time. She has not been able to fight the sexism all the time, and has on occasion not been sure if her barriers were because of her personality or just because she was a woman who threatened some of the men alongside and above her.

Comparison of the Administrator and Faculty System Influence Diagrams

The third purpose of the study was to discover what relationships exist between inequity factors and career advancement practices as identified by women faculty, and inequity factors and career advancement practices as identified by women administrators. Therefore in the next section the reported experiences of the women will be compared both structurally and theoretically.

Structural Comparison

When comparing the content of the women administrators' systems influence diagram with the women faculty members' systems influence diagram, many of the same affinities were either identified by the focus groups or emerged

in the interviews. Both groups described issues of balance, support, strategies, and career advancement as salient to their lives in the university. Neither focus group identified gender directly but examples of gender difference and gender discrimination were pervasive. The political environment of the university and the heavy work demands were factors for both groups but each had differing emphases. For the women faculty the job is overwhelming and they perceive they must raise the awareness of their peers and administration about the difficulties women face in the university. The women administrators described their jobs as busy and hard work and their political issues were broader, university wide, and linked to their ability to accomplish their daily tasks.

The administrators, while emphasizing the immense demands placed on them in their positions, also described how they found their work enjoyable and even exhilarating at times. For the faculty their rewards came from their interactions with their students and to a lesser degree their peers. Some did mention excitement, but they spoke with far less passion than the women administrators. There was also ambivalence in the faculty group towards the issues of power and leadership. The women faculty acknowledged the importance of having power in the university but perceived themselves to be powerless as individuals. Similarly, leadership was rarely described, and, when it was, it was to describe how it was taken at some personal cost. Women faculty perceive their careers are negatively impacted, by time and structure, if they take on leadership positions. In contrast the women administrators relish their leadership role within

the organization, where they feel they have some power to effect change, and describe many emergent leadership behaviors:

On the rewarding side I think for me the biggest reward, Alison, is when you see that you can actually be an agent of change in the university. Where you can see that, you know with something that may seem very small when you're typing it up in your computer or where you are sitting in a meeting making that type of decision. But that when you then see it being implemented and start to see people react to it and for it to start changing people's lives, that I think for me is the biggest reward. When you're not in the proverbial ivory tower where, for example, on the scholarly side where, you know, your precious book or your wonderful article, you know, is going to end up on some shelf in some library with it having impact on not too many people. Whereas with this you see that impact immediately. So that is what I find the most rewarding, that you can effect change and when you leave the office you can look back and say, ah, I was the one that made this happen. That I really enjoy.

The women administrators identified two affinities which were not described by the women faculty, qualities needed to do the job and the qualities of the institution itself. The faculty interviewed did not suggest that they gained any rewards from being associated with the university. They also did not give any personal qualities that were needed in order to succeed in the university; they focused on the established rules that had to be followed.

When comparing the structure of the two system influence diagrams, it can be seen that the career advancement influences described by the women administrators are more fragmented than those described by the faculty. For the faculty being a woman is the salient factor; whereas, for the administrators the behaviors they have, or have had to adopt, and the type of institution they work in are also factors in their daily experiences. Support in the form of mentoring, networking, and family are central to both systems. For the faculty,

consciousness-raising is an influence involving strategies and power towards career advancement. Environmental issues are also central to career advancement for the administrators but separate from strategies and leadership. Obtaining a balance in their lives is an outcome of career advancement for the administrators, whereas it arises out of the overwhelming nature of the work demands for the faculty.

Theoretical Comparison

There were several important differences between the systems influence diagram constructed from the women administrators' data and the systems influence diagram constructed from the women faculty data as were detailed in the previous section. There has been limited research on these two groups of women and little recognition of the diversity of experiences between them.

For the women in this study gender discrimination is perceived to be more of a barrier to career advancement for faculty than for administrators, although it is a barrier for both groups. There are several differences between the experiences of these women and the advice they give to their junior colleagues. Junior women faculty should focus on research, having taken some steps to ensure good teaching evaluations. This implies that teaching is considered easier to be skilled at than research, and that research is a harder area to break into for a woman. Anything else that limits research time, such as too much committee work, should be avoided. Women faculty should begin to write and publish as soon as they obtain an assistant professor position. In contrast, to succeed in the administrative world, the advice is to get on committees to meet people, to be visible, to become known

by those in power, and learn the way the campus operates. Thus, administrators must have a broader view of the university and must showcase their skills.

With regards to sexism, the women could be categorized into three groups as there was a noticeable difference in responses to discrimination within the administrator group between those women who had never been faculty members and those who now held a dual role of administrator and faculty member. The women who had not held a faculty position distanced themselves from the issue of sexism. They expressed opinions that although they believe gender discrimination has and does happen, women should neither consider it happening to them nor use their gender in any way as it will harm their progress. Two in particular, those most removed from student and faculty life, expressed these views most strongly and were in many ways reflective of the business model present in universities today.

The self-identified women faculty, when faced with sexism, responded with internalization or radicalization. Those who described themselves as isolated with minimal descriptions of networking had the belief that their experiences could have been due to either some negative qualities in their personalities or individualized professional jealousy. The two who gained support from other women and men either on committees, in the Women's Studies program, or from the Faculty Women's Organization described themselves as radicals and gave examples of their radicalization and challenges to the sexist environment in which they find themselves. Also, three of the faculty discussed inequitable treatment in the university with regards to race and sexual orientation, whereas only one of the

administrators noted those intersections. The faculty saw slower, and less, progress against inequity than the administrators.

The women who held administrator positions but retained their faculty status expressed beliefs that spanned the other two groups. They have moved beyond internalization as they have been exposed to a wider view of the university, not just a department or school, and, yet, they are still very much aware of the pressures on faculty. They have some power to effect change, which the faculty perceive that they lack, but they also have immense time pressures balancing their administrative and faculty work. All three of these women administrators felt the need to retain their faculty status, and their experiences reflected an interweaving of the optimism that change is occurring along with the awareness that their faculty colleagues were still facing discrimination in their individual units at the department and college levels:

Because so many times I'll be at a meeting of pure administrators and I'll think and talk as a faculty member, where I'll say no, we're not like that or, hey, remember us; we're the faculty! Because that tends to happen with administrators they forget very quickly that there are faculty and there are students on campus. And sometimes they need that kind of a wake up call.

All of the women administrators and faculty described some common strategies and similar experiences in advancing their careers. It became clear that these women did not plan to be where they are today. They took, and sometimes had to be pushed into, opportunities that presented themselves. As young women they said they had narrow views on what they could achieve, which hopefully is less true today as parents and the media have examples of women (albeit few), in all careers and at high levels in many of those careers, to draw on. However,

cultural and societal gender, race, class, and sexual orientation discrimination is so insidious, and so resistant to change (Valian, 2000), that optimism here is guarded.

It was interesting that women use lunch as the time for meetings and networking activities. Going to lunch can provide a neutral site with no sexual connotations that an evening meal might evoke. It provides an excellent networking opportunity that can be inexpensive or expensive, can be casual or formal, no competition or skill is involved, and food and the act of eating can partially even out power differentials. It also infringes less on personal or family time (unless errands have to be run at lunch) than after work drinks.

Another commonality amongst all the women was the reflection of the turmoil that society, and feminists themselves, display about women, men, families, and responsibilities. The complexity, ambiguity, conflict, and resignation of women in senior positions in the university is captured by this woman's lament:

I mean, I couple that with a sense of humor. You cannot be (pause) you cannot overreact to every little indiscretion that you see as a woman that is aimed at you. Whether it be comments that are made, and I'm not talking about sexual abuse or anything like that, but comments made that could be viewed as (pause) sexist. Or expectations that you feel might be different because you're a woman. Or treatment that you may be on the receiving end because you think you are a woman. It's a difficult thing because you don't want to be in this kind of a position and view everything through a feminist viewpoint because if you do you will find it impossible to work in this environment. Because you are looking for something behind every comment, decision.

These highly educated women, privileged in multiple ways, are struggling to make sense of their experiences with discrimination within and outside of the university.

Theoretical Comparison of the Interviews

This study has presented the voices of the women administrators and women faculty through quotes and through the analysis of categories of meaning and suggested models of influence. In this section the data will be presented in a slightly different manner to further assist in the understanding of the participants' points of view. Following a discussion on the issue of participation, the language used by the women across interviews will be explored for cultural norms, disconnections between societal expectations and personal beliefs, and agreements and contradictions with recurring themes. Then a reflexive account of the research process will be presented.

Participation

Patricia A. Monture-Okanee (1995) suggests “choosing when to participate and when not is one of the least frequently discussed ways that power is exercised in academic circles,” and in this study women from both groups chose whether or not to participate, how to participate (focus group or interview), what to reveal while participating, and which of their words could be revealed to others.

When the researcher talked to the women during different phases of the study, many of them reminisced about their experiences as a doctoral student, indicating that an empathy for her position was part of their process of choice to

participate or not. Many women simply did not reply to the initial contact and follow up e-mails, but a few chose to utilize an option given them to indicate regret that they were unable to participate at this time. With time being such a valuable commodity for women in higher education, the nineteen women who did choose to talk to me were those who highly valued the topic, wanted to support a woman doctoral student, or both. Those who chose not to participate probably did so from a variety of reasons which are unknown. The exercised power of choice of women in higher education would be a useful area of future research.

Listening for Meaning

Listening for meaning in interview analysis is an approach suggested by feminist scholars to assist in the uncovering of unexpected frameworks and theories grounded in women's experiences. As Dana Jack (1991) explains "an exploration of the language and the meanings women use to articulate their own experience leads to an awareness of the conflicting social forces and institutions affecting women's consciousness" and, therefore, can be used to suggest an interpretation that moves beyond prevailing forms of thought. Listening for meaning requires immersion in the interview, asking the women to clarify the meanings of words, listening to the moral language and metastatements of the women, and attending to the logic of the narrative, all in order to understand the participant's point of view.

Listening to the moral language used in the interviews, that is how moral standards are accepted by the women and used to judge the self, revealed the women's self-concept within the cultural norms imposed on them. Through their

language the women presented the traditional western view of women and women in the workplace. They expressed how women who are successful in the academy are viewed as an anomaly with comments about their careers such as “I feel blessed,” “Fortunately I was blessed,” and “I’m grateful for all that I’ve got”. They believe their success was given to them or that it just happened, “I was very fortunate to get,” “I feel fortunate to be doing what I’m doing,” “I was lucky to find a position,” and “that was just very lucky.” There were also expressions of attributes and behaviors that the dominant culture expects women not to have such as “I wish I weren’t as ambitious as I was but I am,” “I’ve learned there are things that should never be said publicly,” and in apologetic tone “I have a little bit of a reputation maybe as being a workaholic.”

The valuing of the work ethic was upheld by most of the women through “If you were willing to work hard people were willing to work with you;” “I don’t think it’s a barrier for someone who works well and is competent, and works hard;” “I tend to point the finger at them and say oh come on, why don’t you do a little more yourself.” However they had low expectations of what they thought they could achieve “I’m at a level I never thought I would be;” “opportunities that I did not think of... see myself doing;” with some limited choices, “I would rather not have done that, but that was the choice I had” and “I’m not sure we have control over it.” There were expressions of resignation to their situation “I have just taken it as a fact of this job, that I can live with it;” “you just deal with it;” “I think you just do what you do;” “You just have to struggle” and “or you at least have to pretend like you have equal footing (with men).”

Some of the women expressed guilt when they weren't acting in a way they felt they were expected to. Women should always be with others, "I feel guilty when I'm alone" and put other's needs before their own "even if I wanted to go to Wednesday night church, it became a problem...[students] are very demanding" and "I don't go because that's one of the few nights, my husband is..., so I feel I have to give him some time because he gets so little of it." The issue of marriage and motherhood was talked about in every interview; "I never married by choice and I don't have children, and [my relatives] of course, aspire to do all those things. You know I think they like me well enough!" and "I was an affront to those guys." These comments mirror the societal dialogue about women, work, and family life.

In their metastatements, where the women commented on their own words, the women reveal the discrepancies they feel about what is expected of them by society and their stated beliefs. The changing nature of the academy from an emphasis on producing knowledge to an emphasis on being a business was reflected on by this comment: "I've lived under the illusion, maybe it is an illusion, that I'm in the academy because I love to read and write." The undercurrent of conservative opinion that women's advancement harms the family is ever present as this woman states, "Do I think that my children have suffered? I haven't noticed that." One administrator, when sharing her pleasure over her current life commented, "I don't mean to sound, I sound so Pollyannaish!" She felt the discordance that she has a successful career and a successful personal life, and an optimism that life would continue to be good,

when society perhaps expects women to fail at one or the other eventually. Although commenting on a committee meeting, the same woman's comment "so what do I want most? And I got what I wanted most" reflects the power of choice along with forced compromise that these women have in their lives.

Several of the women's metastatements revealed the difficulty acknowledging sexism within a society that believes it no longer exists. One woman faculty describing the marginalization of women stated, "because you see it consistently with, and there again I don't mean to say that it is something that is deliberately done" and a woman administrator on career advancement, "well I hesitate to say it because I don't want to say it...you have to be prepared to work harder than a man would." However, in reflecting on their pasts, two of the women could comment, "isn't it amazing how much we accepted as given?" and "a lot of the reason I was appointed is because I was a woman, and I'm a Hispanic woman which was an extra bonus, so I don't kid myself about the reasons why I was appointed at the time." Thus when confronted with sexism many of the women demonstrated ambivalence possibly because the simplistic approach with solutions based on the time and pipeline theory do not effect significant change. This issue is explored more through attention to the agreement and contradictions voiced by each woman during their interview.

Attention to the logic of the narrative is the third way in which the interviews were examined in order to understand the participants' points of view. The logic of the narrative is noticing the internal agreement or contradictions within what the women are saying about any recurring themes. The themes have

already been coded and interpreted as the affinities structured into system influence diagrams. For the logic of the narrative each interview was reviewed again with a focus on how each woman structured her beliefs about the affinities throughout the interview.

Upon listening to the women faculty interviews for internal agreement and contradictions, the recurring themes of being a woman, rewards, and responses to sexism were interwoven. Within and across interviews the faculty agreed that to have any chance of remaining in the university as a woman, you must either be, or pretend to be, the type of professor who fits in to the stated and unstated norms of the institution. The attitudinal norms, despite awareness and structures put in place to undermine them, are that only exceptional women will be tolerated in senior positions. Some of these women know they have beaten the odds, but they are unsure why they were able to advance their careers at this institution and not at others. There are contradictions in the narratives of some of the women. They believe that structure, that is, too few women available for promotion, is the barrier, and yet they believe women should leave if they don't "fit in." If women understand the rules, play or pretend to play the game, and look the part, then women can advance. However if a woman isn't promoted it is because of her personality. Only two women were consistent in their assertions that people are the barrier and the solution to gender discrimination in the university.

However, the narratives clearly separate being a faculty member from being a woman faculty member. Two women directly stated that "being a faculty member is rewarding, being a woman faculty member is not rewarding." The

women faculty want respect and appreciation for who they are and what they have done and don't believe they receive enough to encourage them, or women faculty below them, to continue upward. They have been academics, have suppressed on many occasions who they are, worked extremely hard, and yet have not been rewarded to the same extent as their male colleagues.

The women administrators' narratives demonstrated internal agreement that sexism in the university was lessening because they didn't see it now, but also contradictions, because several noted that when gender discrimination happens to you, you shouldn't focus on it. These women have been socialized into the cultural norms by their agreement that, as women, they should not show any emotion and must behave "appropriately" or they will strengthen the stereotype of the aggressive woman fighting her way to the top. However one woman expressed an underlying belief that this norm was due to the feminist movements' push to make women like men. In the same way women should not receive any assistance or special treatment to advance. Women will advance with hard work and an increase in the pipeline pool of candidates with the implicit belief that there are no other barriers to be addressed. Yet the women's narratives included language of resistance to the system with comments like "you have to push to get things changed" and "you have to push the margins in a place like this." They can not allow themselves overtly to identify sexism as a barrier. Societal stereotypes of how women should behave coupled with the belief that if assistance is given success wasn't achieved on merit, prevents women from acknowledging sexism as a reality in their lives.

The women also used language that indicated in order to succeed they had to establish themselves outside of the system; whereas, men could advance by just performing their day-to-day work tasks. Most of the women described the need to be creative and to move their departments in different directions in order to be visible and make a name for themselves. They believed that through their senior positions and their hard work building trust and maintaining relationships, they have the freedom and power to effect change. They feel valued and respected through having some control, supplemented by having a broad knowledge of the university culture.

Comparitively, in the face of gender discrimination in the university the women faculty tend to internalize the problem and the women administrators try to ignore it. Both groups suggest that time and an increase in numbers will improve the promotion of women to senior positions in the university. The administrators feel they are valued and respected; whereas, the faculty express feelings of being unappreciated. The narratives of the women reflect the societal turmoil and conflict regarding the continued presence of sexism despite raised levels of awareness and attempts at structural change.

Woman to Woman

As noted in Chapter I, as an agent in the research process and as a junior woman faculty member at another institution of higher education, I was both an insider and an outsider in the study. In this section I will describe the reflexive process I engaged in throughout the study and especially during my reciprocal interactions with the women participants. Carla Willig (2001) describes two types

of reflexivity, personal reflexivity and epistemological reflexivity. Personal reflexivity involves examining your own worldview and how it shaped the research process, and how you as the researcher were affected by the research. Epistemological reflexivity “encourages us to reflect upon the assumptions (about the world, about knowledge) that we have made” in the course of the study and makes us consider “the implications of such assumptions for the research and its findings” (p.10). Thus the following narrative presents my personal and epistemological reflexivity so as to reveal my positionality within the research and to situate the knowledge generated to allow the reader to determine the credibility and value of the information presented.

The story of the administrators’ focus group is the first to be told. The university’s central administration building is impressive. It embraced me, connecting me with the past with its wood paneled halls. It transported me back home to the boys’ school that was older and more stately than our girls’ school down the road. In England, for the boys, the halls were their birthright since the seventeenth century. We, “the girls,” had to wait until 1888 to be educated. So for me the building felt male, traditional, authoritarian, and yet safe. I had traveled these halls before. I had been well schooled in the dominant discourse. I had experienced the isolation but exhilaration of small acts of resistance, only identified as such as I now look back.

I was anticipating a good turn out of eight women as I wandered around the book-lined room. I felt like an insider, that I belonged in this setting, and excited to be within the research and not sending out static surveys to faceless

people. The women administrators didn't cancel themselves; they sent their staff with their apologies. A delayed flight, unanticipated meetings, and the demands of a high-level job were the reasons given, but it caused an increase in my anxiety and self-doubt. I heaved an internal sigh of relief when four arrived, and they chatted together in a relaxed manner, familiar with each other from the plethora of committees and meetings. Pre-group talk was of the personal, taxes, a participant's recent retirement, and children either thinking about university or already attending university.

The guided imagery of the issue statement reminded participants about the topic area to be explored, allowed them to disconnect from their immediate day, and encouraged a broader view of the topic. The women in both groups visibly relaxed their sitting positions and facial muscles once asked to close their eyes and reflect. I intentionally used a calm, smooth tone of voice. I wanted them to connect to me and to what I was saying, not as the researcher and the participants, but as a colleague might suggest a topic of conversation at the lunchroom table. To assist this I was dressed using my "assistant professor" identifying rules and not by my "graduate student" identifying rules.

Following the silent idea generation, the group sorted the idea cards into categories. The women really enjoyed this part of the group as evidenced by their conversation, laughter, and exchange of experiences. I found it very hard only to facilitate this process and not to participate, and I became outside the research process. However, I was not the removed all knowing researcher with the power over the process. The power was with the women as the producers and coders of

the data. This was uncomfortable for me. I knew what makes a “good” category/affinity and the desire to wrest back control was strong. I didn’t agree with all the categories or the labels, but I was there to understand their experiences and not to impose my thoughts in order to achieve “better” data.

While coming to consensus on the categories/affinities, the women explained their reasons for the groupings and gave examples for clarification. They agreed that the political good-old boy system is changing at the university and that things are much better now. They expressed views of gender differences that permeated every category they generated. One woman described her colleagues as friends, and thought that this was different from her husband who didn’t see his work people as friends and didn’t understand how she could do so. Some described being challenged by their employees because they were women, and in ways that wouldn’t occur if they were men. One noted that she was more willing to let her employees take time for family matters and educational enrichment, implying, but not stating, that a man might not do this. She offered the rationale that time offered now would benefit the institution in the future.

Looking back, it was not that sexism was the hidden factor, the proverbial elephant that was there in the room but not talked about, as others have suggested. Sexism was acknowledged, though not directly, but it was accepted by these women as a phenomenon of the past. It’s better now, and our experiences are because we are women and we are different and men don’t understand us so we must try harder. White privilege and racism were not considered salient. Being asked to self-identify ethnically was assumed to be just for demographic

purposes by the women, who all identified themselves as “W.” The university is as White a normed institution as the rest of America. Maybe the faculty focus group will see things differently.

While waiting to begin the faculty focus group, I felt very conspicuous sitting on a bench on the first floor of the library with bunches of flowers. I had not yet been “cleared” to enter the inner sanctum where the faculty focus group was to take place. Unlike the administrators, the faculty did not send people to cancel for them. They either cancelled themselves in the two days before the group, through e-mail, or they just didn’t reply to the suggested date and time. I felt lucky that anybody had shown up at all. The room we met in had been offered by one of the focus group members, and it was an elegant but relaxing atmosphere. With a round table, comfortable chairs, and the four women, all knowing each other, there was a sense of calm away from the bustle of the university. I had scheduled the group at the end of the afternoon but before evening, quickly finding out that my original preference of a lunch meeting was out of the question. These women were too busy with their work at lunchtime, and their work and lives in the evening.

With the women all knowing each other, primarily through the Faculty Women’s Organization, their pre-group talk was also of the personal: hairstyles, allergies, and family. One woman told me that she had not taken a job at the institution where I work because it would have demanded too many hours with only limited vacation, which was out of the question as she had two small children at the time. Another mentioned she had to leave at the stated finishing time as she

had to take her mother somewhere. The personal and the professional were very much intertwined. I was in awe of the accomplishments of these women and so I felt an outsider from the beginning.

Several times the women felt the need both to get clarification from me and to explain to me whether it was just a faculty issue or whether it was a woman faculty issue. In the issue statement I had deliberately used the term woman faculty member, but they wanted to be women in a gender neutral environment. They directly expressed the perception that institutional barriers are gender neutral. They did agree that their status as senior faculty was different, and that it was harder and more isolating for a junior woman faculty member. They were both pleased that they had “made it” when many had left, but they felt overwhelmed by their responsibilities. The woman who wrote the word “fear” clarified that she had been fearful of not being able to make the grade when she was junior faculty and added, “I got over it, well you have to.” One woman felt she still needed a mentor which made me wonder about the Faculty Women’s Organization and its role in career advancement. I had many unanswered questions at the end of this group, but the most unsettling to me was, do these women now perceive the barriers as gender neutral because they have “made it”?

The interviews were conducted in each of the participants’ offices. The offices of the women administrators had the appearance of the occupant having power in the organization. They were large rooms with a diversity of atmospheres from the elegant, to the efficient, to the warm and comfy in the student frequented

areas. All were organized into three distinct sections of a computer area, a table for a group work area, and usually a sofa/chair sit-and-discuss area. The offices were well marked and so easy for me to find, and access was controlled by administrative assistant staff who were all women.

The administrators made me feel welcome, and they all gave me the impression that they were confident and in control of the interview initially. It was each woman who set the tone for the interview in response to my initial explanation of the study. They were mostly optimistic and readily expressed the pleasurable aspects of their work. There were some differences between the three women who had never been faculty and the three who continued some part of their faculty workload (teaching or research) in addition to their administrative position.

The three women who did not have experience as faculty seemed comfortable with and able to bridge the values and beliefs of the corporate world with higher education administration. Two of three separated the professional from the personal in their examples and manner of speaking, and they expressed strong opinions of individualism (i.e. that any individual woman can make it if she tries hard enough and doesn't draw attention to being a woman). All three used the term workaholic to describe themselves. They expressed conflicted emotions over their love of their work and how they allowed it to squeeze out the personal. All three emphasized the importance of establishing and maintaining work connections and the importance of being visible at events on the campus.

The three administrators who had been faculty bridged the administrative world with the academic. Throughout their interviews they continued to talk passionately about their continued research/teaching roles. They were still faculty members at heart! They intertwined the personal and the professional in their examples, and they were more aware of how sexism had impacted them. However, they all thought it was getting better in this university. This was contradicted by the fact they were cautious and uncomfortable when talking about sexism as evidenced by changes in their voice tone and their body language. Two were the only women interviewed with both husbands and children, and both described how they had relied on a “role reversal” with their husbands with childcare and domestic responsibilities at certain times in their careers. These women also appeared more overwhelmed by the work load they faced compared to the women administrators who did not have faculty duties.

Faculty Interviews:

The offices of the women faculty were in stark contrast to the administrators. They were bare, functional, and full of piles of papers and books to the point at which there was no space to put the small tape recorders on. There was nobody to direct me to them or to allow or deny me access to them. These were spaces that were connected to other faculty spaces but felt hidden to me. One had a sofa, but the others were cocoons of work made for one.

From the first faculty interview onwards I felt their conflict, and noted contradictions that were not as apparent in the interviews of the administrators. The faculty expressed more diversity in their views and there was a defensive

barrier that I had to maneuver around with two of the women. They were cautious about how the information would be recorded and used. The first two women I interviewed felt isolated, one within her own school and the other within the institution. They were accepting of the sexism they had encountered as part of the system and believed the system will change as the numbers of women in senior level positions increases. However, they were also aware that this increase in numbers was happening extremely slowly in most of the schools in the university.

It was after the third faculty interview that I began to feel some anger and disillusionment about the attitudes and beliefs I had heard. From my perspective two of the faculty were too passive and over accepting of their situation and the third had many contradictions in her views and challenged the system for herself but not for others. However, following reflection, although intellectually prepared to acknowledge and accept diversity amongst women, I had also to be prepared emotionally to acknowledge and accept difference. Exposure to theory without praxis and reflexivity does not lead to change. Isolation and marginalization assist in the reproduction of the dominant discourse, and sometimes it takes either decades of experienced inequities, or one significant incident that reveals past unacknowledged discrimination, to move women from acceptance to radicalization. This became clear from the next two faculty interviews.

Two of the women faculty self-identified as “radicals.” One noted that this term was also used, with ironic humor, between the few women in the university who repeatedly find themselves together while challenging administrators and the system. This woman explained that there are some women in the university who

think women shouldn't get any "special" treatment, but she believes they are not facing the reality of the situation that women and minority men and women are facing in the university. With fateful timing, coming after my interview with one such woman, this was a catalyst for me once again to keep from essentializing women's experiences into one homogenous group. The second faculty member talked passionately about her own radicalization and the support she received from other women, primarily outside the institution, but also from those in the Women's Studies Program. Both of these women are from non-majority ethnic groups and therefore have been recipients of the additive effect of multiple discriminations. It was easy for me to feel comfortable with the views expressed by these women because they matched my own. I have not had the layering effect of discriminations, but I have also been radicalized by past events and have, as many women, only come late to the realization of how much I accepted my second-class status as a woman.

From an epistemological reflexive view in all research, the knowledge gained is constructed out of the questions asked, the research design, and all aspects of the study. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996) state, "our knowledge is the outcome, we believe, of transactions with the social world, shaped by our methods of inquiry, and of transactions with the data we produce, shaped in turn by our ideas and our analytic procedures" (p.15). Thus, this study had the assumption that women's experiences of career advancement in the university would be shaped by their gender and the historical construction of the gendered division of labor. My education in feminist theories, postmodernism, and my left-wing

politics biases the entire focus of the research. In a similar way selecting women who had been involved in leadership programs and leadership roles produced knowledge of their perspectives of issues of sexism in the academy. Talking to women at lower levels in the university might produce similar or different affinities. Including men at a variety of levels and interviewing men and women in the same departments and schools would also produce complex, rich and enlightening perspectives.

Within the study design, use of a quantitative survey of all women in the university, or across institutions in Texas might identify that sexism is or is not a problem in higher education. The selection of a qualitative design and the use of focus groups also influenced the knowledge produced. For example, I wonder how much the term “focus group” affected the willingness of women to participate, and why some women contacted selected the interview rather than the focus group as their method of participation. Convenience was probably one factor but perhaps past experiences and the perception that a focus group (in the traditional sense) is much like an unwelcome, added, committee meeting prevented some from agreeing to try and attend.

Summary

This study examined three questions with regard to gender inequity in one institution of higher education. The first question asked “How do women in administrative and faculty positions describe their experiences as they respond to resistant discourses of inequity in their university?” Being a woman in this institution of higher education continues to be a position of second-class status

despite structural changes and general awareness of gender inequity. This is particularly true for women faculty members who discover that, unless they are supported by other women and their deans, they can be very vulnerable to subtle sex discrimination with regards to promotion and tenure. Despite structural safeguards and an awareness at the executive level of the institution, women's work is devalued denying them promotion at all levels, but especially into positions of more power such as full professorships and prestigious endowed chairs. The rules for promotion in the academic world are rigidly male-normed around what is valued, and are resistant to change.

Women administrators, in contrast, though also faced with subtle sex discrimination, perceive change as occurring, although slowly. They report stronger networks and have more freedom to succeed using their creativity. At their level and positions they can begin to play outside of or around the rules and prove their worth to the institution. They have to behave in acceptable ways, but the definition of acceptable appears to be easier to conform to as a woman.

The study's second question asked "How do women in administrative and faculty positions describe practices they use for career advancement and/or for preparation for the assumption of emergent leadership roles?" The women described a variety of strategies they perceived were critical to a successful, career in the academy. The women administrators described their use of mentors and networks to assist them in navigating the political environment of the university. They also reported taking opportunities as they were presented to

them. The administrators also used the credibility and visibility they received from working in a prestigious institution to their advantage.

In contrast the women faculty perceived they were more isolated and reliant on those above them for their advancement. The strategies they reported were narrower in focus and reflected the inability to gain more balance in their lives. They described few emergent leadership characteristics in contrast to the women administrators, because they believed they gained few rewards from the institution for becoming involved in leadership roles.

The third question asked “What relationships exist between inequity factors and career advancement practices as identified by women faculty, and inequity factors and career advancement practices identified by women administrators?” For the women in this study, gender discrimination is perceived to be more of a barrier to career advancement for faculty than administrators, although it is a barrier for both groups. All the women perceive they have to work harder than men to achieve the same recognition and have very little personal/family time and very little time to mentor the women below them although they all place high value on doing so. None of them envisioned being as successful as they are, and so sometimes they had to be pushed to take opportunities, by others who recognized their talents. All suggest that having support systems are crucial for success in their careers and they have worked to develop them.

Conclusions

The data from this study suggest several issues that have not been discussed in the literature to date. Within this university the women in administrative positions believe they are valued and respected and are happier in their work than the women in faculty positions. The women administrators have more of the trappings of success, their offices are generally larger and more comfortable, and they have direct support staff to assist them right outside their offices. They describe having some level of power within the institution. In contrast the women faculty perceive there is little reward in advancing their careers. The research world continues to marginalize them and their work and they feel negatively impacted in their careers if they take on institutional leadership roles. They are isolated within the institution, because the rules of promotion require them to focus on research and not to have a broader institutional view. They believe that time taken away from research is not valued in historically male based faculty circles, which supports recent literature (Park, 2000; Rich, 2000). Where the devaluation of women causes them to have to reach a higher standard than men to be accepted, especially in male dominated fields, women may not be able to take time to participate in supportive networks.

A different perspective was apparent in the study between women administrators and women faculty due to their differing positions in the institution. The women administrators have more power, more control, and more supportive networks than the women faculty. Women administrators feel respected and valued and, therefore, have the choice available to them to ignore

sexism, believing it is a phenomenon of the past. This belief does not challenge gender discrimination, and some acknowledge that to do so could be detrimental to their careers, especially those women administrators who have not been faculty members. Thus, in not describing a relationship between success in their careers and their feelings of frustration and satisfaction, the women administrators appear to have some disconnection from the emotional realities of sexism in the university. As one woman suggested, this may be because continuously to acknowledge and therefore fight gender discrimination becomes too overwhelming and incompatible with working in administrative positions in the university.

Women faculty perceive they have little control over their advancement, are more isolated and are susceptible to subtle sexism limiting their career advancement. All the women believe change comes from the top down. Therefore, for the faculty, the Deans and departmental chairs are in a critical position to challenge sexism at the college level. Yet, this is not an easy task because the sexism and racism is on an individual, attitudinal level. On this issue, the data from this study contradicts the current literature that emphasizes structural barriers to advancement (Bensimon & Marshall, 1997). Only two women were consistent in their assertions that people are both the barrier and the solution to gender discrimination in the university. To the women respondents the deans and departmental chairs are responsible for interpreting and implementing the policies of the university; therefore, structure, in the form of policies and procedures, is ultimately subjective. Interpretations and conveyed attitudes,

whether verbal or non-verbal, can undermine gender neutral policies put in place by the leadership team.

With the belief that policies are interpreted equitably, structural and temporal solutions continue to be proposed as the way to address sexism in the university. Specific issues, such as lack of child care and flexible leave policies, while important, become useful agendas for hiding some of the realities of subtle sex discrimination. The women in the institution studied report many instances of subtle sex discrimination supporting the work of Benokraitis (1998). However it is important to acknowledge that the organizational structure and culture of each university is unique. Other institutions, with more horizontal organizational structures than the institution in this study, may have less subtle sex discrimination.

The data from this study also supports the literature that describes women as continuing to be the “wrong” gender (Blackmore, 1999; Kolodny, 1996). While presented as gender neutral, because of the continued resistance of many men to devalue and, therefore, avoid domestic and caregiver work, women continue to be presented as victims needing “crutches.” Women do need more assistance and support to advance their career than men, but not because they are less meritorious, but because they are still not considered as equals by many men. Women themselves continue to reproduce these attitudes because they are unaware or uncritical of the bombardment of societal images and messages telling them that discrimination of any kind no longer exists in America. Feminists have also struggled to maintain a coherent message outside of the academy that women

in their diversity can embrace. Historically, feminist backlash coincides with periods of conservative right resurgence (Ferguson, Katrak, & Miner, 2000), which has only intensified following September 11, 2001. In this climate, tolerance for ideas outside of the accepted mainstream becomes limited and resistance to change is high.

A major finding from this study was that support systems play key roles in the advancement of women. It appears that the ways in which women gain and give support through mentoring, networking, family, and institutional help are pivotal for their abilities to sustain and progress both in their day to day lives, and within the institution. The presence, or absence, of support systems changes the women's abilities to work the system, perceived as critical for a successful occupation. However, effective support systems for the women in this institution are internal rather than external. Leadership programs, even though they provide networking opportunities, are not as important as internal networks to the career advancement of the women administrators. Due to their disconnection from the unique culture of each university, external leadership programs do not provide the specific information and support systems needed by women.

In this institution the women faculty have fewer, and more fragmented, support networks than the women who are administrators. Also, in contrast to the women administrators, the women faculty have little connection to the institution as a source of pride, credibility, and visibility. Women faculty rely on, and align with, colleagues within their academic discipline (internal and external to the university) rather than across the breadth of their institution. Thus, the

disconnection between the university and the faculty reproduces a system that continues to provide little support, resulting in feelings of isolation with loss of individual and collective voice. This may be true of both women and men faculty members, as this study did not address the experiences of male faculty. However isolation may be more critical for women who, as they expressed in this study, need effective networks and other support systems to overcome the barrier of gender discrimination.

Also of concern in this study is the finding that rewards for women faculty are scarce. As expressed, even when women faculty attain the level of full professors they continue to feel a lack of respect and appreciation from the institution. Whether resisting or accepting the system, a woman faculty member's feeling of control and her ability to have a voice within the system are critical to her sense of accomplishment. Therefore, in order to be optimistic about their future in the university, women faculty below the level of professor need to see that women in senior faculty positions have access to power, control, and rewards in the institution.

Challenging and eradicating subtle discrimination practices which center on devaluing women will be difficult. The story about the two male faculty and the promotion and tenure process told at the beginning of Chapter I illustrates how many people, men and women, know that women should not be discriminated against but are confused and conflicted about the issue. This is also illustrated by the persistent resistance to eradicating the gendered salary gap in higher education and society.

Recommendations for Practice

Other ways to address discrimination (sexism, racism, classism, homophobia etc.) in the university should be explored. The complexity of the issues must be acknowledged and not denied with simple explanations such as time, pipeline, and structural change. The role of people within the structure must be highlighted. Inside the university networks must be expanded to include women at all levels. Women and other minority faculty, need more support organizations they can turn to when confronted with discrimination directed towards them.

Professional associations, such as the American Association of University Women (AAUW) can provide mentoring and networking opportunities for women in a generalized sense. For example the AAUW's 2003 National Convention (<http://www.aauw.org>) Track 3 focuses on the following under the title of Lifelong Learning: mentoring, networking; and work-life balance issues. However professional associations cannot respond to the institution specific context nor provide the day to day support function that women need.

In the university where the study was conducted the Women's Studies program has partially fulfilled this function as has the Faculty Women's Organization. However many women do not take advantage of these networks and the reasons for this should be explored. More formal mentoring programs could be established but must be valued at all levels of the administration to reward senior faculty by providing release time to mentor junior faculty, as the School of Social Work and others are doing. As the women suggested, the

willingness is there but the time constraints due to the work load, and having to work harder than men, are a barrier to the mentoring process.

Continued support and rewards at all levels, inclusive, with a respect for diversity, are imperative for women to survive and thrive in the university setting. Women are worn out by the struggle to survive at all class levels in the academy. Women faculty in particular should be encouraged, not punished, for assuming leadership roles. It is ironic that an organization that would not exist if it were not for the faculty, devalues and marginalizes women faculty leadership. The resistance to women faculty taking on leadership roles was clearly described by the women in this study, and the women in dual roles felt the heavy weight of responsibility to remain true to their faculty colleagues. To be successful in the higher education system the women administrators described having to match their style to whomever they were interacting with in a connective, emergent leadership manner. Women faculty are more isolated, because of the promotion and tenure rules requiring focus on research and the presence of subtle discriminatory practices by people within the promotion and tenure process. The university leadership must establish organizations that support and educate junior women and other minority faculty in the culture of the university, and value and reward their participation in changing that culture.

In the same manner institutions of higher education are obligated to discover new knowledge that improves the lives of the communities they serve. However when universities also have to meld business values of being financially solvent and productivity needs, a balance between business and academic cultures

is inevitable. This study suggests that the women administrators who continue to be faculty members can be valuable resources for change, having been exposed to both cultures and discriminatory practices in both cultures. A focus on valuing personal time as part of a healthy life for everyone whatever their situation needs to be a priority. This is just becoming an acceptable societal discourse, although still on the margins, and universities could and should be the role models for the communities they serve.

Recommendations for Future Research

In order to gain a deeper understanding of discriminatory practices in the university, as a microcosm of society as a whole, and to suggest effective solutions, further research needs to be conducted. Research on ways in which universities can encourage their faculty, staff and students to explore privileges (gender, race, class, sexual orientation) and their effects on university culture, life, and business, would be extremely valuable. Attitudinal change is currently hard to accomplish because we know so little about how to effect its change.

The interaction between the individual and the type of higher education institution in which they work has not been explored from the perspective of being both an asset and a barrier to career advancement. Similarly, the choices people make, particularly oppressed individuals, and the power and effects of those choices within career advancement, would be a useful area of research. Talking to women at lower levels in the university might produce similar or different affinities. Including men at a variety of levels and interviewing men and women in the same departments and schools would also produce complex, rich

and enlightening perspectives. In addition to research spanning all levels of the institution, an exploration of the experiences of the top tier of university administration may be valuable. Previous research on the complexity of life in senior positions in a university has been focused on the presidency and little has been written on the effect of gender inequity at the executive team level. From the faculty perspective, further research is needed on the characteristics of effective and ineffective support networks and their role in diminishing isolation and promoting institutional change. Reproduction of this study in universities with different organizational cultures and structures could provide more insight into the intersecting relationships between women faculty, the institution, academic disciplines and support networks.

This study illustrated how women faculty and women administrators in a university wanted to be women working in a gender neutral environment. To this end they needed to subscribe to the proposed solutions that time and increased numbers will eradicate gender bias and gender discrimination. From a historical perspective, despite the waves of feminism and structural changes challenging its presence, sexism continues to exist. It is hoped that the pattern of advances and stagnation is a spiral that moves inexorably upward. It is further hoped that women and men will continue to become radicalized and have the fortitude to keep up the daily challenge to persistent attitudes that devalue women in institutions of higher education. From this study it would appear that they will, but more supports must be put in place to assist those people addressing these

complex problems. Gender discrimination in universities has not been solved as women are still judged by male value systems limiting their career advancement.

Donec gratus eram tibi.

So long as I found favor in your sight.

Horace, 65-8 B.C. Odes, III. ix. I

Appendix A

Women Administrators Interview Guide

I have been asking women administrators in this university “What does it mean to be a woman administrator here at this university?” Several women identified and described a variety of issues that were important to them in thinking about their lives. I would now like to ask you to describe your thoughts and feelings about being a woman administrator here.

1. Women administrators described their jobs as busy and hard work. How would you describe your work experiences as a woman administrator here?

Probes: Personal help; Institutional help; Daily examples

2. They also suggested that their life was both frustrating but also exciting and rewarding. What are your experiences?

Probes: Positive aspects; Challenging aspects; Daily examples

3. Some women suggested that they have been searching to balance the personal with the professional. Has this been your experience?

Probes: Different types of challenges; Gender neutral?

4. When asked “What does it mean to be a woman administrator here at UT?” the group identified many different personal qualities such as flexible, resilient, sense of humor, competent, and persistent. Would you have responded with similar or different qualities?

Probes: Specific to higher education? Specific to this university?

5. Women administrators identified the development of friendships and aspects of having a mentor and being a mentor as being important. How have these factors played out in your career?

Probes: Networking? How? Who? Same for men?

6. Some women expressed pride in the university and described how they felt that being associated with this university gave them credibility and visibility when representing the institution. What is your response to the feelings they expressed?

Probes: What is meant by “pride”; If agree, what is special about the environment here? If disagree, what factors about this university makes them disagree

7. The women I have spoken to described a need to be creative in working the system, and the political environment here. What have been your experiences?

Probes: Good old boy system; Improved? Continuing to Improve? Examples

8. What advice would you give a new woman administrator who wants to advance their career at this university?

Probes: Some women leave before advancing up the ladder, what experiences might lead them to do that; Strategies you have used

9. How would that advice be similar or differ if you were talking with a new male administrator?

Probe: Gender issues versus job issues

Appendix B

Women Faculty Interview Guide

I have been asking women faculty in this university “What does it mean to be a woman faculty member here at this university?” Several women identified and described a variety of issues that were important to them in thinking about their lives. I would now like to ask you to describe your thoughts and feelings about being a woman faculty member here.

1. Some women faculty remarked that they felt they were unique, “one of a kind”. What does that expression mean to you?

Probes: Consciousness raising; Unique versus isolation;
Senior versus Junior experiences

2. Being a woman faculty member has been described as being rewarding. How does that compare with your experiences?

Probes: Positive aspects; Challenging aspects;
Daily examples

3. Women faculty have used words such as varied, exciting and changing to describe their careers. What words would you use?

Probes: How has that played out over your career; Personal help;
Institutional help

4. In contrast they also expressed being overwhelmed, frightened and frustrated. How are these feelings similar or different to yours?

Probes: How has that played out over your career; Personal
barriers; Institutional barriers.

5. Several women said that having a mentor and being a mentor were part of their careers as women faculty members. What are your experiences?
Probes: Networking? How? Who? Seeking out mentors/how people seek you out; Gender neutral?
6. What advice would you give a new woman junior faculty member who wants to advance their career here?
Probes: Some women leave before reaching senior faculty status, what experiences might lead them to do that; Strategies you have used?
7. How would that advice be similar or differ if you were talking with a male junior faculty member?
Probe: Gender issues versus job issues

Appendix C

Women Administrators Pareto Chart

Affinity Pair Relationship	Frequency	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent (Relation)	Cumulative Percent (Frequency)	Power
6 > 11	25	25	1.4	9.2	7.8
9 > 11	19	44	2.8	16.2	13.4
6 < 9	16	60	4.2	22.1	17.9
3 < 6	14	74	5.6	27.2	21.7
2 < 3	11	85	6.9	31.3	24.3
3 < 9	11	96	8.3	35.3	27.0
5 < 9	10	106	9.7	39.0	29.2
2 < 5	8	114	11.1	41.9	30.8
5 > 11	8	122	12.5	44.9	32.4
1 > 3	7	129	13.9	47.4	33.5
1 > 11	7	136	15.3	50.0	34.7
3 > 4	7	143	16.7	52.6	35.9
5 < 8	7	150	18.1	55.1	37.1
3 < 5	6	156	19.4	57.4	37.9
8 < 9	5	161	20.8	59.2	38.4
1 > 10	4	165	22.2	60.7	38.4
4 < 9	4	169	23.6	62.1	38.5
5 > 10	4	173	25.0	63.6	38.6
6 < 8	4	177	26.4	65.1	38.7
6 > 10	4	181	27.8	66.5	38.8
7 > 11	4	185	29.2	68.0	38.8

8 > 11	4	189	30.6	69.5	38.9
9 > 10	4	193	31.9	71.0	39.0
3 < 7	3	196	33.3	72.1	38.7
4 > 6	3	199	34.7	73.2	38.4
4 < 8	3	202	36.1	74.3	38.2
5 < 6	3	205	37.5	75.4	37.9
5 < 10	3	208	38.9	76.5	37.6
8 < 10	3	211	40.3	77.6	37.3
10 > 11	3	214	41.7	78.7	37.0
1 > 4	2	216	43.1	79.4	36.4
1 > 8	2	218	44.4	80.1	35.7
2 > 3	2	220	45.8	80.9	35.0
2 < 6	2	222	47.2	81.6	34.4
2 < 9	2	224	48.6	82.4	33.7
3 > 6	2	226	50.0	83.1	33.1
3 > 11	2	228	51.4	83.8	32.4
4 < 5	2	230	52.8	84.6	31.8
4 < 6	2	232	54.2	85.3	31.1
4 < 11	2	234	55.6	86.0	30.5
5 > 6	2	236	56.9	86.8	29.8
5 > 8	2	238	58.3	87.5	29.2
5 > 9	2	240	59.7	88.2	28.5
6 > 8	2	242	61.1	89.0	27.9
6 > 9	2	244	62.5	89.7	27.2
8 > 10	2	246	63.9	90.4	26.6
1 > 2	1	247	65.3	90.8	25.5
1 > 5	1	248	66.7	91.2	24.5
1 > 6	1	249	68.1	91.5	23.5
1 < 6	1	250	69.4	91.9	22.5

Cut off @
frequency of
2

1 < 9	1	251	70.8	92.3	21.4
2 > 4	1	252	72.2	92.6	20.4
2 > 5	1	253	73.6	93.0	19.4
2 > 6	1	254	75.0	93.4	18.4
2 > 7	1	255	76.4	93.8	17.4
2 < 7	1	256	77.8	94.1	16.3
2 < 10	1	257	79.2	94.5	15.3
2 > 11	1	258	80.6	94.9	14.3
2 < 11	1	259	81.9	95.2	13.3
3 < 4	1	260	83.3	95.6	12.3
3 > 7	1	261	84.7	96.0	11.2
3 > 8	1	262	86.1	96.3	10.2
3 < 8	1	263	87.5	96.7	9.2
3 > 10	1	264	88.9	97.1	8.2
4 > 8	1	265	90.3	97.4	7.1
4 > 10	1	266	91.7	97.8	6.1
5 > 7	1	267	93.1	98.2	5.1
5 < 11	1	268	94.4	98.5	4.1
6 < 10	1	269	95.8	98.9	3.1
7 < 9	1	270	97.2	99.3	2.0
7 < 10	1	271	98.6	99.6	1.0
9 < 10	1	272	100.0	100.0	0.0
TOTALS	272				

Appendix D

Women Administrators Affinity Tabular Inter-Relationship Digraph

Affinity Name
1. Qualities Needed
2. Feelings
3. Job Requirements
4. Balancing Act
5. Environmental Issues
6. Support
7. Pride
8. Strategies
9. Gender
10. Leadership Behaviors
11. Career Advancement

Tabular IRD														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	OUT	IN	Δ
1			↑	↑				↑		↑	↑	5	0	5
2			←		←	←			←			0	4	-4
3	←	↑		↑	←	←	←		←		↑	3	5	-2
4	←		←		←	↑		←	←		←	1	6	-5
5		↑	↑	↑		←		←	←	↑	↑	5	3	2
6		↑	↑	←	↑			←	←	↑	↑	5	3	2
7			↑								↑	2	0	2
8	←			↑	↑	↑			←	←	↑	4	3	1
9		↑	↑	↑	↑	↑		↑		↑	↑	8	0	8
10	←				←	←		↑	←		↑	2	4	-2
11	←		←	↑	←	←	←	←	←	←		1	8	-7

Appendix E

Women Faculty Pareto Chart

Affinity Pair Relationship p	Frequency	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percent (Relation)	Cumulative percent (Frequency)	Power
5 > 9	34	34	2.7	13.5	10.8
1 > 9	29	63	5.4	25	19.6
5 > 8	20	83	8.1	32.9	24.8
6 > 9	17	100	10.8	39.7	28.9
1 < 5	13	113	13.5	44.8	31.3
3 < 5	11	124	16.2	49.2	33
2 > 9	11	135	18.9	53.6	34.7
2 > 8	10	145	21.6	57.5	35.9
1 > 3	9	154	24.3	61.1	36.8
8 > 9	8	162	27	64.3	37.3
4 < 5	8	170	29.7	67.5	37.8
6 > 8	7	177	32.4	70.2	37.8
5 < 8	7	184	35.1	73	37.9
2 < 8	7	191	37.8	75.8	38
4 > 7	6	197	40.5	78.2	37.7
5 > 7	5	202	43.2	80.2	37
2 > 3	5	207	45.9	82.1	36.2
5 < 6	4	211	48.7	83.7	35
4 > 9	4	215	51.4	85.3	33.9
3 < 8	4	219	54.1	86.9	32.8
2 > 6	4	223	56.8	88.5	31.7
3 > 9	3	226	59.5	89.7	30.2
3 < 6	3	229	62.2	90.9	28.7

1 > 2	3	232	64.9	92.1	27.2	Cut off @ frequency of 3
6 > 7	2	234	67.6	92.9	25.3	
5 > 6	2	236	70.3	93.7	23.4	
3 < 4	2	238	73	94.4	21.4	
2 > 5	2	240	75.7	95.2	19.5	
2 > 4	2	242	78.4	96	17.6	
2 < 5	2	244	81.1	96.8	15.7	
1 < 9	2	246	83.8	97.6	13.8	
7 > 9	1	247	86.5	98	11.5	
2 < 9	1	248	89.2	98.4	9.2	
2 < 4	1	249	91.9	98.8	6.9	
1 > 8	1	250	94.6	99.2	4.6	
1 > 7	1	251	97.3	99.6	2.3	
1 < 4	1	252	100	100	0	
Frequency	252					

Appendix F

Women Faculty Affinity Tabular Inter-Relationship Digraph

Affinity Name
1. Mentoring
2. Consciousness-Raising
3. Rewards
4. Overwhelming
5. Gender
6. Strategies
7. Balance
8. Power
9. Career Advancement

Tabular IRD												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	OUT	IN	Δ
1		↑	↑		←				↑	3	1	2
2	←		↑			↑		↑	↑	4	1	3
3	←	←			←	←		←	↑	1	5	-4
4					←		↑		↑	2	1	1
5	↑		↑	↑		←	↑	↑	↑	6	1	5
6		←	↑		↑			↑	↑	4	1	3
7				←	←					0	2	-2
8		←	↑		←	←			↑	2	3	-1
9	←	←	←	←	←	←		←		0	7	-7

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